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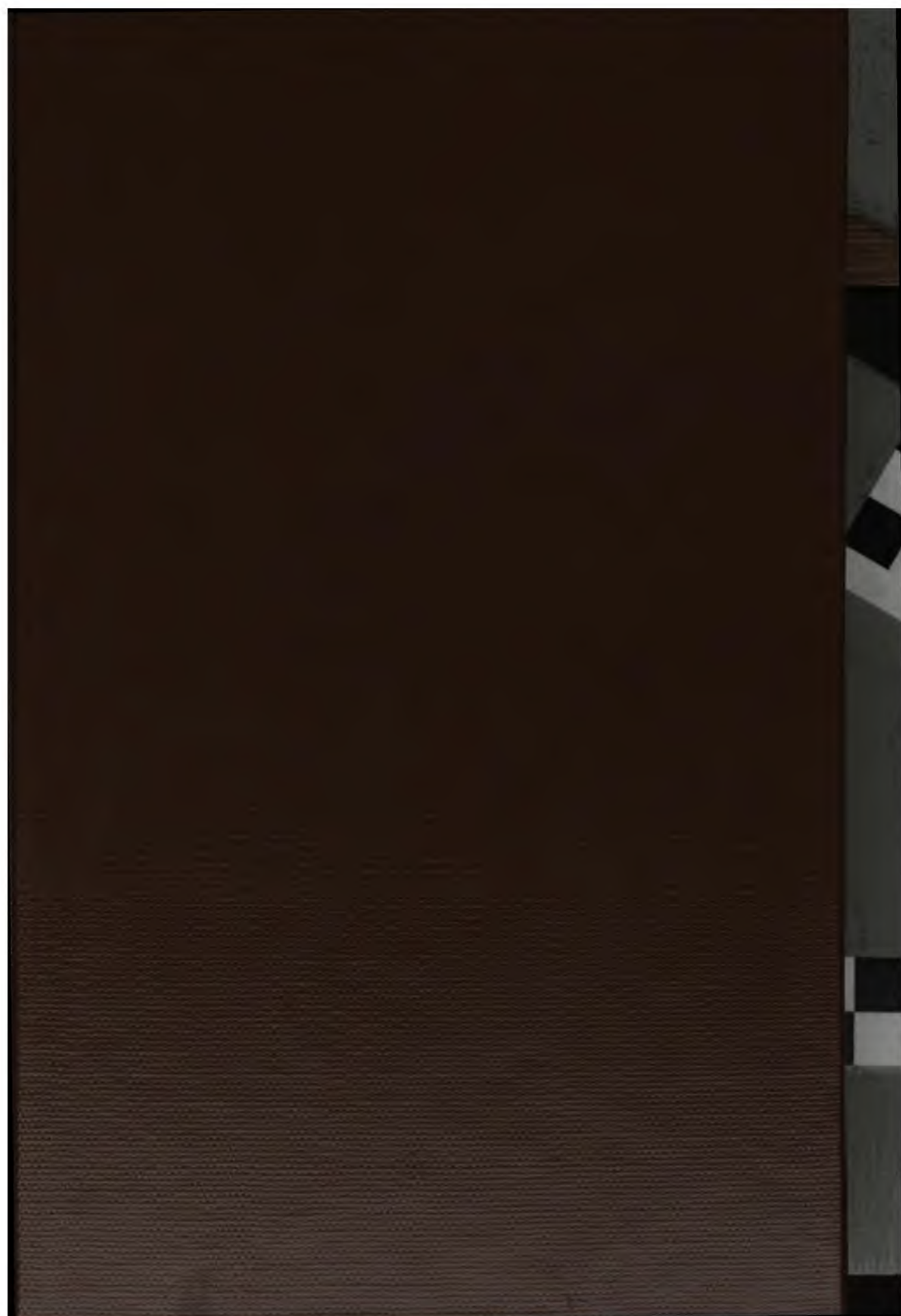
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BRYANT'S
POPULAR HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES.









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A POPULAR HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE

FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
BY THE NORTHMEN, TO THE END OF THE
FIRST CENTURY OF THE UNION
OF THE STATES

PRECEDED BY A SKETCH OF THE PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD AND THE
AGE OF THE MOUND BUILDERS

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
AND
SYDNEY HOWARD GAY

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION

FULLY ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME IV

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1882

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A. 1455-2.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE present volume is the completion of the work which the late Mr. Bryant consented should have the sanction of his name. The first two volumes passed the ordeal of his careful perusal ; in justice to those who began the reading of the work at the beginning of its publication, it is only proper to say that, save in the absence of his verbal criticism for the last two volumes, there was no change of actual authorship consequent upon his death.

Of histories of the United States there is no lack. A new one, to be of any value, should be something more than the old story, even if told in a new way. It ought to be the result of freshly gathered knowledge, hitherto undiscovered or neglected ; and it should grow from a consideration of facts and events, perhaps hitherto unobserved because their significance had not been made manifest by later consequences. Whether in this work there are errors of judgment, the reader will decide for himself ; whether it is a new history, is not a question of opinion but a question of fact. Whatever may be known now upon the subject, that was not known a half-century, or a quarter-century ago, will be found, it is believed, if it is worth knowing, in these volumes ; for this is a matter simply of hard and conscientious labor.

It is a little more than four years since the first volume was published ; but it is hoped that the work itself will show no evidence of haste. Up to a certain point, the task is mainly one of a given amount of labor to a given limit of time, and collaboration overcomes time. In this and the preceding volume there are chapters contributed by the Rev. E. E. Hale, which only needed to be fitted into their appropriate places ; among the later students of the battles of the Revolution, Mr. Henry P. Johnston is one of the most diligent and accurate, and in the preparation of some portions of the third volume his familiarity with that subject has been of great service ; at other points Mr. H. E. Scudder has given opportune and essential help ; the narrative of the military movements in the war of the Rebellion was written, in part by

-

Mr. . H. Guernsey, and in part by Mr. Rossiter Johnson. Mr. Johnson has also been in close relations with the author as an assistant through the whole of this volume. With such efficient aid it has been possible to bring forward each volume with a rapidity which, without such assistance, would have implied haste and superficial treatment.

If to some readers there should seem to be a want of proportion between the history of the war of the Rebellion and that of other periods, a word is to be said. If the aim of this volume is not altogether wide of its mark, it will be seen that, as the author reads the history of the first seventy-five years of the Republic, the slaveholders' rebellion was the natural, if not the inevitable, result of a conflict which began with the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Why there was a conflict; how aggression grew on the one hand, and submission on the other; how and why that aggression was at length resisted, step by step, as it became, step by step, more dangerous and violent; how the deadly struggle came finally between the opposing forces of liberty and slavery; — it is this that makes the real history of the country from the time the Union was formed till it was pronounced dissolved by the slaveholders, but to be re-formed with liberty instead of slavery as its "corner-stone." Where only a volume could be given to that period of three quarters of a century, it seemed imperative that the larger part of it should be devoted to the causes, not always plain or understood, and the smaller to the details of the final catastrophe. The complete history of that Rebellion cannot yet be written. Rooms full of archives, to arrange which, much less to read, no attempt has yet been made; private papers under seal; knowledge locked up and inaccessible for the present, — are the secret treasures which must be opened before such a history can be intelligently undertaken. Even the military part of it, on which so many volumes have already been written, is not yet so clear but that courts-martial are still needed to decide the characters of Generals and their campaigns. What else, then, could be done in a work of the prescribed limits of this, but to attempt, so far as the armies are concerned, only a general narrative of the essential military movements, to show how the end was gained?

S. H. G.

December 6, 1880.

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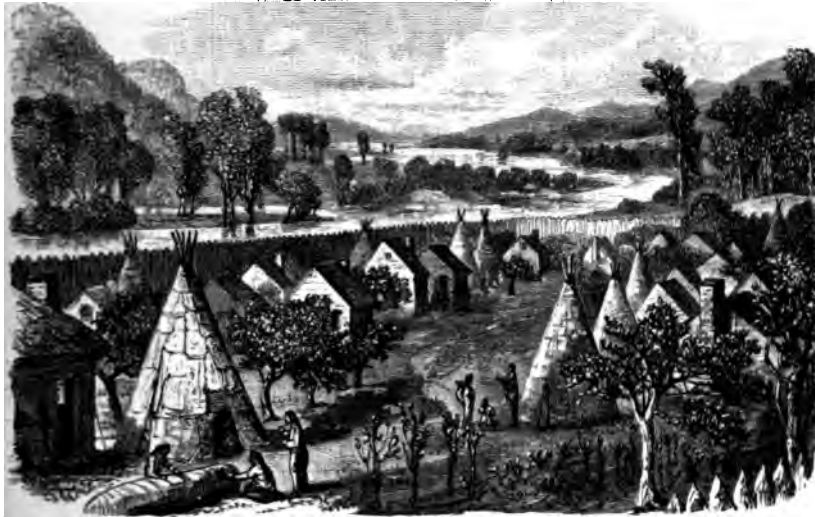
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SHERIDAN'S RIDE.



A Mohawk Village in Central New York, about 1780.

CHAPTER I.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION. — FALL OF CHARLESTON. — ARNOLD'S TREASON.

WASHINGTON'S OPPOSITION TO THE INVASION OF CANADA. — SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION IN CENTRAL NEW YORK. — THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN. — INDIAN SETTLEMENTS LAID WASTE. — BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION. — BRANT'S REVENGE. — SPAIN DECLARES WAR AGAINST ENGLAND. — OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST. — CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH FORCES. — ATTACK ON SAVANNAH. — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CHARLESTON. — A SEVERE WINTER. — RAIDS IN NEW JERSEY. — SPRINGFIELD BURNED. — ARRIVAL OF ROCHAMBEAU. — ARNOLD'S TREASON. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH ANDRÉ. — IMPORTANCE OF WEST POINT. — THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN ARNOLD AND ANDRÉ. — ANDRÉ'S CAPTURE AND ARNOLD'S ESCAPE. — ANALYSIS OF THE AFFAIR.

It was not without difficulty that, through the winter of 1778-79, Washington persuaded Congress that its favorite plan for the conquest of Canada and Nova Scotia was unwise. That he advanced many arguments, and urged them with earnestness and warmth; that they were listened to with impatience, and acceded to at last with reluctance, we know. The wisdom and prudence of the Commander-in-chief on this subject seem in nowise remarkable. It would seem rather that the military judgment of a corporal should have been sufficient to decide upon the absurdity of

Washington opposes the Canadian scheme.

such a movement under the existing circumstances, and that a Congress that proposed it must have been composed of members quite unfit for the conduct of a great war.

But Washington so far yielded to a scheme which he could not wholly defeat, as to approve of a proposal to take the British fort at Niagara. It was not, however, that he thought the capture of the fort of so much moment, as that an expedition against it must include another object which he considered of greater importance. This was the protection of the people of the frontier from the hostilities



General Sullivan.

of the Indians, who were encouraged and aided by the British from Canada. Preparations were made early in 1779 for carrying the war into Central New York and Western Pennsylvania, with so much vigor that it was hoped the power of the savages, and their hardly less savage allies, would be completely broken, and tranquillity secured by their extermination or expulsion.

The command of this expedition was offered to Gates, who declined it in a letter which the Commander-in-chief justly considered as little less than insolent. It was

then given to Sullivan, who went to work with his usual energy, though, perhaps, quite conscious that the task he had undertaken was more useful than glorious. The ostensible object was, at least in part, the capture of the fort at Niagara; but the real and essential purpose was the punishment of the Six Nations. Had both been feasible, both, no doubt, would have been done; but one only was possible with the means and force at command, and Sullivan did not approach within seventy-five miles of Niagara River. Washington's judgment in opposing the still more hazardous and expensive project of an invasion of Canada was, as usual, unerring.

Sullivan's
expedition.

None knew so well as the Commander-in-chief the difficulty of even holding the army together, and how impossible it would be to provide the men and means for aggressive measures beyond the boundaries of the States. When, early in May, the New Jersey Brigade was ordered to move from winter quarters at Elizabethtown, the officers of an entire regiment sent in their resignations. They were impoverished for want of pay; their families at home were suffering for the necessaries of life; they would not abandon those who were dependent upon them, and their repeated appeals to the Legislature for relief were unheeded. Such insubordination, by military law, was deserving of punishment. Washington preferred rather to appeal to the patriotism of the men and their pride of character, and the New Jersey Legislature was moved at length to relieve their necessities. Troubles like these, though inevitable from the poverty of the people, were aggravated by the difficulty of carrying on a war conducted by a confederation of States, each giving or withholding, for a common purpose, as suited their own convenience or inclination, but without mutual submission to a common will.

Insubordi-
nation of
New Jersey
troops.

The expedition was to move in three divisions, — the centre, under Sullivan himself, from Wyoming; the right wing, under General James Clinton, from the Mohawk; the left, under Colonel Daniel Brodhead, from Pittsburg, — all to be under Sullivan when the forces were united. It was no fault of Sullivan's that the spring and summer were consumed in preparations, from early in May till late in August, for his commissary department was so tardily and so wretchedly supplied that he had neither food nor clothing for his men. His complaints and remonstrances were, at length, listened to, but his frankness raised up enemies against him in Congress, and made him unpopular in Pennsylvania. In that State, a large party was opposed to the expedition, partly because the Friends denied the necessity of hostile measures against the Indians, and partly because Pennsylvania was expected to assume a large share of the burden of protecting her western territory.

The plan.

Clinton was at the outlet of Otsego Lake, where it flows into the Susquehanna River, early in July, with 1,700 men. Here he awaited orders for about a month, but occupied the time in building a dam across the head of the river, to store water enough to float his boats down the stream, in case of a summer drouth, when the advance should be made. The lake was raised three or four feet in height; on the 9th of August the dam was broken, and the liberated waters filled the bed of the river to its brink, bearing along the two hundred and twenty boats upon its full tide, to the astonish-

Clinton's
movement.

ment and alarm of the Indians at this sudden flood. Near the present village of Union the division was met by a detachment from Sullivan, under General Poor; and on the 26th of August the combined forces moved from Fort Sullivan on Tioga Point, now the village of Athens, in Pennsylvania.

The long and elaborate preparations for the campaign had not been unheeded by the English and the Indians. As early as April, a detachment from Fort Schuyler of six hundred men, under Colonel Van Schaick, had entered the Indian country and destroyed a town of the Onondagas. In July, the enemy, alarmed at the progress of the army, had attempted to divert it from its purpose by an attack upon a fort on the Susquehanna, and on the settlements in Orange County and on the Lackawaxen River. Sullivan, early in August, had destroyed the Indian village of Chemung, not without resistance, and with some loss.

A few miles above this point, on the Chemung River, was the Indian village of Newtown, now Elmira. Here Sullivan found the enemy in force, numbering altogether, probably, about twelve hundred men, made up of British regulars, Tories, and Indians, under Captain Macdonald of the British army, the Tory partisans Colonel John Butler and his son, Captain Walter N. Butler, and the Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant.

On a steep ridge between a creek and the river, this force was disposed in a position protected on two sides by a bend in the river, and skilfully strengthened in front by a breastwork, partially concealed among pine trees and shrub oaks and branches artfully placed among them. It was meant as an ambush; the advancing Americans, it was supposed, would wind along the base of the ridge by an open path, parallel to the breastwork, and when their flank was completely exposed, a deadly fire from twelve hundred hidden rifles was to be poured into them from the heights above. Sullivan commanded not less than three thousand men, led by able and experienced soldiers. If stratagem did not succeed against them, there was little chance of hindering their advance.

The stratagem was not successful. The earthworks were discovered by the advanced guard, and from a tall tree a rifleman descried the whole plan of offence and defence. Discovery was equivalent to defeat. A portion of the army under General Hand was brought in front of the enemy into line, which Brant and his Indians, by repeated and desperate sorties, attempted to break. While they were so occupied in front, Generals Poor and Clinton were quietly making their way through woods and swamps for an attack on the rear and flank. The enemy were caught in the trap which they had hoped would be

fatal to their opponents. The artillery, under Colonel Proctor, opened fire upon the breastworks and their defenders at the moment that Poor's men, followed by Clinton's, rushed up the hill in the rear with the cry of "Remember Wyoming!" The English and their allies were outgeneralled as well as outnumbered, and though they fought with courage, they were driven at length to headlong flight. Their loss was so heavy, — while Sullivan's was slight, — and their defeat so complete, that neither Brant's power, the influence of the Tories, nor the promises of the English, could rally the Indians again in any large numbers to oppose Sullivan's progress.



Destruction of Indian Villages.

Two days later the army resumed its march, and for weeks its progress was marked by utter desolation. The Six Nations had achieved a degree of civilization unknown before that time to the American Indians, and never since attained by them except among the Cherokees. They had gathered together in towns; log-huts, and even frame-houses, convenient, rudely furnished, and well-painted, had taken the place of wigwams. Their subsistence they gained in part by agriculture; their habitations were surrounded by many hundreds of cultivated acres, and they had planted thousands of fruit-trees, many already in full bearing. Sullivan spared neither the people nor their possessions. He met sometimes with desperate resistance, and the most cruel tortures were inflicted upon some of his men who fell into the

Thrift of the
Six Nations.

Their country
devastated.

hands of the Indians. The provocation, on the other hand, was terrible. Of forty villages, some of them containing more than a hundred houses, not a trace was left, except in ashes. Every fruit-bearing tree was cut down, and in one orchard alone there were fifteen hundred peach trees; two hundred thousand bushels of Indian corn, immense quantities of potatoes, beans, and other products of their farms and gardens, which the thrifty natives were about to harvest for winter use, were destroyed.

The objective point of the expedition, probably, was really not Niagara, but the Seneca Castle, or town, the chief westernmost settlement of the Six Nations, the extreme western door of the Long House, as they designated their confederacy. At this point, not far from Geneseo, on the Genesee River, Sullivan retraced his footsteps. The work was done thoroughly, with a loss to him of not more than forty men. The Indians had neither shelter nor food to carry them through the ensuing winter, which happened to be one of the severest on record, and many of them perished from want and disease. Their power was broken, and though they resumed, the following year, their depredations upon the border settlements, they ceased from that time to be the formidable enemy whose alliance with the English was an important incident in the progress of the war. Sullivan resigned his commission soon after rejoining Washington's army, and it was accepted by Congress; not, however, because of any disapprobation of his merciless warfare against the Indians, but because he had incurred the enmity of many members of Congress by his frank and perhaps imprudent reflections upon the conduct of the war.¹

Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who was in command of the fort at Pittsburgh, started early in August, in obedience to instructions from the Commander-in-chief, on an expedition up the Alleghany River, with about six hundred men. It was to have started some months earlier, and to join Sullivan in an attack upon Niagara; but the purpose, at last, was only to punish the Indians, destroy their villages and corn-fields, and in so doing make a diversion that should be of effectual aid to Sullivan's more general campaign. The march was almost wholly within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, and in the course of it they crossed "a creek called Oil Creek," to be famous nearly a century afterward. In the oil which the soldiers found floating upon the top of a spring, they bathed their joints, to "the great relief of the rheumatism with which they were afflicted."

The expedition, though occupying a comparatively short time and

¹ The fullest and most accurate history of Sullivan's campaign is given in the Centennial Addresses of the Rev. David Craft, at the celebration in August, 1879, at Elmira, Waterloo, and Geneseo, N. Y.

few men, was of signal service, in the general plan of striking a blow at the Six Nations that should be fatal to the strength of that confederacy. In his month's absence from Pittsburg, Brodhead destroyed many villages and hundreds of acres of growing corn, without the loss of a man. The tribes he attacked were too much taken up in their own defence to reënforce those whom Sullivan was driving before him, and a number of hostile chiefs hastened to Pittsburg at Brodhead's return, with solemn promises of their future good behavior.¹ Some of them may have kept these promises; but many more, doubtless, were mindful rather of their wrongs. How well these were remembered, Brant and three hundred of his warriors showed the next summer, when, in conjunction with a force of British troops Brant's revenge. and Tories, a raid was made into the Mohawk Valley, its farms laid waste, the dwellings, barns, and crops given to the flames, cattle and sheep destroyed, and no mercy shown to either man or woman.

The declaration of war made this summer by Spain against England, strengthened the bonds of friendship between Spain War in the Southwest. and the United States, and John Jay was sent out as minister with power to negotiate for the free navigation of the Mississippi and a loan of five million dollars. The injury done to England, however, was much greater than any immediate benefit to the United States. Galvez, the young and ambitious Governor of Louisiana, moved up the Mississippi with a force of nearly fifteen hundred men — Oliver Pollock, the agent of Congress, with a company of volunteers, making a part of the expedition — and soon captured the British posts of Fort Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. These successes were followed by others; eight English vessels were captured on Lake Pontchartrain and on the Mississippi soon after the fall of the forts, and a few months later Mobile was taken, the last post in West Florida, except Pensacola, in British possession. That also was reduced by Galvez the next year. But important as these conquests seemed at the time to Spain, and to Spain alone, they were, in the end, of infinitely more moment to the United States. Had England been in possession of the Mississippi as well as of the St. Lawrence, at the negotiation of peace, — however idle it may be to speculate upon what might have been, in that case, the history of the North American Continent for the next hundred years, — it is not difficult to see that the United States would have had, in all human probability, quite another destiny.

¹ Brodhead's expedition has usually been considered of little moment, and it has even been denied, or doubted, by some writers, that it ever took place. Its incidents are for the first time carefully collated and fully told by Obed Edson, in *The Magazine of History* for November, 1879.

What was not was not to be ; else one might indulge also in speculation as to the probable result of the war, had not the British ministry determined that the basis of operations should be removed from the Northern to the Southern States. The attempt to suppress rebellion in the North had been baffled for nearly five years ; it would be, it was thought, a wiser plan, and more easily accomplished, to overrun the sparsely populated southern country, separate its States from the Union, and compel its people to return to their allegiance to the King. Congress and the Commander-in-chief had good reason to be alarmed at this determination.

Difficulties
of the new
campaign.

It was with the utmost difficulty they could deal with the perils which already confronted them, and reduced them often almost to despair. The army mustered only about fifteen thousand men enlisted for the war, and of these not more than eleven or twelve thousand were in the ranks. The terms of service of about twelve thousand additional militia would expire at intervals during the first half of 1780, and whether these would reënlist, or their places could be supplied by raw recruits, was a contingency beyond control or calculation. The pay of the soldiers was months in arrears ; they were always without sufficient clothing and the ordinary necessities of comfort in camp life, often without provisions for two days in advance, and sometimes without rations for the passing day. The one thing that was plentiful was paper money, and that, at the current rate of forty to one, was the one thing that was almost good for nothing. As it would pay for so little, and was so little pay for what it bought, it hardly added to the general distress that the necessities of the army were met by requisitions upon the country for food and forage wherever they could be found. The government was kept afloat by foreign loans.

With this miserable army Washington confronted Clinton, who commanded a well-appointed force of nearly thirty thousand men, in New York and its dependencies. To be always on the vigilant defensive, and to watch warily for every chance to strike a telling blow at any unguarded or carelessly guarded point, was the policy of the American General. It was fortunate for him that Clinton, with his greater strength and superior resources, either from want of energy or courage, was even less aggressive. He was content to watch Washington, as Washington was compelled to watch him.

But there was this important difference in their conditions : Clinton could threaten more than one point by detachments from the army with which he perpetually menaced the Northern and Middle States ; while Washington had neither men nor means to meet any such movements. Clinton knew, quite as well as he, the difficul-

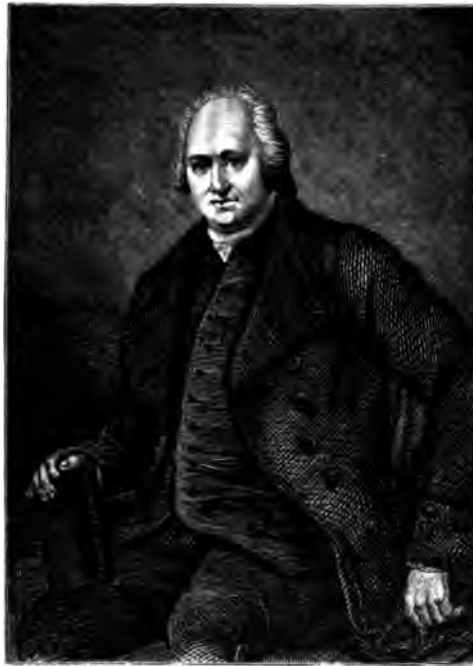
ties of the situation, and that, so far as the main army in the field was concerned, either the North or the South must be left defenceless. The conclusion was obvious, — the conquest of either North or South would be easy and inevitable, and the conquest of one was the conquest of both. Sound as the reasoning seemed, it was a fatal mistake.

Lincoln's success in maintaining his position at Charleston suggested, perhaps, that the aspect of affairs would seem less hopeless if Savannah could be retaken. D'Estaing was in the West Indies, where he had gained more credit for the French arms than in his abortive movements about Rhode Island the year before. He consented to give his aid in a brief campaign in Georgia, and early in September appeared off the coast with a fleet of about forty ships, carrying six thousand troops.

D'Estaing had sent word of his approach to General Lincoln, who immediately left Charleston for Savannah, with the Continental force under his command and a body of militia. Before his arrival, D'Estaing had invested the town and summoned it to surrender, not, however, in the name of the allied powers, but in that of the King of France. This breach of military etiquette, if it was no worse, was either explained or overlooked, — perhaps, even, would have been altogether forgotten, had not the French commander, by his want of promptness now, as by his want of promptness the year before at Rhode Island, thrown away the opportunity of achieving success. To his demand for surrender, the British General, Prevost, asked for a truce of twenty-four hours, and it was granted. In the time thus gained he completed his works of defence, and was

Movements
in the
South.

Attack on
Savannah.



General Lincoln.

reinforced by Lieutenant-colonel Maitland with eight hundred veterans then stationed at Beaufort. Before their arrival, the city was

at D'Estaing's mercy ; for not more than ten guns were mounted then upon the unfinished earthworks. With such an addition to its garrison, Prevost's final answer to the demand for surrender was an answer of defiance. Within a few days his defences were completed, and surmounted by eighty heavy guns.

About a month had elapsed since the arrival of the French fleet, and D'Estaing was in haste to return to his station in the West Indies, partly to escape the probable storms of the autumn, and partly to avoid the possible arrival of an English fleet from New York. Either the siege must be abandoned, or the place carried by assault, for D'Estaing either could not or would not await the completion of trenches. On the 9th of October the attempt was made.

Here, at least, there was no reason for reflecting upon D'Estaing. He was twice wounded as, with Lincoln, he led the attack. The combined forces engaged in the assault numbered more than four thousand men, and they were aided by a cannonade of shot and shell from the French fleet. But the defence was conducted with great skill and courage, and with an advantage from behind abatis and earthworks that outweighed numbers. The assailants, crowded together within the redoubt, were exposed for nearly an hour to a terrible fire, while the utmost they could do was to plant a French and an American standard upon the ramparts.

This was the centre of intensest interest. Sergeant Jasper, who had restored the flag to its place when shot down at Fort Moultrie at the beginning of the war, was here mortally wounded in defence of his colors ; three lieutenants, Bush, Thomas, and Grey, fell with the staves in their hands ; — Bush with the flag beneath him ; and one only of the standards was rescued from the hands of the enemy by Sergeant McDonald, who escaped unhurt. The British lost less than fifty killed, and not many more wounded and missing ; while on the other side the loss, in killed and wounded, was between eleven and twelve hundred, including many officers, and chief among them the Count Pulaski, who fell mortally wounded at the head of his battalion. It was the end of the siege of Savannah ; in ten days the French fleet was under sail for the West Indies, and Lincoln was compelled to return to Charleston.

Georgia was virtually restored to the Crown, so far as the province was under any civil government at all, and Clinton, encouraged by the repulse at Savannah, resolved upon energetic measures for the reduction of the whole South. Late in December, he embarked with seven thousand five hundred men for Charleston, leaving Knyphausen in command at New York, with force enough to occupy Washington's attention, who, compelled to detach

Clinton goes
to Charleston.

the Virginia and Maryland troops for Southern service, could undertake no aggressive movements of importance.

The winter was one of exceptional severity, and the American army at Morristown endured almost the extremity of suffering from cold, from want of food, and want of clothing. ^{Severity of the winter.} Even the British troops, in their comfortable quarters in New York, were compelled to submit to many privations, while they could not relax their vigilance for an hour. They were in perpetual fear of



Fall of Sergeant Jasper.

attack, for the town could be approached on either side over the solid ice which closed the North River, the East River, and the bay for miles. Each army did all it could to harass the other during the winter. Lord Stirling crossed the Kill on the ice, at Elizabethtown, to Staten Island, marched two thousand men nearly to the Narrows, and burned a fortified house and several vessels, with slight loss. A few days afterward a party of the enemy crossed from the Island to Elizabethtown, and burned the Presbyterian meeting-house, the

court-house, and some private dwellings; and the same night another party crossed the North River in sleighs, marched to Newark, burned the academy, and sacked some of the houses. These and similar excursions served to exercise the vigilance and keep up the discipline of the men on both sides through the winter months.

It was near the middle of March before Clinton could take any effectual steps for investing Charleston, for his voyage from New York was tempestuous, and several of his transports were lost. The garrison of the town was about three thousand men, and General Lincoln believed he could hold it, provided it was approached from the land side only. Commodore Whipple was in the harbor with nine small vessels, and with these, and the guns of Fort Moultrie, he was confident the British fleet could be prevented from crossing the bar. But the bar was passed without difficulty or opposition, and Whipple could put his small fleet to no better use than to sink the whole of it, with the exception of one ship, at the mouth of Cooper River, to obstruct that channel. A few days later, the enemy passed Fort Moultrie and anchored in front of the town.

Clinton in the mean time had made good his position in the rear of the town, where Lincoln had thrown up fortifications and dug a canal across the low lands between the two rivers. These works were not formidable, as Lincoln had not feared an attack from that direction that he could not repel so long as the harbor was in his possession. With a fleet in front, holding the town under its guns, Clinton could make his approaches at his leisure, and wait for reinforcements from Savannah.

With the completion of his first parallel on the 10th of April, at a distance of about a thousand yards, the town was summoned to surrender. Lincoln replied, that "duty and inclination pointed to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity," for he might, he said, have abandoned it at any time, had he seen fit, during the sixty days that had elapsed since the siege began. This was quite true during the earlier weeks of the siege, so far as his movements could be controlled by the enemy; but it was not quite true that his action and judgment had been entirely unrestrained. The question had been warmly discussed, in more than one council of war, after the British fleet had crossed the bar, whether it was not wiser to save the army by retreat, rather than await almost certain capture; and the decision to remain was influenced, if it was not absolutely determined, by the threats of the townspeople, that if the attempt were made "they would cut up his [Lincoln's] boats, and open the gates to the enemy."¹

¹ *Mem. of the War.*

But retreat soon ceased to be possible. The cavalry stationed at Monk's Corner, about thirty miles up the Cooper River, were surprised and dispersed; a like misfortune befell a post on the Santee, where Colonels White, Washington, Jamieson, and other officers saved themselves by swimming the river; some smaller posts nearer the city were necessarily abandoned, and Lincoln's only available road of escape, between the Cooper and Santee rivers, was cut off. Clinton closed slowly but surely around the city. Early in May, Fort Moultrie was surrendered; the third parallel was finished a few days later within a few yards of the canal; the canal, the first barrier of the besieged, was drained and occupied by the enemy; and the town was then at his mercy. Negotiations were begun on the 8th of May, and concluded on the 12th, by honorable capitulation. The Adjutant-general, John André, reported the number of male citizens as prisoners at nearly six thousand; these and the militia were released on parole, while the Continental troops and seamen were held as prisoners of war. Surrender of the city.

The failure to take Savannah the previous autumn, and the loss now of Charleston and of the whole southern army at a single blow, were most serious disasters to the cause of the Americans. The British army in Georgia and South Carolina numbered nearly fourteen thousand men, and with Charleston and Savannah as their base, the easy and early subjugation of all the Southern States seemed certain. Clinton spoke with entire confidence of the absolute possession of Georgia and South Carolina, but his conduct showed at first that he looked upon the population of both as a people Clinton's policy. still to be conciliated, and not as one already subdued. Had he continued in this temper, he would have left a less difficult task to his successor. A large number of persons had given their paroles and accepted protections, with the understanding that they should be exempt from any participation in the war on either side. But Clinton, in a second proclamation, required that "all persons should take an active part in settling and securing his Majesty's government," and that those who neglected to do so should be considered as "enemies and rebels."

There were many who would consent to remain in an attitude of neutrality in the contest, who were by no means willing to take up arms against their own countrymen. A Major James was sent as the representative of some of this class to ask of Captain Ardesoif, the commander of the British post at Georgetown, an explanation of the proclamation. The answer he received was, that "his Majesty offers you a free pardon, of which you are undeserving, for you all ought to be hanged; but it is only on condition that you take up arms in his

cause." James replied that those whom he represented would not submit to such conditions. "Represent!" shouted the British officer; "you damned rebel! if you dare speak in such language, I will have you hung up at the yard-arm!" James, who was unarmed, knocked him down with a chair, for answer, and left him senseless. The five brothers of the James family were from that moment among the most active partisans of the State.¹ Many followed their example. Clinton



James and Ardesoif.

foolishly compelled them to fight, and under that compulsion they preferred to fight against the King, — not for him.

When the news of the fall of Charleston reached New York, Knyp-hausen was persuaded that it would so discourage the soldiers of the American army in New Jersey, whose privations and complaints

¹ *Life of Francis Marion*, by W. G. Simms.

well known to him, that they would be an easy conquest. On 5th of June, he crossed with six thousand troops from an Island to Elizabethtown Point, and marched toward the village of Connecticut Farms, seven miles beyond Elizabethtown. The militia, under Colonel Elias Dayton, and a brigade of Continental troops under General William Maxwell, from whom Knyphausen expected a welcome, disputed every foot of the road from sunrise till dark, as the British advanced. They fell back step by step before a superior force, but it was with the utmost coolness and good order. In the course of the day the village of Connecticut Farms was burned, and the wife of the clergyman, the Rev. James M. Bell, was killed by a shot through the window of the room in which she was sitting surrounded by her children. It was asserted by contemporary reports in the New Jersey and Pennsylvania papers, that this was the deliberate deed of a passing British detachment, and the statement, though denied on the other side, was generally believed, and excited universal indignation.

At last the Americans crossed the Rahway, at Springfield, and Washington had advanced to their support, if needed, Knyphausen back the way he came. "At the middle of the night," — wrote Maxwell, to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, — "the enemy broke off and put their backsides to the Sound near Elizabethtown. They held the road from Elizabethtown to De Hart's Point and Kill van Kull.

On the 17th of June, Clinton, having taken unwittingly the first step in the train of events that was to lead to the loss of the State, entrusted to him, arrived from Charleston. Six days after he had ordered another movement, the preparations for which were watched with anxiety. Washington at first supposed that an attack upon West Point was intended, but he divined Clinton's intention in season to meet the advance into New Jersey. Greene was in command of about fifteen hundred men at Springfield, and with Mifflin's and Stark's brigades and Lee's infantry, was ready to give the enemy a warm reception. Colonels Angell, Shreve, and Dayton, with their respective regiments, opposed one column of the enemy, Major Lee with his cavalry and Colonel Ogden with his regiment opposed the other. Dayton's militia were inspired by the presence and example of their chaplain, Caldwell, whose wife had been shot a few days before. When the men were in want of wadding for their guns, he distributed hymn-books among them, with the exhortation, "Put Watts into them, boys!"² Springfield, however, was taken and burned, and the enemy then returned to an Island.

Knyphausen
invades New
Jersey.

Clinton re-
turns to
New York

Springfield
burned.

¹ See Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*.

² Irving's *Life of Washington*.

On the 11th of July, five thousand French troops, under De Rochambeau, arrived at Newport, the first division of an army of twelve thousand men which Lafayette had induced the King to promise should be sent to America. Again, for a time, the French alliance proved rather a hindrance than a help. The enthusiasm aroused by Rochambeau's arrival was almost extravagant, and important and decisive measures, it was supposed, would immediately follow. Washington proposed to move, supported by the French, upon the city of New York. But it was the 15th before the French troops were all landed, and nearly one fifth of them, sick from a voyage of seventy days, were sent into hospitals; on the 21st, an English fleet was seen in the offing; on the 25th, a messenger was sent by Rochambeau to the government of Massachusetts to ask that the troops of that province might be ordered to reënforce his army, as he had just learned from Washington that Newport was to be attacked by the British.¹ That it was not attacked, was due solely to a disagreement between Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. When, a little later, a squadron under Admiral Rodney joined that of Arbuthnot to make the blockade of Newport effectual, a considerable force was detached from the American army to aid in the defence of the allies and their fleet.

It was an autumn of enforced inactivity and of hope deferred; and while the country was under these depressing influences, it was shocked by the disclosure of Arnold's long premeditated treachery, which, had it been successful, would have led, no doubt, to the most disastrous consequences. For eighteen months he had been in communication with Sir Henry Clinton, to whom, through Major John André, Adjutant-general of the British army, he had given, from time to time, much valuable information. His schemes were now complete, through which he believed that, by the sacrifice of his country, he could achieve rank, and fame, and wealth for himself.

It is not unusual to explain Arnold's crime by the suggestion of some extraordinary impulse — as that a proud and haughty spirit could not brook certain humiliations which had been put upon him in the American army — that a lofty ambition led him to extravagances in his way of living from which it was difficult, if not impossible, to extricate himself, while the very heedlessness with which they were incurred was the evidence only of a warm and generous temper. It is difficult to admit that his conduct may be so explained when his whole career, both before and after his treason, is considered. He was certainly distinguished for wonderful energy

¹ *Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution, 1780-1783.*

and remarkable physical courage; and as a soldier these seem to have been his chief merits. But there was something in the way of his success which, from the beginning of his public life, always confronted him among those who knew him best, and those whose duty it was to fathom his true character. There was an apparently insurmountable distrust of his integrity, and, with some, a vague, but positive, suspicion of his loyalty. His dash excited admiration, and at first won him hosts of unthinking friends; but the more reflecting looked for, and did not find, in his conduct, that rigid rule of a severe morality and that keen sense of honor of which he was so apt in boasting.¹ The treatment he received from Congress, in 1777, in relation to his commission as Major-general, is in itself almost his condemnation, as it could not have been without strong reasons; that he should not have immediately retired from public life on being so treated, is a remarkable proof of that absence of self-respect that fully justifies the withholding of respect in others.

While in command at Philadelphia, he had married a second wife, a daughter of Edward Shippen, a distinguished Tory. In the gay winter of 1777, when Sir William Howe occupied the city, this young lady was a favorite of the British officers, and after her marriage she kept up



Benedict Arnold.

a correspondence with Major André. The assertion, so generally made, that Arnold took advantage of this correspondence to put himself in communication with André, can hardly be true; for Mrs. Arnold was ignorant, till the last moment, of the treacherous relation her husband had established with the enemy, and André and Sir Henry Clinton were for a long time unable to ascertain the real name of the person to whom they were indebted for much valuable information. Arnold may have detected something in the tone of the letters to his wife, that led him to believe he would find in André one with whom he could safely conspire in his intended treason; but he could not have availed himself of the communication al-

¹ See Sparks's *Life of Benedict Arnold*.

ready existing, without exciting suspicion in his wife, or betraying his identity to her friend.

The correspondence that followed was conducted under the pretence of being upon commercial affairs, André assuming the name of "John Anderson," and Arnold that of "Gustavus."

Correspondence with André.

For months it was necessarily confined to keeping the British officer, and through him the British Commander-in-chief, carefully informed of military and civil intelligence that could be of use to the enemy. The estimation in which this was held was much increased when Clinton was led by several circumstances to conjecture the name of his correspondent, and was then assured that still more important services were to come.

While in command in Philadelphia, various charges had been preferred against Arnold by the State, which brought him in the end before a court-martial. When again restored to active service, — after receiving a public rebuke from the Commander-in-chief, in accordance with the sentence of the court, — he contrived, under pretence that an old wound unfitted him for duty in the field, to get the appointment of commander of West Point. It was perfectly characteristic of the man — of his self-conceit and his insolence, of his reckless disregard of truth, of his bold hypocrisy and pretence of honor — that he should have said before the court-martial, after recounting his own services and merits: "When our illustrious General was retreating through New Jersey with a handful of men, I did not propose to my associates basely to quit the General, and sacrifice the cause of my country to my personal safety, by going over to the enemy and making my peace." The allusion was to President Reed, of Pennsylvania, about whom there were some whispered suspicions¹ — then for the first time publicly alluded to. Yet at this moment Arnold had been already for months in secret communication with the enemy, and was only delaying some final act of stupendous treachery till he was in a position to make it the most disastrous to his country.

He had attained to that position in the command of West Point, and had skilfully manœuvred to acquire it for the sole purpose of betraying his trust, and selling himself at a high price. When he proposed to Clinton to put him in possession of the place, that general wrote to the Ministry that it was worth being secured "at every risk and at any expense." As a military post, its acquisition would be as important to one party as its loss would be serious to the other. It commanded the navigation of the Hudson, and, to a certain degree, the communication with Canada, and between the Northern and Southern States; it and its dependen-

Importance of West Point

¹ See vol. iii., p. 526, note.

cies were held by garrisons numbering more than three thousand men; they were defended by about one hundred guns, and contained large stores of provisions and ammunition. With the betrayal of the place, a large portion of the men and property, it was supposed, would be captured.

It was necessary that the final arrangement should be made by a personal interview, and it was by both Clinton's and Arnold's wish that this was intrusted to André, through whom the correspondence had all along been conducted. To one other person only in the British army — Colonel Beverley Robinson,

commanding a regiment of American Loyalists — was the negotiation known. Arnold was too wary to trust any one on his own side with a knowledge of his contemplated villany. Robinson's estate was opposite West Point, on the other side of the river, and the house was occupied by Arnold as his head-

quarters. Under a pretence of asking for a conference in regard to the restitution of this confiscated property, Robinson attempted to bring about a meeting between the conspirators. To allay suspicion, the letter — which on its face seemed innocent enough — was shown to Washington, who objected to the interview, as the question seemingly proposed to be discussed could only, he said, be settled by the civil authorities.

Arnold had some days before attempted to get André within the American lines as a merchant, under the name of "John Anderson," and had directed Colonel Sheldon, in command of a post at Lower Salem, Westchester County, to receive and have him conducted to headquarters. Probably the hazard of going openly within the enemy's lines under an assumed name, and with a pretended purpose, deterred André from this undertaking; for he could hardly have failed to reflect that if his true character were discovered he would be arrested as a spy, and the exposure of the plot would follow. There is, indeed, no other supposable reason for his rejecting this

The conference with André.



Robinson's House.

method of bringing about the desired and essential interview ; and had he never abandoned that cautious conduct, but had compelled Arnold to take the risk which in any case would attend the accomplishment of his purpose, the less guilty of the two conspirators would have escaped an ignominious death. At any rate, André declined Arnold's invitation, and appointed to meet him at Dobbs Ferry. Arnold attempted this, but failed for want of proper precaution somewhere, was fired upon by the guard-boats, and came near being taken prisoner. Two days later he again attempted to induce André to come within the American lines, promising that a trusty person should meet him at Dobbs Ferry and conduct him, in disguise, to a place of safety, where the interview should take place. At the same time, in case André should have changed his mind, and be willing now to take the hazard of a ride to headquarters through the American posts, the General wrote to Major Tallmadge, at North Castle, if one John Anderson arrived there, to send him forward under an escort.

But André had not changed his mind. Arnold had given him the alternative of meeting a messenger at Dobbs Ferry, or on board the British sloop-of-war *Vulture*, then lying off Teller's — now Underhill's — Point, just above Sing Sing. Clinton's positive orders to his Adjutant-general were, that he should neither go within the American lines, assume a disguise, nor accept papers. It was in accordance with the spirit of these orders that André did not remain at Dobbs Ferry to wait for a messenger, but pushed on to the *Vulture*. There he would still be under the British flag, and would be nearer Arnold's headquarters, who, he hoped, would meet him on board the ship.

This was on the evening of the 20th of September, and up to this time it is quite plain that Arnold, in that intense and remarkable selfishness which always governed his conduct, was determined that all the dangers of the enterprise should fall to others, and the chief reward to himself ; and it is equally plain that André understood these dangers and was determined to avoid them. Great reward was to be his also, if the treacherous business could be brought to a successful end ; but so long as he remained in New York, his own cool judgment, and that of the commanding General, were quite sufficient to convince him that the hope of reward, however great, could not justify the enormous risk of being captured as a spy. He, no doubt, felt that he would be quite as strong to resist temptation on board the *Vulture* as in his quiet quarters in New York.

It was now three weeks since the interview had been talked about, and there were many reasons why some conclusion should be speedily reached. It was known to a number of persons that there was some-

thing unusual and mysterious going on between the American General and the enemy ; and though nobody suspected its real character and purpose, some unlucky accident, where watchfulness had been once aroused, might lead at any moment to a catastrophe. Military reasons, moreover, were imperative. Washington and Rochambeau were in conference at Hartford ; a movement might be made that would prevent the attack upon West Point by the British, which was an essential part of Arnold's plan ; while, if the movement of the allied armies should be anticipated by the capture of that stronghold, all Washington's plans would be completely defeated.

It was impossible that such obvious considerations should not greatly influence André's mind, and induce him at last to yield to circumstances which he could not control. Another day was lost, and days now, — even hours, — were very precious ; but as possibly Arnold, or his messenger, might have gone or sent to Dobbs Ferry, — presuming that his confederate would stop at the point nearest to New York, — it was necessary to let him know that John Anderson awaited him on board the *Vulture*. A pretext was found for sending a letter to the American General, which was countersigned " John Anderson, Secretary." In the evening of the 21st a boat with muffled oars came alongside the ship ; but it brought, instead of Arnold, one Joshua Hett Smith, who supposed that he was to take back to shore the Tory Colonel, Beverley Robinson. Arnold, it was plain, meant to take no personal risk for himself, and calculated, perhaps, how great this temptation would be to an impetuous young man to brave what did not seem to be a very great danger, for the sake of an interview on which so much depended, and for which there might not be another opportunity.

Both Captain Sutherland of the *Vulture*, and Colonel Robinson, it is said, earnestly advised André not to leave the ship ; but throwing aside the caution which, apparently, had hitherto governed him, or had been imposed upon him by superior authority, he was deaf to their counsels. If Arnold would not come to him, he must go to Arnold ; and it seemed possible to do so, under existing circumstances, without any very great hazard. Concealing his uniform under a long overcoat, he took boat with Smith, was rowed to the west bank of the river, and met Arnold at the foot of the Long Clove Mountain, about six miles below Stony Point.

The conference between the two conspirators, concealed in the bushes, lasted for several hours, till Smith warned them that, as daylight was approaching, it was not safe either for them or the boat to remain longer. Smith, in his narrative, published years afterward in England, declares that Arnold urged him and the boatmen to return

to the *Vulture* with their passenger; but the boatmen — two brothers, named Colquhoun, who, both because they were fatigued, and because they thought a secret expedition in the night to a British vessel was wrong, had at the outset refused to be engaged in it till Arnold threatened them with arrest — testified on Smith's trial that they did not see Arnold at all, that Smith only asked if they were willing to go back to the ship, and they replied in the negative. The point is not unimportant. There is not the least evidence that André proposed or wished to return; much still remained to be arranged, and he consented, apparently without hesitation or protest — knowing that he was within the enemy's lines and was not, as he afterward confessed, under the protection of a flag — to go with Arnold, to Smith's house, about three miles distant. Arnold had provided for this contingency by having a horse in readiness, and by requiring Smith, a day or two before, to send his family from home.

To take advantage of treachery on the other side, is held to be justifiable in war. André's first error was when, to gain that advantage, he quitted the protection of his own flag; his second step was irreparable and fatal in entrusting his life without reserve to his accomplice. Perhaps he became conscious of this almost immediately after his arrival at Smith's house, from the windows of which he saw the *Vulture* drop down the river under a heavy cannonade which Colonel James Livingston had ordered to be brought to bear upon her from Teller's Point. She returned, however, in the course of the day, and, as evening approached, André showed great anxiety to be taken on board. But Smith, in whose hands Arnold had left the spy, was now too much alarmed to venture again upon the river, and André had no alternative but to accept the risk of that ride through the country which he had so steadily refused to take, when under the guidance of Sir Henry Clinton, and free to exercise his own common sense. He had placed himself in a position where he could no longer govern his own actions, but must trust to chance.

Arnold was hardly less helpless. To Smith, who had made it his business for a considerable time to gather news from inside the British posts, there was nothing in the case before him to distinguish it from others with which he was in daily familiarity. So far as he knew, here was only an ordinary spy who had voluntarily exposed himself to the dangers which a spy must always encounter. He was quite willing to help him to the usual facilities of avoiding such dangers, but felt under no obligation to expose his own life by venturing again to board the *Vulture*, now so closely watched. Arnold evidently did not dare to exercise absolute authority, for that would quicken

André's dilemma.

the suspicions of Smith, who already knew more than could easily be explained. He therefore left André to Smith's mercy; and that he knew what Smith would do, is evident from the fact that he provided a pass for André to go by land to White Plains, and persuaded him to substitute for his uniform coat a plain one of Smith's, explaining to that gentleman that it was only vanity in this tradesman, John Anderson, that had led him to appear in the garb of a British major. It was determined that he should return to New York by land, and the journey was begun at night. They crossed the river at Verplanck's

Head Quarters Robinsons
New Sep. 22. 1780

I met Mr. John Anderson to pass the
gunner to the White Plains, or below
at the Chms. He being on Father
Burns by my Direction

B. Arnold M. J. S.

Fac-simile of André's pass.

Point, and at Crompond, eight miles farther, learned from Captain Boyd, who was in command of a patrolling party, that a band of Cowboys, — or marauders in British pay, who infested the country above New York — was probably in the neighborhood, and they had better delay their journey till morning.

The road they were on led to Pine's Bridge, over the Croton River, and at this point, in the morning, Smith left André to pursue his

way alone, presuming that he would keep on by the most direct way to White Plains. But André had heard the night before from Captain Boyd that the Cow-boys were on the Tarrytown road, along the east bank of the Hudson, and his wish was, of course, not to avoid but to fall in with some of these people, with whom he would be safe. After parting with Smith, therefore, he left the White Plains road for the road to Sing Sing, and hurried forward to strike the Tarrytown road.

He had reached to within half a mile of Tarrytown when he was stopped by three men — John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams — who were out in pursuit of the Cow-boys. He hoped, he said, incautiously, that they belonged to the "Lower Party;" and on being assured they did, he declared that he was a British officer, abroad on particular business, and must not be detained. They ordered him to dismount, and guessing now that he had committed a blunder, he exclaimed, "My God! I must do anything to get along," and pulled out Arnold's pass to John Anderson. It was too late. When Paulding was asked at Smith's trial why he did not release the prisoner when the pass was shown, he answered, "Because he said before he was a British officer. Had he pulled out General Arnold's pass first, I should have let him go." They led him out of the road, behind some bushes, took off his boots and stockings, and within the stockings found the papers revealing Arnold's treason. He was asked by Williams if he would give his horse, saddle, bridle, watch, and a hundred guineas if they would release him. He offered not only these, but any sum of money or quantity of dry goods they should ask for, to be sent to any place they should name. "No, by God," said Paulding; "if you would give us ten thousand guineas, you should not stir a step."

The nearest military post was North Castle, where Colonel Jameson was in command, and thither the prisoner was taken.

Col. Jameson's blunders.

This officer was utterly bewildered. He was familiar with Arnold's handwriting, and it was impossible to doubt that it lay before him in the pass to "John Anderson" and the documents found in his stockings. There is no intimation anywhere that Jameson supposed it possible that these papers might be forged. He probably believed that here was some deep and wicked plot altogether beyond his power of unravelling; but that the commanding General was a monstrous traitor, was an idea absolutely beyond his comprehension. He was dazed and stunned, and utterly incapable of using what little judgment he possessed. Naturally, he did the most unwise thing he could do; the papers he dispatched to Washington, by a messenger, whose chance of missing was quite as great as of meeting



CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

the Commander-in-chief, then on the road somewhere between Hartford and West Point; but the prisoner he sent under guard to Arnold, with a letter explaining the circumstances of his arrest.

Fortunately, the Major of the regiment, Benjamin Tallmadge, was not destitute of discretion, nor incapable of facing an emergency. He was absent from camp through the day, but when on his return in the evening he heard from Jameson of the arrest of the man called John Anderson, and of the character of the papers found upon him; and that the man had been sent to Arnold with a letter; he comprehended at once that, if here was a revelation of some infamous act of treason, the most effectual step possible for the escape of the traitor and his accomplice had been taken by the Colonel. His own judgment was helped by a conviction of many years' standing, that Arnold was not to be trusted, and by remembering that some days before Arnold had ordered him to send one John Anderson, should he fall into his hands, to headquarters. But it was useless to argue on this point with Jameson. He was persuaded to send a messenger for the return of Anderson: but nothing could induce him to recall the letter to Arnold. The guard was overtaken, and returned in the morning to North Castle. Tallmadge saw by his gait that the prisoner was a soldier, and he was evidently in disguise; he was therefore sent in the course of the day to the headquarters of the regiment at Lower Salem, for safer custody.

André wrote at once to Washington, and announced his true name and condition. "It is to vindicate my fame," he said, "that I speak, and not to solicit security." Nevertheless, the letter was meant as a defence and a solicitation — an anticipation of a probable indictment and a possible verdict. As yet there had been no accusation; he was himself the first to put a construction upon the facts of the case. He had been betrayed, he said, "into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise, within your posts:" — "I was involuntarily an impostor." Thus his standing before the court of public opinion, for that time and for all time to come, was fixed by himself, as an enemy in disguise — in a vile position — as an impostor. Was it true that this was his misfortune rather than his fault? — that he was the victim of treachery, betrayed in spite of himself into a false position?

The case is a remarkable instance of the value of the first word. Eight days afterward, the 2d of October, André was hanged as a spy at Tappan, N. J., — hanged by the sentence of a court-martial consisting of fourteen Major-generals and Brigadier-generals of the American army. As he in his letter to Washington acknowledged, he was captured when in the vile condition of an

André's letter to Washington.

Analysis of the case.

enemy in disguise, and as an impostor ; so they therefore decided that as a spy he deserved to suffer an ignominious death. The falsehood, that he was betrayed, against his will, into that unhappy position, had no weight with the court. Every step he had taken was taken, as we have shown, of his own free will. He left the *Vulture* with alacrity, against the advice of his friends ; he made no effort to return to the ship that night, but went willingly to Smith's house with Arnold to conclude the arrangements for the nefarious business that had brought them together, and for the successful accomplishment of which he was to be made a brigadier-general. That circumstances intervened which prevented his return to the ship the next day, was a contingency of which he took the risk when he left her ; he accepted a disguise ; he hid upon his person the documents which would enable his commander to strike a terrible, if not a fatal, blow at the enemy ; all his acts were the acts of a spy ; he assumed the responsibility they inevitably involved against the judgment of his friends, against the positive orders of his General, against even his own better sense of prudence when he was free to judge with coolness.

Nevertheless, for a hundred years that first statement of his,—that he had been betrayed into a false position,—has been accepted by multitudes of people as true, and in spite of its sophistry and falsehood, has spread a deceptive light over the whole transaction. He was, indeed, the one victim of Arnold's abortive treachery to his country ; but this was not treachery to him ; his betrayal was self-betrayal, when in a moment of rashness and over-confidence he forgot the laws of war, and ventured upon a step which, indeed, if successful, would help himself as well as his King, but if unsuccessful would lead down to death. That he was a gentleman, a man of culture and of many accomplishments, of an agreeable person and captivating manners, and that he talked much of his high sense of honor, should not—as it did not with his judges—cover up, in the least, the true character of the conduct that has made him famous, rather than infamous. The sympathy that regrets the fate of one with many admirable qualities, degenerates into mawkish sentimentality when it remembers only those qualities and forgets the crime which the possession of such qualities does not palliate, and ought to have prevented. His associates and superiors in the British army had no other plea to offer on his behalf than that he acted under a flag of truce. He acknowledged this was not true, and rested on the defence that he was treacherously dealt with. One plea was as false as the other. Had the great crime in which he was an accessory, succeeded, the execrations which the world has always visited upon his principal would, no doubt, have fallen upon him in equal measure.

Because the greater criminal went unpunished and gained his reward, the lesser, whom the other tempted, was first pitied and then made a hero of.

It is a curious instance of how accident may dominate the judgment of men, and how little real merit may have to do with fame. The country that André meant to serve if he was well rewarded, and the country that he meant to ruin, are not yet tired of raising monuments to his memory ; but for that other noble gentleman, Nathan Hale, accomplished, highly educated, young, and attractive, who suffered death in the same way, and technically for the same crime as André's, his countrymen have no honors and no tears, almost no memory. Yet one had accepted an odious task as an imperative duty to his country,



Arnold's Escape.

and purified the deed by the motive of its performance ; the other braved the consequences of a legal crime in the hope of receiving a great professional reward. Hale mounted the scaffold saying only that he wished he had another life to give to his country. André remembered himself as the central figure of a tragic drama, and called upon the bystanders to observe that he met his fate like a brave man, — that, as a more vulgar criminal would have said, he “died game.”

The letter sent to Arnold by Jameson reached him at the Robinson house on the morning of the 25th, while he was at breakfast with two of Washington's aids. A glance at it revealed to him that his treason was discovered and he must fly for his life. Showing no emotion, and arousing no suspicion, he went quietly to his wife in another room, explained to her in a few hurried and ter-

Escape of
Arnold.

rible words the peril in which he stood, and then left her insensible. With the same imperturbability he mounted a horse at the door, rode to the river-side, took boat, and ordered his men to pull down the river, tying his white handkerchief to his cane and raising it as a flag of truce. It was not till the afternoon that he was missed at headquarters or his treason known. Jameson's messenger, with the papers found on André, had missed Washington on the road from Hartford, and had followed him to Robinson's house. Arnold was then safe on board the *Vulture*.

The most earnest efforts were made by General Clinton to save his friend and Adjutant-general from the fate to which he had been condemned by the most deliberate judgment, and after the most careful and dispassionate consideration of all the evidence in the case. As we have already said, his friends had no other serious plea to offer on his behalf than that he had acted under the protection of a flag of truce. It was a mere pretext, which it was impossible to sustain. It would then have been weakness, not mercy, to permit an act to go unpunished which, both by the laws of war and by act of Congress, was a capital crime—a crime, in this case, so monstrous, that had it succeeded, it would have cost thousands of lives, and perhaps the liberty of a whole people.

Clinton could have saved André—as Washington let him know—by the surrender of Arnold; and it is to the honor of the British General that he would not betray his plighted faith to a traitor even to save his friend. The penalty of the crime fell upon the accomplice; the chief criminal was paid his price in a commission as Brigadier-general, and six thousand three hundred and fifteen pounds sterling in money. Pensions of five hundred pounds a year to Mrs. Arnold, and of a hundred pounds a year to each of her children, were also awarded when Arnold took his family to England. His three sons by his first wife—the eldest being only twelve years of age, and the youngest eight years at the time of their father's treason—were given commissions as lieutenants of cavalry in his American Legion, and received half-pay as retired officers to the end of their lives. To all the sons by the second wife were given, besides their pensions, military education and commissions in the British army.¹ England was not ungrateful.

Immediate steps were taken by Washington for the capture of Arnold, nor were they ever pretermitted so long as he remained in the country. Even before André was executed—and partly with the hope that the less guilty of the conspirators might be saved by the capture of the chief—a hazardous enterprise was set on foot for

¹ See *Life of Benedict Arnold*, by Isaac N. Arnold (1880).

this purpose. Sergeant-major John Champe, a young and deserving soldier belonging to Lee's legion, deserted, to the astonishment of all his comrades. He was pursued within the hour, on the road to Elizabethtown Point, and only escaped, when nearly overtaken, by abandoning his horse, rushing into the sea, and swimming off to a British vessel in the bay. The desertion was only feigned, however, and made at Lee's request at the suggestion of Washington. On the Sergeant's arrival in New York he was taken to Arnold, and enrolled in a corps the traitor was already raising, of loyal Americans. After much difficulty and delay, a well-contrived plan was arranged to seize the General in a garden attached to his lodgings, where he was known to walk late at night, and to take him across the river to Hoboken, where a company of dragoons was to be in waiting to receive the prisoner. The arrangements were all carefully laid, and would have been successful probably, had it not happened that on the day of the evening appointed, Arnold changed his lodgings, and the corps to which Champe belonged was ordered on board ship. It was a year and a half before the Sergeant could find an opportunity to rejoin his old corps—then in South Carolina—where he was received with great coldness and distrust by his old comrades till the true explanation of his absence was made known by Major Lee, and his devotion and courage recognized by the Commander-in-chief.

Your Humble Servant
N. Gale

CHAPTER II.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN.

THE EFFECTS OF ARNOLD'S TREASON.—BUFORD DEFEATED ON THE WAXHAW.—CORNWALLIS MISCALCULATES HIS TASK.—ACTIONS AT ROCKY MOUNT AND HANGING ROCK.—PARTISAN WARFARE.—GATES ASSUMES COMMAND IN THE SOUTH.—THE MILITARY SITUATION.—BATTLE OF CAMDEN.—SKIRMISHES.—BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.—GREENE SUPERSEDES GATES.—HIS PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.—BATTLE OF COWPENS.—CONDITION OF GREENE'S ARMY.—HIS RETREAT.—RECEIVES REËNFORCEMENTS.—BATTLE OF GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE.—CORNWALLIS RETREATS TO WILMINGTON.

“WHOM can we trust now?” was Washington's despairing exclamation to Lafayette and General Knox, when he received the papers disclosing Arnold's treason. There was not during the war a gloomier moment. No material harm, indeed, came of that monstrous crime, for it was happily discovered in season to prevent it; but the moral effect of such treachery, both in the army and upon the people, might lead to that despair which is the first step to ruin. Then the news of Arnold's crime followed close upon the news of the utter defeat of Gates by Cornwallis in South Carolina. It might well be feared that the plan of the Ministry in England,—to reduce each State in detail, while all were rendered incapable of a mutual defence,—would succeed, if treason on the one hand, and the lack of military ability on the other, should come to the help of the British General.

The capture of Charleston was not merely the loss of a seaport; it was the loss of the army on which the State relied for its defence, and the opening of a gate through which a hostile army was to enter. There were none to oppose its immediate progress. Col. Abraham Buford, who was sent, with about four hundred Virginia troops, to the relief of Charleston—for which he was too late—was followed on his return by a force of about three hundred cavalry and mounted infantry, under command of Lieutenant-colonel Banastre Tarleton. By a forced march of two days, he overtook the Virginians on the banks of the Waxhaw. A flag of truce, sent on in advance, demanded a surrender, which was

Effects of
Arnold's
treachery.

Buford's
defeat at
Waxhaw

refused. Giving Buford no time to prepare for an attack, the British dragoons immediately fell upon the Americans with irresistible impetuosity. Some few attempted to defend their lives; some threw away their arms and begged for mercy; others fled before a charge which no time was given them to meet. Buford escaped with about one fourth of his men; more than one third of the whole force were killed on the spot, without regard to their prayers for quarter; about fifty were taken away as prisoners, and the rest were left upon the ground so severely wounded that they could not be moved. It was not a battle, but a massacre of men who had ceased, or had not attempted, to fight, — of men who had thrown away their arms and begged that their lives might be spared. From that moment, Tarleton was as much feared for his cruelty as he soon became famous for the celerity of his movements; and the character of the warfare, on both sides, for many months to come, was determined by the slaughter on the Waxhaw.

Georgia was considered as already permanently restored to the Crown. By concentrating troops at Augusta, Ninety-Six, and Camden, Lord Cornwallis hoped to hold South Carolina in subjection, and bring to an end the desperate resistance of her rebellious people, when they should be cut off from all possibility of help, by the conquest of North Carolina. The distribution of troops through the summer was made with reference to a movement northward, as well as for holding the country assumed to be already subdued. But Cornwallis had yet to learn by protracted and painful experience that rebellion was not suppressed by holding a few strong posts, and that, till rebellion was suppressed, the holding of those posts was of small moment. The partisan was almost always certain to be heard of where he was least expected and was most unwelcome, and it was quite as certain that when he was looked for he was not to be found. The nearer Cornwallis approached to North Carolina, the wider was the unconquered country he left behind him; and the garrisons of isolated posts, if they were so fortunate as to be unmolested, or were able to maintain their ground, enforced submission only so far as their guns could carry.

These posts, moreover, were perpetually harassed. Sumter, in conjunction with Major Davie, another of the most active partisans, determined in July to carry two of them, — Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, on opposite sides of the Catawba, and both within thirty miles of Camden. Though neither place was taken, much damage was inflicted upon the enemy. Davie, as he approached Hanging Rock, fell in with a portion of the garrison, out upon a foraging expedition, killed almost the whole of them,

Rocky
Mount and
Hanging
Rock.

Cornwallis's
error

and brought off sixty horses and a hundred muskets and rifles, — booty of no small value to men who needed always, from their method of warfare, to be well mounted, with whom arms were so scarce that saws were made into swords, and whose fire-arms were only those which each man brought from his own home. At Rocky Mount, Sumter made three successive assaults, and his want of success in carrying the place was due rather to the demoralization of his own militia, — who scattered to rifle that portion of the hostile camp they had carried, — than to the obstinate defence by the British.

But the activity shown by movements of this character was of much more moment in their influence upon the people than the capture of a post, or the cutting off of a detachment. The timid were strengthened, the lukewarm encouraged, the brave made more determined, and the Tories led to doubt if their choice of sides had been wise. One Lieutenant-colonel Lisle, in command of a battalion of loyalist militia — which had been enrolled, after the fall of

Partisan
warfare.

*I am, Sir, your
excellency's Most obed^t & Able Serv^t.
M^o. Sumter*

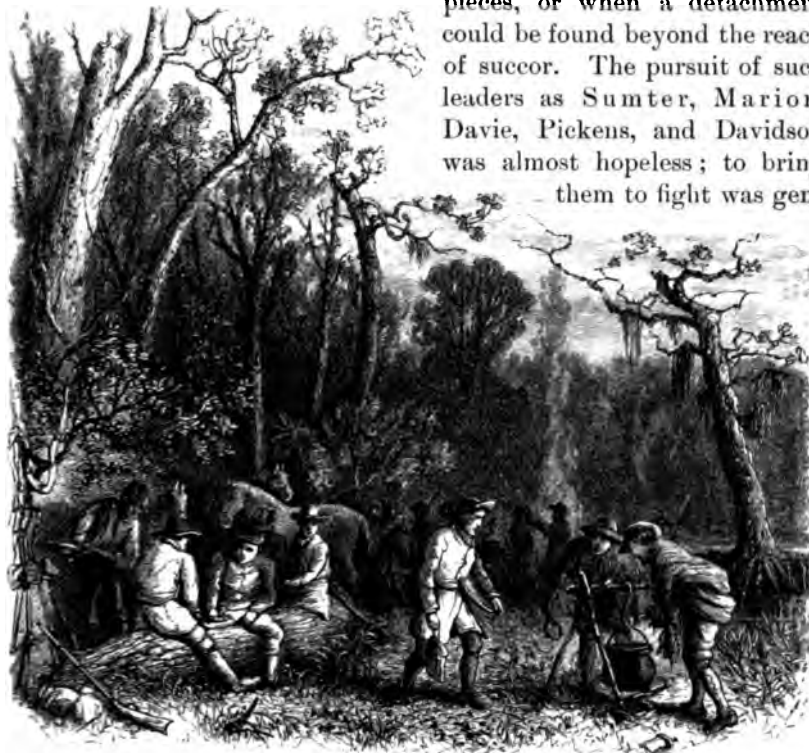
Signature of Sumter.

Charleston, in the districts on the Ennoree and Tiger rivers — marched off when his men were thoroughly armed and equipped, and put them under the rebel Colonel Neale, who led them to reënforce Sumter. It was “an instance of treachery,” Tarleton said, “which ruined all confidence between the regulars and the militia.” Nor was it the only instance of “treachery” of this kind. Major McArthur, in command at Camden, sent away a hundred of his men to go into hospital under escort of a body of supposed loyalists; when far enough from camp to do so with impunity, they secured the sick and their own officers as prisoners, and marched them off into North Carolina. The bitterness of the warfare between the loyalists and the rebels was relieved by those occasional evidences that patriotism was a deeper feeling than the assumed allegiance to the King.

Cornwallis was not long in learning that even with his army of nearly seven thousand men, most of them trained soldiers, the contest must be a hard, if not a hopeless one, in such perfectly unscientific warfare with men fighting for their homes; — with bodies of troops

which could dissolve in a night into individual, quiet husbandmen, or, if holding together, would escape all search by hiding in forests and swamps; who would appear in companies of fifty or a thousand, as the exigency of the moment required, when least expected and least prepared for; whose vigilance was sure to observe when a post was weakest, when a foraging party was off its guard and could be cut to

pieces, or when a detachment could be found beyond the reach of succor. The pursuit of such leaders as Sumter, Marion, Davie, Pickens, and Davidson was almost hopeless; to bring them to fight was gen-



Marion in Camp.


erally impossible, except on their own terms, and in positions of their own choosing.¹ Probably, the British General began already to feel as he wrote a few months later to General Phillips, in Virginia — “I am quite tired of marching about the country in quest of adventures.” He knew, at any rate, that the devoted patriotism of the

¹ Lieutenant-colonel Lee relates in his *Memoirs* that when sent by General Greene to make a junction with Marion, — who was sometimes in North Carolina, sometimes in South Carolina, sometimes concealed in the swamps of the Pedee, sometimes in those of the Black River, but nobody ever knew exactly where, — he only found that active partisan by accidentally falling in with a small detachment of his men; and even they were compelled to search some hours before they reached the camp of their General, hidden in the swamps of the Pedee.

people could never be overcome so long as they were animated by the hope that aid could reach them from the North, and there was any thing left for them to fight for.

When, therefore, it was known that the Baron de Kalb was on the march southward with the Maryland and Delaware troops of the line, and that these were to be joined by bodies of militia from Virginia and North Carolina, under Stevens and Caswell, Cornwallis determined to intercept their progress. At Hillsborough, N. C., General Gates, who had been appointed by Congress to conduct the campaign, overtook and superseded De Kalb. Gates took the shortest route to meet the enemy, unfortunately through a sterile and impoverished country, where forage was scarce, and where his men were compelled to rely largely upon green maize and unripe fruit for their subsistence. Unfortunately, also, in his haste to get forward, he neglected, or refused, to take measures for filling up the cavalry regiments of Colonels Washington and White — the arm of the service which, if not more important than any other,

was absolutely indispensable in the mode of warfare made necessary by the character of the country and of the inhabitants. By his first mistake Gates diminished



Signature of Marion.

his force by sickness, and led into action, when the time came, a body of men enfeebled from want of sufficient food; by the second, he was compelled to accept defeat when efficient cavalry might have turned disaster into success.

De Kalb led his line forward toward Camden by a more circuitous route, but through a fertile region, and his men, therefore, were in a better condition to face the enemy. Lord Rawdon, who was in command at Camden, went out to meet Gates about fifteen miles from the town. The American army numbered about three thousand men, mainly raw recruits, ill-clothed, ill-fed, and undisciplined. The British force, though fewer in numbers, were in good condition, and almost all veteran troops. Under such circumstances, it would have been wiser on the part of the American General to avoid the enemy; even had the disparity in effective force not existed, there was too much depending upon the issue of a general battle to justify a resort to it, if it could be avoided, unless the result could be anticipated with almost absolute certainty. Gates does not

The military situation.

seem, till it was too late to recede, to have admitted a doubt of a favorable result. He sent Marion, who had joined him, into South Carolina on a reconnoissance, ordering him, it is said, to destroy all the bridges and boats and scows in his way, that the British might have no means of escape in their coming flight to Charleston.¹

The reasons which should have led the American commander to avoid a general battle were precisely the reasons which led Cornwallis to seek it. The enthusiasm of rebellion, encouraged by the arrival of an army from the North, was already at its height in both the Carolinas. The difficulties in his way would not be greatly increased by a reverse, and a reverse, by no means irreparable, was all that could happen to him. But if, on the other hand, he could achieve a victory, which, with his superiority in artillery, in cavalry, and in the military character of his army, he might reasonably expect, that victory would be, not merely a reverse, but a terrible disaster to the enemy; it would strike with paralysis the brave and devoted people who would face poverty, starvation, and death so long as hope was left them, and would stir their opponents to fresh enthusiasm, courage, and hostility. For four days the armies lay encamped on the opposite banks of Lynch's Creek, each waiting for the other to move. During this time Gates, in his over-confidence of his strength, detached four hundred men from his little army to intercept a convoy at a ferry on the Wateree, near Camden. Then moving on the right of Rawdon, that General fell back and was followed by Gates with the purpose of bringing him to battle. Had Gates instead moved with more celerity up the Creek by a forced march, he could, Tarleton asserts in his "Memoirs," have pushed Lord Rawdon's flank, reached Camden before him, and captured that important magazine of British stores.

On the 13th of August, Cornwallis arrived and took command of the army. He was as anxious as Gates to fight, and with far better reason. On the night of the 15th, both armies moved, Battle of Camden. each intending to surprise the other. The American vanguard was led by Colonel Armand, a brave French officer, whose command of less than a hundred men, most of them deserters, broke and fled at the first onslaught, and were pursued by the enemy. Some confusion followed in the front division; but Colonel Potterfield and Major Armstrong, with the Virginia and North Carolina militia, came up from both flanks and checked the advance. Both armies now waited for daylight.

Gates immediately called a council of war. He knew from prisoners that the army in front was commanded by Cornwallis in person,

¹ Simms's *Life of Marion*.

and he had learned the day before, for the first time, from the returns of his Generals, that his whole force was only about three thousand men. Less than half of these were regulars. Perhaps now he felt the need of advice, and doubted the correctness of his own judgment. "Has the General given you orders to retreat the army?" — asked the Baron de Kalb, when called to the council by the Adjutant-general. But the council, when convened, had no advice to give. General Stevens, of the Virginia militia, said it was too late to retreat. This was acquiesced in only by silence. "Then we must fight," replied Gates. "Gentlemen, please to take your posts."

In the line of battle that was soon formed, Cornwallis carefully observed the disposition of the opposite army, and took advantage of it. To the untried militia he opposed his best troops, under his best officer, Colonel Webster. These opened the battle with a spirited charge, before which the Virginia militia broke, and after firing a single shot, threw away their arms and fled. The contagion of a senseless panic seized upon the North Carolina militia, and they also scattered in every direction. The Generals of these two brigades, Stevens and Caswell, assisted by Gates, made vain efforts to reassure and rally them; but the whole left wing fled almost without a blow. On the right the Continentals under De Kalb and Gist, and a North Carolina regiment under Dixon, held their ground with great firmness and coolness and pushed the enemy before them, De Kalb, at one point, breaking their line by a furious charge with the bayonet. But the whole American line was forced to give way, when Webster, released by the easy and rapid rout of the left wing, enabled Cornwallis to concentrate his whole force on the right. More than a third of the Continentals were killed and wounded, and the rest sought safety in the woods and swamps. De Kalb, at the head of his Marylanders, fell under eleven wounds, was stripped of his clothing by the soldiers, and was rescued from further indignity by the fortunate appearance of Cornwallis. He died three days afterward.

Gates's army, as an organized force, was annihilated. The militia — as their custom often was in the southern campaigns when they deemed their services no longer needed, or when they became irksome for any reason — generally dispersed to their homes. The General himself, before the day was over, was sixty miles from the field of battle; for several following days scattered remnants of his command reached Charlotte and other towns, and these he proceeded to gather together as a nucleus for a new army, making his headquarters at Hillsborough, one hundred and eighty miles from the field of his overwhelming defeat.

Two days after that defeat, another, though smaller misfortune, befell the American arms. Sumter, to whom Gates had sent a reënforcement to enable him to intercept a British ^{Sumter surprised} convoy from Charleston, had succeeded in that enterprise, but was taken off his guard by Tarleton. The baggage train Sumter had cap-



De Kalb wounded.

tured was recovered, and so complete was the dispersion of his force of eight hundred men, that only three hundred could be mustered when the fight was over.

Early in September, Cornwallis was again in motion, confident that North Carolina would now be an easy conquest before Con- ^{Skirmish at Wahab's.}gress could send another army to dispute his progress. The main body advanced from the Waxhaw Settlement toward Charlotte, Tarleton moving through the country on the left, and Lieutenant-colonel Ferguson keeping still nearer to the frontier with a corps of

provincial troops. The partisan leaders, notwithstanding the late reverses, had lost none of their spirit and activity; before Cornwallis moved, Colonel Davie had surprised a party of loyalists and of the British Legion at a place called Wahab's plantation, had put them to flight, and captured about a hundred horses, with their equipments, and a hundred and twenty stands of arms.

It was Tarleton's and Ferguson's business to find and disperse these troublesome parties of patriots, while Ferguson was also to add to his own numbers by reassuring and rallying the loyalists. At Gilbert-town he learned that a force of militia in the southern part of the State, under Colonel Clarke, had attacked Augusta, Georgia, where Lieutenant-colonel Browne was in command; that he and the garrison had been reduced to extremity, and the place was on the point of being taken, when Clarke was compelled to withdraw by the appearance of a body of loyalists. Ferguson received orders from Cornwallis to intercept Clarke on his retreat. He had hardly left Gilbert-town, in obedience to this order, when a large body of riflemen from Kentucky and North Carolina arrived, on their way to Augusta to the assistance of Clarke. As Ferguson had gone in pursuit of Clarke, so fifteen hundred of these hardy mountaineers, each armed with his own rifle, each mounted upon his own horse, started in pursuit of Ferguson.

They overtook him on the 8th of October, at King's Mountain, near the boundary-line between North and South Carolina, and west of the Catawba River, — a hill of moderate elevation covered with wood. Ferguson had encamped on the summit. The Americans approached in three divisions, led respectively by Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, and Campbell, ascending the hill at different points. Cleveland first reached the summit, and his mountain riflemen first opened fire from behind the trees. Ferguson charged upon them furiously with the bayonet and pushed them down the hill. Then from another quarter came Shelby, who poured volley after volley into Ferguson's flank or rear. Another bayonet charge met this second assault, and Shelby fell back. Campbell gained the top of the hill as Shelby's men retired, and for a third time Ferguson was compelled to meet and to repulse a fresh assailant. Even when the three columns were united and advanced upon him in one body, he held his ground against superior numbers, with indomitable courage. The fight lasted for almost an hour, and was only brought to an end by the death of Ferguson. His officers and men surrendered when no longer inspired by his brave words and brave example. The loss of the British was three hundred killed and wounded; eight hundred prisoners were taken, and double that number of stands of

Battle of
King's
Mountain.

arms, intended for the loyalists, who would, it was hoped, join the corps as it advanced through the country. The force was chiefly loyal militia, and some of the most obnoxious of them were hanged by their captors — an indefensible and barbarous retaliation ; but the example had been set them by Cornwallis, who had, not long before, issued a proclamation to the rebellious people, commanding them to return to their allegiance, and, for the encouragement of the rest, had put to death some of those whose conduct was the most determined, and whose influence was most to be dreaded.

By Ferguson's defeat, the effective fighting force under Cornwallis was reduced one fourth, and his farther advance into North Carolina checked for the present. While waiting for a reënforcement under



A Woman Reconnoitering.

General Leslie — who had left New York for the South — the army was not idle. Its most energetic officers were occupied in attempts to meet, under favorable circumstances, with Sumter or Marion, or some other of the partisan leaders who, from the Black River to the Broad, now here now there, coming down from the mountains, or up from the swamps, kept up perpetual hostilities against the enemy, foreign and domestic, and fanned into perpetual flame the sacred fires of rebellion. Sumter, in an encounter with Tarleton at Blackstock Hill on the Tiger River — of whose coming Sumter was warned by a country-woman, who watched the approach of the enemy from the edge of a wood, and then hastened through a by-

Skirmish at
Blackstock.

way to Sumter's camp with the information — was grievously wounded, and his men, deprived of their favorite commander, dispersed for a time to their homes. And this was almost the sole advantage that Cornwallis gained during the autumn before Greene arrived to take command of the remnant of the army which Gates for three months had been diligently engaged in recruiting and reorganizing.

Greene arrived at Charlotte, North Carolina, on the 2d of December. "I think I am giving you a general," Washington said to a member of Congress; "but what can a general do without men, without arms, without clothing, without stores, without provisions?" A general, however, was all that could be spared, at that moment, to strengthen the southern army; even as it was, Congress wanted means to feed and clothe it, and Greene reported that it "may literally be said to be naked." But a good general was worth many battalions.

Greene's plan of a campaign was the reverse of that which Gates had acted upon. It was, to avoid as long as possible any general battle, but to hinder the enemy at every step of his progress: to annoy, harass, perplex, disgust, and exasperate him; to defeat him in detail, and to convince him, at length, of the hopelessness of his labor.

On this plan he acted at once. The army moved into South Carolina in two bodies, the larger under the personal direction of the General commanding, and the other under General Morgan. Morgan entered upon the country between the Catawba and Black rivers, as far as the Pacolet. Greene moved down the Pedee till he was about seventy miles east of Cornwallis at Winnsborough. General Leslie had arrived at Charleston, and was ordered to march at once, with a thousand men, to Camden; but when Cornwallis was apprised of Greene's movement, and that the enemy was within from fifty to seventy miles on both his flanks, his attention was necessarily turned to this new condition of affairs, and he again abandoned his purpose of advancing immediately into North Carolina.

Tarleton was at once detached in pursuit of Morgan, who, it was feared, threatened the whole line of posts in the rear of the British army, including Ninety-Six and Augusta. About the same time, Cornwallis moved from Winnsborough to intercept Morgan, in case he should retreat before Tarleton, and attempt to cross Broad River to rejoin Greene. Cornwallis paused, however, after marching a few miles, to wait for Leslie, whom he ordered to join him with all possible haste; for it suddenly occurred to him that, while he was in pursuit of Morgan, Greene might take advantage of that movement to intercept Leslie. The wisdom of the disposition of his forces by the American General was already apparent.

Tarleton was on the banks of the Pacolet on the 15th (January, 1781). Morgan, thoroughly informed of the movements of both his antagonists, fell back to a point about six miles from Broad River, called the Cowpens, on the farm of a grazier named Hannah. Here he determined to abide the issue of battle. It was a decision of exceeding boldness, but was not a rash one; for to attempt to cross the river while Tarleton was in hot pursuit, — and Tarleton was never so much to be dreaded as when his foe was in flight before him, or was taken by surprise, — with Cornwallis possibly on the other side to dispute the passage, would be so hazardous an undertaking that the militia would disperse, and leave the regular troops to almost certain destruction. But here Morgan could choose his own ground; he had only one antagonist to contend with, and that not so much his superior in numbers and in arms as to make the contest hopelessly unequal; and there was just enough of the desperate in the situation to arouse his men to the highest point of enthusiasm, if bravely led. He determined, therefore, to fight; and it was the determination, not only of a brave man, but of an able soldier.



Gen. Daniel Morgan.

The ground chosen by Morgan was a field of open woods, in which cavalry could manœuvre easily, extending in length about five hundred yards. From the front, the ground ascended with a gradual slope for three hundred yards to the highest point in the field; then gently falling off, like a rolling prairie, for another hundred yards, rose again to a second elevation. On the first eminence were posted about four hundred men, under Lieutenant-colonel Howard, — his own battalion of nearly three hundred Maryland regulars, two companies of Virginia militia, but composed of veterans, and two of Georgia riflemen. This was the main body, on which Morgan chiefly relied to bear the brunt of the battle, from its numbers, discipline, and position. Directly in its front, at a distance of a hundred and fifty yards, was the first line, composed of Colonel Pickens's militia of nearly three hundred men, with skirmishers thrown out in front.

Colonel Washington's famous cavalry, and a corps of mounted infantry, numbering altogether a hundred and twenty men, were placed as a reserve on the second eminence ; and behind them were picketed the horses of the militia, ready for whatever use the issue should determine — whether pursuit or flight. On the field were about eight hundred and fifty men, placed with great military skill and in the most imposing order ; when Tarleton, in the early morning, came in sight of them, he reckoned that about two thousand men confronted him.

Morgan rode along his lines in the hush of expectation of the coming struggle, encouraging each separate corps with such stirring words as would best arouse their local pride and personal courage. The skirmishers he told to scatter and fight from tree to tree, and check the enemy's advance by their good marksmanship. Pickens's first line of militia he exhorted to stand firm, and when the British were within fifty yards, to give them twice a cool and well-directed fire, and then fall back in good order to the left of the main body ; a panic, he told them, would insure their destruction ; if they fought with manly courage, as they had often done before, victory was sure to follow. To the veterans under Howard he explained his plan of battle, prepared them for the falling back of the militia upon their line, directed them to stand firm and fire low, and, if they were forced to retire, to move leisurely and in order to the second eminence, to be strengthened by the cavalry.

The enemy came on, — a force of a thousand men, most of them of the best troops in the British army, — veteran soldiers, accustomed to victory, and strengthened by two pieces of artillery. When they had dislodged the skirmishers from behind their trees, they rushed with a shout upon Pickens's militia, who received them with a deadly fire, repulsed Tarleton's dragoons, emptying fifteen of their saddles, and only yielded their ground at the point of the bayonet and before the fire of the two pieces of artillery on their flanks. When their line was once broken, some of them, as the inveterate habit of the undisciplined militia was, fled for safety to their horses, in the extreme rear, each to take care of himself ; but most of them fell back without panic upon Howard's left.

The enemy advanced now upon the second line with a vigorous charge, which was met so steadily that Tarleton ordered up his reserve. With this reënforcement, the charge was renewed, falling most heavily upon Howard's right flank. To meet the danger of this flank attack, the order to change front was given to the right company, but was misunderstood : the company, instead of wheeling to the right to repel a flank movement, faced about and marched toward the

rear. The whole line, supposing that to be the order, followed their example. The movement was made, however, with the precision and coolness of men upon parade. "Men were not beaten, who retreated in that order," Howard said to Morgan, who rode up rapidly from the left where he had re-formed Pickens's militia and ordered an advance. He saw at a glance that Howard was right, and that the misunderstanding of the order could be turned into an advantage.

Pickens's men had moved forward again and opened fire on the British right. Washington with his horse charged upon that wing at the same moment, with such impetuosity that he broke through their lines, then wheeled, and charged again upon their rear, and scattered them to the right and left. The pursuit of the flying cavalry had brought him in the rear of the advancing British left, which, supposing Howard to be in retreat, was about to fall upon him, and end the battle, as Tarleton thought, by pushing the Americans into a disastrous flight. But as Washington reached the British rear he sent word to Morgan, "They are coming on like a mob; give them a fire, and I will charge on them." At the instant Morgan ordered Howard's line to halt and wheel, shouting, "Face about boys! give them one fire, and the victory is ours!" The order was promptly obeyed; the enemy, within thirty or forty yards, recoiled before the steady fire with which they were met, and the bayonet charge which followed it up. Washington fell upon their rear, and the rout was utter. Some threw away their arms and fled; others threw them down and, kneeling, prayed for quarter. "Tarleton's quarter!" rang along the line, and it was with much difficulty that the officers withheld the men, who recalled Tarleton's bloody fields, from turning the victory into a massacre.

In the excitement of pursuit, Washington at one time had advanced some distance ahead of his troops, when he was charged upon by three British officers. Sergeant-major Perry came up just in time to parry the blow and disable the sword-arm of one of them as he swung his sabre to cut down Washington; another on the other side was pressing him hard, when a young trumpeter named Collins, too small to wield a sword, brought the assailant down with a pistol-shot; the sword-thrust of a third, supposed to be Tarleton, was parried by Washington himself; but he received a pistol-shot in the knee from the officer as he retired from the contest.

Tarleton calls the result of the battle a "decisive rout." When he fled precipitately with a handful of men, he left behind him, out of his whole force of a thousand men, in the hands of the enemy, six hundred prisoners, one hundred dead upon the field, his two guns,

Rescue of
Colonel
Washington.

his colors, eight hundred muskets, a hundred dragoon horses, and a large part of his baggage-train. It is not the least remarkable thing in this remarkable battle, that the casualties on the side of the Americans were only twelve killed and sixty wounded.

It is a striking evidence of the forlorn condition of the American arms at the beginning of the last year of the war, that little could be done to take advantage of so brilliant a victory. It

Condition of
Greene's
army.

had cost Cornwallis a fourth of his army, and Tarleton complains that his chief lost, by hesitation and delay, the opportunity to repair that misfortune. But Greene was in no condition to avail himself of Morgan's achievement. His army was destitute of almost everything; many of his men had absolutely no



Encounter between Tarleton and Colonel Washington.

clothing except a strip of cloth around the loins, — and this in the winter, though it was the winter of the Carolinas. His force was largely militia, who came and went as their own inclination or interest dictated, and could not be relied upon for any continuous service. Any immediate aid in men or supplies from the North was out of the question, for Brigadier-general Arnold had sailed from New York for the invasion of Virginia, in the latter part of December, with sixteen hundred men. How the developments of the next few months were to make this movement of the great traitor the first of a series of events which should bring about the final catastrophe, was not then foreseen. But it was apparent enough that to save the

more Southern States, should Virginia be lost, would be hopeless ; to save Virginia, therefore, was now the primary object of the Commander-in-chief. Greene must be left to take care of himself.

Greene's plan of defence was still as imperative as ever — to avoid a general battle, to lead the enemy into a protracted pursuit, and to harass his march. Morgan retreated with great deliberation and coolness before Cornwallis, to rejoin the main army. Greene fell back toward Salisbury, where he proposed that several bodies of militia should unite with him. It was desirable to keep Cornwallis on the west side of the Catawba as long as possible ; but he crossed at McGowan's Ford, where General Davidson, with three hundred North Carolina militia, was posted to dispute the passage. The river at this point was five hundred yards in width, the current rapid and waist-deep ; but a British detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Hall, crossed in the darkness on the 1st of February, far enough below the usual ford to be out of the reach of Davidson's fire till they were safely over. In the fight that followed, both the commanders were killed.

Fight at
McGowan's
Ford.

The road to Salisbury was now open to Cornwallis, and pursuit was renewed. Greene pushed on to Guilford, putting the Yadkin between him and the enemy, and there waited till Cornwallis crossed at the upper fords. The next river was the Dan, then swollen with freshets, and, Cornwallis hoped, impassable. But Greene still eluded him, having provided boats for such an emergency, and passed over into Halifax County, Virginia. Here he had leisure to rest his wearied troops, and to wait for reënforcements of militia ; for Cornwallis, baffled and vexed with his fruitless efforts to overtake him, retired to Hillsborough and contented himself for the present with issuing a proclamation, announcing that as he had driven the enemy out of the State, the loyal people of North Carolina might now safely return to their allegiance.

Greene's re-
treat.

There were more Tories than Whigs in North Carolina, and Greene was confronted with a new danger. Should he not return to the State, the royal rule might be completely restored by the encouragement given to the loyalists by his apparent discomfiture, and by the submission of the patriots who would believe themselves abandoned. The loss of North Carolina was the loss also of South Carolina and Georgia. The time had come, therefore, for a change of policy, and to risk a temporary defeat by a general battle. Recrossing the Dan, he moved back upon Guilford, but baffling and eluding Cornwallis — who again started in pursuit — as before, till he was confident enough in his own strength, and in a field of his own choosing, to try the issue of a fight.

The American army had been reënforced with Virginia and Carolina militia to a total of forty-three hundred men ; but of this force nearly three quarters were raw recruits. Cornwallis commanded twenty-four hundred veteran troops, thoroughly equipped and disciplined, used to fighting, and accustomed to success. General Morgan, whom ill-health had compelled to retire, wrote to General Greene in February : " I expect Lord Cornwallis will push you until you are obliged to fight him. . . . You 'll have, from what I see, a great number of militia. If they fight, you 'll beat Cornwallis ; if not, he 'll beat you, and perhaps cut your regulars to pieces."

The Americans reënforced.

Battle of Guilford Court-house.

On the 15th of March, Greene, choosing his ground near Guilford Court-house, and forming his line of battle, awaited the enemy. His army was deployed in three lines, — the first, made up of North Carolina militia, under Generals Butler and Eaton ; the second, of Virginia militia, under Stevens and Lawson ; the third, entirely of regulars. The lines were about three hundred yards apart, and the flanks of the militia were supported by Washington's cavalry, the legion of Lee, and Campbell's riflemen. Gen. Isaac Huger commanded the Virginia brigade on the right wing, Col. Otho Williams that from Maryland, on the left. In front, the ground was open, bordered by trees and fences, behind which the first line was sheltered ; thence there was a gradual ascent of thickly-wooded land for about half a mile to Guilford Court-house. It was a well-chosen battle-field ; every advantage of ground was made available ; the men, who were well commanded, were placed with great skill, and they were sufficient in numbers ; but Greene's fatal weakness was the want of tried soldiers.

When the British army advanced in a steady, unbroken line, the North Carolina militia — nearly equal in numbers — delivered a scattering fire from their secure position behind the trees and fences, and then fled precipitately, throwing away their arms and knapsacks. Some sought safety in the thick woods behind Campbell's riflemen ; the rest tumbled back upon the second line, which received them quietly, and, opening its ranks, passed them to the rear. This second line of Virginia militia bravely held their ground till the British charged with the bayonet, when they also broke and took refuge in the woods or behind the third line of regulars. The brunt of the battle now fell upon this portion of Greene's force, numbering only, with the cavalry, between sixteen and seventeen hundred men, to Cornwallis's twenty-four hundred.

Lieutenant-colonel Webster, on the British left, pushed on over the ground from which he had driven the Virginia militia, and struck

the First Regiment of Maryland Continentals, under Colonel Gunby. The Marylanders met the attack with a steady and destructive fire, before which Webster recoiled, and then, charging with the bayonet, compelled him to retreat across a ravine to a hill on the other side, where he waited for assistance. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, with the first battalion of the Guards, followed by other corps, hurried forward at Webster's discomfiture, and attacked the Second Maryland Regiment, on the left of the First, which at that moment was hidden from sight in the woods. The Second Regiment fled, pursued by Stuart; but Lieutenant-colonel Howard, Gunby being dismounted, wheeled and led the First Regiment in a vigorous bayonet charge upon Stuart's battalion, while Washington, as Stuart wavered, charged with his cavalry. Stuart encountered personally Captain John Smith, of the Maryland regiment, and was killed; an expert swordsman of Washington's cavalry cut down thirteen of the enemy before they yielded.



Gen. Nathanael Greene.

A repulse at this point and at that moment was so critical, that Cornwallis ordered artillery to open upon the Americans, regardless of the fact that his guards were exposed to the same fire. Two other British regiments were advanced. Colonel Webster recrossed the ravine, over which the First Maryland had driven him, to reëngage in the fight. Tarleton, with his horse, and the Second Battalion of Guards, came in from the other wing, where they were less needed, concentrating at this spot, near the Court-house, a force with which Greene saw it was useless to contend, as any possible advantage in victory could not compensate for certain loss. What had become of Lee's legion and Campbell's riflemen, who were separated from the main body when the North Carolina militia fled in a panic, and left the ground they should have held to be occupied by the enemy, the commanding General did not at that moment know. Had he known that they had fought their way successfully, with great damage to the enemy, and were already at hand near the Court-house, Greene might

have continued the battle. As it was, with nearly the whole weight of Cornwallis's force bearing upon a portion of his own, he ^{Greene's} ordered a retreat. But it was a retreat, not a flight. The army fell back in good order for about twelve miles, to Troublesome Creek, upon ground selected to be used in case of a reverse.

How well fought a field it was, is plain from the report of casualties. About thirteen hundred of the Americans were returned as dead, wounded, or missing, though probably a thousand of these were only missing militiamen who had run, after shutting their eyes and firing a shot, and opened them again only to find the way home. The loss of Cornwallis was nearly a fourth of his army, or about five hundred and fifty killed and wounded. Some of his most valuable and distinguished officers were on this list, among them Lieutenant-colonel Webster, who was mortally wounded. Greene wrote, before the day was over: "The enemy gained his cause, but is ruined by the success of it." Fox said in the House of Commons, when the news reached England: "Another such victory would ruin the British army." The ruin came without the victory.

Greene was prepared for and expected an attack the next day. Cornwallis wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, that the fatigue of his troops made it impossible for him to continue the pursuit of the enemy, or again to offer battle. "I thought it was time," he adds, "to look for some place of rest and refreshment." But there was a thought beneath this. He had already determined to abandon the Carolinas, where he was "tired of marching about in search of adventures." When he had reached his place of rest, he wrote: "If we mean an offensive war in America, we must abandon New York, and bring our whole force into Virginia. . . . If our plan is defensive, let us quit the Carolinas (which cannot be held defensively while Virginia can be so easily armed against us) and stick to our salt pork at New York, sending now and then a detachment to steal tobacco, etc." Two days after the battle of Guilford Court-house, he was on the march for Wilmington. When Greene discovered his purpose, he started in hot pursuit; but he could no more overtake Cornwallis than Cornwallis had been able to overtake him.

Cornwallis
retreats to
Wilmington.



New York at the time of the Revolution.

CHAPTER III.

END OF MILITARY OPERATIONS.

ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO VIRGINIA. — MUTINY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE. — ITS CAUSE. — LAFAYETTE SENT SOUTHWARD. — CORNWALLIS'S PLANS. — DISAPPROVED OF BY CLINTON. — LAFAYETTE ADVANCES FROM MARYLAND. — JOINED BY WAYNE AND STEUBEN. — HIS CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA. — CORNWALLIS AT WILLIAMSBURG. — FIGHT AT JAMES ISLAND. — GREENE'S CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — BATTLE OF HOBKIRK'S HILL. — RAWDON ABANDONS CAMDEN. — FORTS MOTTE AND GRANBY, ORANGEBURG AND AUGUSTA, TAKEN BY GREENE. — SIEGE OF NINETY-SIX. — ABANDONED BY THE BRITISH. — HANGING OF COLONEL HAYNE. — BATTLE OF EUTAW SPRINGS. — GREENE'S GENERALSHIP. — MOVEMENT OF THE ALLIED ARMIES. — OPERATIONS AGAINST NEW YORK ISLAND. — THEY MARCH SOUTHWARD — ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO NEW LONDON. — ARRIVAL OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS FROM THE WEST INDIES. — ALLIED ARMIES IN VIRGINIA. — CORNWALLIS BESIEGED AT YORKTOWN. — HIS SURRENDER.

"To steal tobacco, etc.," was the object of Arnold's expedition to Virginia, rather than, by a well-conceived plan, to subjugate the State and bring back the people to their allegiance to the King. No better instrument could be chosen for such a work, — no man so ready as the unhappy traitor to harass and to ravage any part of the country against which his rage glowed so fiercely, because his abortive attempt to ruin it had brought him, on all sides, hatred, contempt, and imperishable infamy. Clinton knew how well

Arnold's expedition to Virginia.

he could depend upon the renegade General as a marauder ; but never after that fatal morning when he fled to the British man-of-war *Vulture*, had Arnold shown any of those soldierly qualities which had once distinguished him. The opportunity, indeed, for any splendid achievement was lost to him ; but fear would have held him back even had opportunity been given. What, he anxiously asked of a prisoner, taken in this raid into Virginia, would be done with him if captured ? “ Why, sir,” was the reply, “ if I must answer your question, you must excuse my telling you the plain truth ; if my countrymen should catch you, I believe they would cut off that lame leg, which was wounded in the cause of freedom and virtue, and bury it with the honors of war, and afterwards hang the remainder of your body in gibbets.” He must have known how anxious Washington was for his capture, and fear never forsook him. He was no longer the brave and dashing soldier ; what little of courage there was left in him could only face small dangers ; he saw in every bush, not merely an officer, but a hangman.

Virginia was singularly, perhaps unavoidably, unprepared for an invasion. Arnold landed at Westover, on James River, and marched thence, at the head of nine hundred men, to Richmond, almost without sign of opposition. Four hundred of his troops were detached, under Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, to move upon Westham. Military stores, private property, and many of the public archives were destroyed at Richmond ; at Westham, besides much else, a powder-mill and the only cannon foundry in the State. On the return of the troops down the James, they were annoyed by a body of militia, under Baron Steuben, which had been hastily called out ; but Arnold reached Portsmouth, where he intended to establish a post, having inflicted immense damage upon the enemy, especially upon private citizens, with a loss to his own force of only half a dozen men.

The movement was one of serious import, and demanded the immediate attention of Congress and of the Commander-in-chief. And it happened at a moment when they were sorely perplexed by an unlooked-for event in the Northern army, which threatened even more serious consequences. The whole Pennsylvania line, consisting of thirteen hundred men, mutinied, and proclaimed their determination to return to their homes. The authority of their officers was defied, some of whom were dangerously wounded, and one, Captain Billing, was killed. Several of the mutineers were also killed in this first outbreak of the insurrection ; but when a bayonet was presented at the breast of Wayne, that brave General, who did not know what fear was, was compelled to yield to save his own life and the lives of his officers. The regiments then, under the com-

Mutiny of
the Pennsylv-
ania line.

mand of their sergeants, marched off for Princeton, taking with them six field-pieces.

A successful revolt might become contagious, for some of the grievances of these men — the want of pay, the want of food, and the want of clothing — were the grievances of the whole army. An attempt to compel their return to duty by leading troops against them, might prove a dangerous experiment, not merely because there was a community of suffering in the whole army, but because that of which the



Mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line.

Pennsylvania troops specially complained entitled them to a good deal of sympathy. There had been either fraud or blundering at the time of their enlistment, and it was this injustice, rather than the ordinary hardships of army life, which all bore alike, that had led, at last, to mutiny.

The law of Congress under which they were enlisted provided that the term of service should be either for three years or for the war — one or the other. The ambiguity of its terms either misled or was taken advantage of. Most of the men declared that

Its cause.

they had rightfully understood the text of the statute, and having enlisted, not for the war, but for three years only, they were now entitled to their discharge. It was claimed, on the other hand, that the enlistment was for three years in any event, and for the war, should it extend beyond that period.

The question became, therefore, one of legal interpretation, and was wisely left to the civil authorities. In the settlement, other matters were taken into consideration, and arrearages of pay and a supply of clothing were provided for. That it was no want of patriotism, but a sense of gross wrong, in addition to absolute physical suffering, that led those men to resort to so desperate a measure as revolt, they showed by one very unequivocal act. When Sir Henry Clinton sent emissaries among them to aggravate the difficulty by offering to the mutineers aid and protection, and to receive them within his own lines, these messengers were delivered to the proper authorities to be executed as spies. There were, however, men in the army who, without the same reason for dissatisfaction that existed in the Pennsylvania line, had none of their scruples. A brigade of New Jersey troops, soon after the adjustment of the first difficulty, revolted in the hope of extorting concessions. Washington ordered a detachment, under General Howe, to reduce them to obedience, and to hang the ringleaders without delay, and his orders were promptly executed.

Threatening as these events appeared at the moment, the real condition of affairs was more hopeful, at this period, for the Americans than for the other side. The States raised a large sum of money to appease the not unreasonable clamors of the soldiers, and to put the army in a better condition than it had ever been before. It was, moreover, evident, after the suppression of the mutiny in the Jersey brigade, that the earnest patriotism of the troops — which must be after all the essential element of their efficiency — could be implicitly relied upon. There was a certain freedom of action in Congress, — as in substituting for the clumsy committees, through which the public business had been carried on, bureaus of foreign affairs, of finance, of war, and of the navy, to be intrusted to secretaries, — which indicated a larger statesmanship and a higher confidence in themselves as the representatives of a nation. And the States, by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, — which had been under discussion for five years, — were drawn together in a more decided bond of federal union, which, however imperfect, was an evidence of their faith in the establishment of a national existence. The English ministry, blind to these signs of the times, were never more sanguine, than at this period, of the early suppression of

Clinton's
emissaries
executed.

Articles of
Confederation
adopted.

what they still looked upon as only a rebellion; they were unconscious all the while that in the divided counsels among their generals in America lay an element of weakness which was leading slowly but surely to final disaster.

Washington recognized the significance of Arnold's invasion of Virginia, and in February made preparations for a campaign in that State. A detachment of twelve hundred men, mainly of New England troops, under Lafayette, was ordered to the head of Chesapeake Bay, to embark for the lower part of Virginia. The British fleet under Arbuthnot, blockading the French at Newport, had been recently disabled by a storm, and Washington proposed to Rochambeau and Admiral Destouches that advantage should be taken of this accident to send the whole squadron to Chesapeake Bay in aid of the movement under Lafayette. There was a month's delay before the whole fleet put to sea, though in the mean time three of the ships sailed for Portsmouth and found Arnold too strongly posted to be meddled with by so small a force. When Destouches afterward went to sea he was overtaken by Arbuthnot off the Capes of Virginia, and an engagement followed which sent the French fleet back to Newport.

Lafayette
sent to
Virginia.

"There seems but little wanting,"—Clinton wrote to Cornwallis early in March,— "to give a mortal stab to rebellion, but a proper reëinforcement, and a permanent superiority at sea, for the next campaign." He only waited to hear that the French fleet had returned to Newport, when General Phillips was sent with an additional force of two thousand men to take command in Virginia. The campaign that followed was a continuation of that which Arnold had begun. There was much marching and countermarching up and down the Peninsula; detachments embarked at several points, to land at others which were undefended; trading vessels were destroyed; much tobacco and many stores of provisions were burned; Phillips pursued Steuben and Steuben pursued Phillips, with no great harm to either; but the whole country was ravaged, and consternation and suffering visited upon the inhabitants on both sides the James. No attempt, however, was made to fortify or to hold any other place than Portsmouth.

These operations were intended only to help Cornwallis at the South by depriving Greene of men and supplies—except, of course, the general aim of all war to bring the most distress upon those who least deserve it and are most defenceless. That more comprehensive idea of Cornwallis—that there must be an absolute conquest and possession of Virginia—evidently had little influence over Clinton's plans. He clung to his original policy of conquering the South from Georgia northward, while he, with the help of the fleet,

should hold Washington and Rochambeau immovable on the Hudson and at Newport.

“Greene took the advantage” — Cornwallis wrote to Phillips late in April from Wilmington — “of my being obliged to come Cornwallis's plans. to this place, and has marched to South Carolina.” Disaster, he apprehended, would follow to Lord Rawdon; but it was not in his power, he thought, to succor him. The truth was, he did not wish to help Rawdon; neither did he mean to be helped himself to hold the Carolinas. He wrote to Clinton a month later, with great coolness, that if Greene should continue offensive operations in South Carolina, Rawdon would probably be compelled to abandon Camden and Ninety-Six, quit “a part of the country, which for some months past we have not really possessed,” and content himself with limiting the defence of that province to the line of the Congaree and the Santee. But now, in April, the Commander-in-chief was notified of the intended movement into Virginia, and in accordance with that determination, Cornwallis ordered Phillips to meet him, if possible, at Petersburg. When Clinton received this despatch his reply was, that had it been “intimated” to him earlier that such a movement was proposed, “I should certainly have endeavored to have stopped you, Disapproved of by Clinton. as I did then as well as now consider such a movement as likely to be dangerous to our interests in the Southern Colonies.” With this clash of opinion and of purpose, all cordiality of feeling ceased between the two Generals, and with it all efficient coöperation in the conduct of the war.

Lafayette, after a delay of some weeks, had been ordered to march Lafayette advances. to Virginia, from Baltimore, much to the discontent of his New England men, who dreaded exposure to the heat of a Southern summer. To quell a threatened mutiny, one of the ring-leaders was executed, and the rest were then told that those who chose to desert their country in time of danger were at liberty to go home. It was the end of insubordination; not a man left the ranks. Lafayette borrowed two thousand guineas on his personal credit, and used this sum in the purchase of shoes and of cotton cloth which the ladies of Baltimore made into shirts for his men. In nine days the march was made from Baltimore to Richmond.

When Arnold — General Phillips having died at Petersburg, of fever, before Cornwallis reached there — was reënforced Virginia overrun by the British. by Cornwallis, Lafayette's force was largely outnumbered, and he fell back to make a junction with Wayne, who was approaching with eight hundred of the Pennsylvania line. To prevent this junction was Cornwallis's first object; his second to overrun the country, and to destroy tobacco and all public stores of provisions.

Of Lafayette he said, "The boy cannot escape me." Of the accumulations of provisions in private hands, his orders were that only so much was to be spared as supplied the immediate necessities of the families. In work of this kind, Tarleton and Simcoe were especially active; for, mounting their men on the best horses to be found on the plantations, they moved with great celerity, and had no scruples in obeying the orders of destruction to the very letter. In one of these excursions Tarleton was only a few minutes too late at Charlottes-



French and American Uniforms.

ville to capture Governor Jefferson and the whole Legislature of the State.¹

¹ Jefferson's plantation of "Monticello" was taken by the enemy, and he there also narrowly escaped capture. Expeditions into the interior of the State were made by water as well as by land, and one of these, anchoring opposite Mount Vernon, sent on shore for provisions. They were supplied by Lund Washington, who was in charge of the estate. When he reported to the Commander-in-chief the losses consequent upon this visitation. Washington wrote in reply: "I am sorry to hear of your loss. I am a little sorry to hear of my own. But that which gives me most concern is, that you should have gone on board the vessels of the enemy and furnished them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my home and laid the plantation in ruins."

Lafayette was not overtaken, and the pursuit was relinquished when he was joined, first by Wayne, and a day or two after by Steuben, with a considerable body of militia. Disappointed in his immediate object, Cornwallis countermarched down the valley of the James, leaving Richmond on the 20th of June, called in his detachments under the bold riders, Tarleton and Simcoe, and arrived at Williamsburg on the 25th. The first fighting of the campaign was when, within half-a-dozen miles of that place, Colonel Butler, aided by Wayne, struck the rear-guard of the enemy under Simcoe, and came near bringing on a general battle. The loss on each side was about thirty killed and wounded, Lafayette withdrawing when he saw that the whole British force was preparing to engage.

The day after his arrival at Williamsburg, Cornwallis received dispatches from Clinton, the expectation of which, and the orders he supposed they would bring him, had influenced him in his retreat from the upper country. Clinton wrote that he had reason to believe that New York was about to be besieged; that as Cornwallis was evidently not disposed to act upon the plan which the Commander-in-chief had laid down for the conduct of the campaign—a movement up the Chesapeake and an attack upon Philadelphia—and then to move on to New York—the next best thing to be done was for Cornwallis to put himself behind defences at Portsmouth or Yorktown, and send three thousand men from his force to Clinton's relief.

Cornwallis obeyed, but obeyed sullenly. The difference between them was irreconcilable. Clinton clung to the policy of the conquest of the southernmost States first, as the only way to end the rebellion. Cornwallis had tried that plan, as he believed, thoroughly, and found it utterly impracticable. For the sake of driving in the wedge that was to split the confederacy in halves, he had said it would be better even to abandon New York and concentrate in Virginia. Lord George Germaine rather agreed with him, not at all because he had taken the trouble to qualify himself to form an intelligent judgment upon the subject, but because he believed in the Earl of Cornwallis and did not much believe in Sir Henry Clinton. Clinton, nevertheless, was Commander-in-chief, and now that he chose to give peremptory orders, Cornwallis rendered that kind of implicit obedience which is almost certain to defeat its object. He would do nothing to avert failure, should failure come, where his counsel had been disregarded. He was plainly quite willing that Clinton should have every opportunity to prove himself in the wrong, though it is not at all likely that he apprehended the final catastrophe which would bring disaster and disgrace to both.

His preparations for retiring to Portsmouth were soon completed, and on the 4th of July the march was begun. Lafayette followed in close pursuit, and on the 6th, supposing the main body of the enemy to have crossed to Jamestown Island, an attack was made upon what he presumed to be the rear-guard. Cornwallis, anticipating this movement, had remained upon the north bank of the river, and confronted the advance with his whole force. The Americans were driven back, and, but for a bold charge with the bayonet made by Wayne and his Philadelphia troops, might have been signally defeated.

Fight at
Jamestown.

The situation of affairs was one that might well give both the English Generals great anxiety. While Cornwallis sullenly obeyed the orders of his superior, by which he felt that Virginia was lost to them, he submitted it to the consideration of Clinton whether it was "worth while to hold a sickly, defensive post in this Bay," liable always to sudden attack, which neither facilitated predatory excursions into the State — if that was all that was to be done — nor was of assistance to movements farther south. It was plain, moreover, by this time, that those Southern States, to regain which so much time, so much treasure,



Lord Cornwallis.

and so many lives, had been spent, were lost — lost, Cornwallis of course believed, because his plan of driving the wedge home in Virginia had been rejected; lost, Clinton of course believed, because his well-conceived plan of Southern conquest had been abandoned for a scheme which, if carried out, would compel him to exchange New York for Richmond, — New York Bay for James River.

For Greene had "taken advantage," — as Cornwallis said, — of his abandonment of North Carolina, and marched southward.

Lee was detached to join Marion and cut off Lord Rawdon's communication with Charleston, on which he depended for supplies. This was done by the capture of Fort Watson on the Santee. The besiegers were without artillery, but Major Maham suggested the erection of a wooden tower of logs, the top of

Greene's
campaign at
the South.

which would overlook the stockade. When this was completed, the sharp-shooters from behind a breastwork could pick off the garrison at their leisure, and a white flag was speedily hung out in token of surrender. The fall of the place gave the Americans command of the road from Charleston to Camden, and a force of five hundred men, under Major Watson, on the way to reënforce Rawdon, was compelled to fall back and seek another route.

Marion and Lee were to join Greene at Camden, when they should have reduced Fort Watson; before their arrival, however, Greene, who had encamped upon a low ridge called Hobkirk's Hill, near the town, was attacked on the 25th of April by Rawdon, who hoped to repulse him before reënforcements could come to his help. Greene was taken by surprise; but the British advance was delayed by his pickets long enough to enable him to form a battle line. The attack was made with great spirit. Both wings of the enemy, however, were wavering under the warm reception given them by the Virginia brigade, under General Huger, on the right, and the Maryland brigade, under Colonel Williams, on the left, while Colonel Washington dashed in upon their rear with his cavalry. But, at the critical moment, the veteran regiment of Colonel Gunby, of the Maryland brigade, was seized with an unreasonable panic, and fell back in disorder. Into the gap thus made the enemy rushed with a shout, the whole line was thrown into confusion, and the summit of the ridge was carried. It was impossible to rally the veterans, who had lost some of their best officers; the reserve in the rear, consisting only of militia, could not be relied upon, and Greene, therefore, ordered a retreat to save his army. His loss in killed and wounded was two hundred and seventy-one, out of a total of about fourteen hundred men; that of Rawdon was even larger, being two hundred and fifty-eight out of about nine hundred.

Like the victory of Guilford Court-house, it was a victory without gain. By the sacrifice of nearly one third of his men, Rawdon delayed, for about two weeks only, what it was Greene's object to compel him to do, when the American army should be reënforced by Marion and Lee. These two officers could not prevent Watson from joining Rawdon, by which his strength was nearly doubled; but neither could Rawdon compel Greene to risk a second general battle, nor to leave him unmolested. With communications between Charleston and the interior already actually interrupted, or likely to be so, either by Greene, Marion, or Lee, Camden was abandoned on the 10th of May by Rawdon, who burned all the stores he could not take away, and a considerable portion of the town. Orders were given at the same time for the evacuation of other posts, but were not obeyed, because the despatches were intercepted.

Camden
abandoned
by the Brit-
ish.

From Camden, Rawdon marched toward Motte's Fort, on the Congaree, above the junction with the Wateree, at that moment besieged by Lee and Marion, that he might relieve the garrison and save the most important post between Ninety-Six and Charleston. Greene moved toward the same point by another way, that he might be at hand to protect the besiegers in case of necessity. This fort was a spacious family mansion, situated upon a hill, prepared to withstand a siege, and holding a garrison of nearly two hundred. The owner, a Mrs. Motte, had been turned out of it and compelled to remove to



Preparing to burn Fort Motte.¹

a farm-house upon an opposite hill, not many yards distant. From this point, the siege was conducted with not much hope of success by ordinary measures. When the news of Rawdon's approach reached the camp, Marion and Lee determined that, as no time was to be lost, the house should be set on fire, to compel its surrender or evacuation. Arrows were to be used, with burning flax attached to them, by which the wooden shingles of the roof could be ignited in many places at the same moment. The decision was announced to Mrs. Motte with great reluctance ; but she not only cheerfully acquiesced

¹ The figure representing Mrs. Motte in this picture is from a portrait in the possession of her descendants.

in it, but brought out a well-made Indian bow and some arrows, as better adapted to the purpose than any that the men could make on the instant. The roof was soon ablaze in several places. No measures could be taken to extinguish it by the garrison, under the fire of the sharp-shooters, and the commanding officer hastened to hang out a white flag.

Fort Motte
taken.

From Fort Motte, Lee pushed on to Fort Granby, farther up the river toward Ninety-Six, and reduced it in a few hours. Another of the line of posts between Ninety-Six and Charleston, at Orangeburg, was captured about the same time by Sumter, who had taken the field again with a body of militia.

Fort Gran-
by, Orange-
burg, and
Augusta
taken.

A few days later, Georgetown, on the coast, fell into the hands of Marion. Rawdon, unable to follow his active enemy at so many points, and discouraged by these repeated disasters, fell back behind the Santee to Monk's Corner, and soon after to Charleston. Of all the inland posts in South Carolina and Georgia, Ninety-Six and Augusta alone remained in British possession by the 1st of June. On the 5th of that month, Pickens and Lee — having first reduced the small post known as Fort Galphin, a dozen miles below Augusta, on the Savannah River — compelled the surrender of Augusta, ending a long siege by bringing to bear upon the interior works a "Mahan tower" of logs, by means of which Fort Watson had been reduced a few weeks before. By these successive and rapid captures, many prisoners and large stores of provisions and ammunition had fallen into the hands of the Americans.

While the siege of Augusta was in progress, Greene sat down before Ninety-Six. The place — so called because it was ninety-six miles from the chief town of the Cherokee Nation — was an important post, and therefore strongly fortified; its five hundred and fifty men were all Americans, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel John Harris Cruger, a loyalist from New York; and it was certain, therefore, that the defence would be desperate. There was nothing the Tories so much dreaded as to fall into the hands of the Whigs, as there was nothing the Whigs so much dreaded as to fall into the hands of the Tories. It would be hardly true to say that Cruger was peculiarly obnoxious; for, as no Tory leader would permit himself to be outdone by any other Tory leader in cruel persecution of the patriots, so they were all obnoxious alike. Cruger had hanged many of the opposite party who had fallen into his hands, and he hoped, he said, to hang many more. The gibbet was the sign under which both sides hoped to conquer, so far as the war was a civil war, and Cruger and his followers knew that military discipline was not always strong enough to save men from the gallows, even though

Siege of
Ninety-Six.

they were prisoners of war, who were themselves hangmen when the chance was on their side. Under Greene's immediate command, outrages of this character were unknown; yet the enthusiasm of his army was at fever-heat when brought before the last stronghold in the State, west of Charleston, held by the enemy, and that defended by Tories alone.

The approaches were diligently made under the skilful direction of Kosciusko, and among these was the "Maham tower," which had proved so efficient in other places. As a protection against the



fire which from this structure could be brought to bear upon the garrison, sand-bags were piled upon the parapets. The siege was pressed

The Water-carriers of Ninety-Six.

with great vigor from the 22d of May to the 19th of June, and the garrison was reduced almost to extremity for want of water, which could only be brought in small quantities by a few negroes at night — stripped naked, that they might be invisible in the darkness. The place would probably have fallen from sheer exhaustion, had the investment been continued for three or four days longer.

But news was received that Rawdon, strengthened by the recent arrival of three Irish regiments, had left Charleston, and was marching to the relief of his last stronghold in the interior. A countryman

— or, as some say, a woman — contrived to get within the fortress with this important intelligence, and Greene, who had not half the force that Rawdon was bringing against him, was compelled either to carry the place by an immediate assault, before his preparations were quite ready, or lose altogether the labors of a month. The attack was made in the night-time at three separate points, one column attempting to pull down the sand-bags from the parapets, opposite the Maham tower, with iron hooks, while assaults were made at two other places to get within the defences. The resistance of the garrison was so spirited, that it was soon evident to Greene that, if the place could be carried at all, it could only be at a greater sacrifice of his men than his numbers warranted, and he ordered a retreat.

Rawdon arrived three days afterward, and though Ninety-Six was for the moment saved, Greene was beyond his reach. Rawdon pursued the American army northward for a few days, but without overtaking it, and then reversed his march to Ninety-Six, pursued, in his turn, by Greene. To hold the country with that single fortress, in the face of a formidable enemy, was obviously impossible; it was already nearly midsummer, when the climate forbade any very active operations. Rawdon, therefore, ordered that Ninety-Six ^{Ninety-Six abandoned.} should be abandoned, that its Tory garrison and the Tory neighbors should seek refuge in Charleston, while he and his army, at the same time, moved in the same direction. The pursuit was continued till the whole British force was on the southern side of the Santee River. Greene then retired to the High Hills on the north of that river, to rest and recruit his wearied troops. Rawdon, broken down in health, sailed for England, leaving Lieutenant-colonel Stewart in command.¹

One more battle only remained to be fought between the contending armies of the South. Late in August, Greene took the field again, his men invigorated by rest and the wholesome air of the hills. A recent incident had intensified the enmity which so peculiarly characterized the war in the Carolinas, and the men on both sides could hardly fail to be reanimated by that feeling. Colonel Isaac ^{Hanging of Col. Hayne} Hayne, an estimable citizen and warm patriot, was hanged in Charleston by order of Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, who was in command in that city and the adjoining districts. "The affair," says Lee, in his Memoirs, "would probably have led to a war of extermination, had not the fast approach of ~~peace~~ arrested the progress of a system deliberately adopted by

¹ Rawdon was so unfortunate as to be taken by a French cruiser, was carried to Chesapeake Bay, and was present at the final discomfiture of his late commander, Cornwallis.

Greene, and ardently maintained by every individual of his army." General Greene had issued a proclamation, with the earnest approbation of the officers of his army, that the death of Hayne should be retaliated, not upon "the deluded Americans who had joined the royal army," but upon "the officers of the regular forces."

Hayne was one of those who, taken prisoners at the surrender of Charleston, were released on parole. Another class of the inhabitants, also held at first on parole, were afterward required to give in their allegiance to the British Government, and to take up arms, if required, in its defence. The distinction, however, between the two classes was probably soon forgotten; it was, at any rate, in the case of Colonel Hayne, and rather than be parted from his wife and children at a time when they were in peculiar need of his care — all being ill with small-pox, and three of them fatally — he consented to promise allegiance to the King. To this promise he was faithful till the British were driven out of the district in which he lived. That, he conceived, released him from an obligation which it was a breach of faith to enforce, and to which circumstances compelled him to submit under protest. He once more took up arms on the side of his country, was unfortunately captured, and, without any regular trial, condemned and executed. The indignation of the people and the army was almost ungovernable at what they considered an atrocious abuse of military power.

By a circuitous march, crossing the Wateree and the Congaree, Greene transferred his army to the southern side of the Santee, and followed Stewart to Eutaw Springs, a small stream flowing into the lower part of that river. In falling back forty miles to this point to meet a convoy from Charleston, Stewart seems not to have been aware how closely he was followed by Greene, though constantly annoyed by Lee, till the two armies confronted each other at Eutaw Springs on the 7th of September. The numbers on each side were about equal, being a little over two thousand men.

The Americans advanced, early in the morning of the 8th, in two columns, and met a body of the enemy about four miles from their camp, who were speedily put to rout. Still advancing, the British were found drawn up in single line in front of their tents, and here the battle began in earnest. The South Carolina militia, forming a part of the first line, fell back under a severe fire, though not without some spirited resistance. The rest of the line stood their ground with great firmness, and the gap made by the retreat of the militia was filled up instantly from the centre of the second line. All along the line the advance was steady. First with fire, and then by a charge with the bayonet, which was irresistible, while

Battle of
Eutaw
Springs.

Lee, at the same moment, by a flank movement turned the left of the enemy, who were forced back and driven beyond their camp. In the pursuit, three hundred prisoners and two pieces of artillery were taken by the Americans.

But as the main body of the British fled, Major Majoribanks, with a reserve of a battalion of grenadiers and light infantry, moved into action, and Washington with his cavalry was sent to get in his rear. In attempting this the horse were impeded by underbrush through which they forced their way with great difficulty, while under a murderous fire from the enemy, advantageously posted in the woods. Washington's horse was shot under him, and, entangled in its fall, he was wounded and taken prisoner. Most of his officers and men were either killed or wounded, and so complete was the destruction of the corps, that Majoribanks was free almost immediately to turn to the assistance of the defeated main body.

Near the road, along which the pursuit was necessarily made, stood a large brick house, and on its possession largely depended the fate of the day. A party of British threw themselves into it, followed so closely by a party from the other side that a struggle of sheer physical strength took place at the door-way to secure the entrance. The Americans being excluded and the door barred, a fire was opened from the three tiers of windows, which was terribly destructive. Artillery was brought up to make a breach in the walls, but it was ineffectual. The American advance was checked; Stewart had time to rally his flying troops; the lost ground was recovered, the camp retaken, — quite as much, however, because it was impossible for the American officers to recall the men from plundering the tents and from the barrels of rum, as from the prowess of the enemy, — and Greene was compelled to retreat.

The battle was one of unusual severity, lasting three hours. The British loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was nearly seven hundred; that of the Americans was somewhat less. The British claimed the victory; but, as the case was in all Greene's decisive battles at the South, the essential advantage was his. Stewart retreated the next day, and Greene followed him to within twenty miles of Charleston. And to within twenty miles of Charleston the British forces were confined till the war was ended, the troops of the two armies never again facing each other, except in the casual skirmishes of detachments. Within a short time after this final battle at Eutaw Springs, Governor Rutledge convened the Legislature of South Carolina within thirty-five miles of Charleston.

"I give you a General," Washington said, when he sent Greene to take command at the South. It was generalship that was most

South Caro-
lina Legisla-
ture con-
vened.

needed. Clinton's grand scheme for ending the war by the subjugation of the Southern States had come to this — that not a corporal's guard of the British army could be found in Georgia or the Carolinas, except in the near vicinity of Charleston, Savannah, and Wilmington.

Clinton had not taken counsel of his fears only when he wrote to Cornwallis that troops must be returned to him, for he was apprehensive of being besieged in New York. Washington and Rochambeau held a conference in May at Wethersfield, Conn., at which it was proposed that the capture of New York should be undertaken, with the aid of the French fleet at Newport, and that of the Count de Grasse, from the West Indies, who was ordered to spend the summer on the American coast. That a demonstration against New York was decided upon, Clinton knew from intercepted letters; he did not know that an ulterior purpose was also under consideration; that as the French commanders doubted the wisdom of attempting to invest the city by sea, and as De Grasse's stay was limited to October, it was still an open question whether the real campaign of the summer should be on the Bay of New York or on Chesapeake Bay.



The Webb Mansion (Rochambeau's Headquarters), Wethersfield, Conn.

Early in June, Rochambeau issued marching orders to his army of four thousand men. Moving in four divisions, they marched through Connecticut, in the exhausting summer heat, in perfect order and discipline, many of the officers leading them on foot.¹ North Castle, in Westchester County, New York, was reached from the 2d to the

¹ For a minute and clear narrative of the march of the French army from Connecticut to New York, and the subsequent operations of the allied armies east of the Hudson, see *The Magazine of American History*, for January, 1880.

4th of July, and by the 6th the allied armies were encamped in a line from Dobbs Ferry, on the Hudson, to the Bronx River.

Washington had advanced his army from the neighborhood of West Point a few days before, and was in readiness for active operations. He proposed to take and destroy immediately the posts on the upper end of New York Island, and on the 3d of July, General Lincoln, with eight hundred men, dropped down the North River in boats, with this object, and landed at the mouth of Spyten Duyvel Creek. The legion of the Duke de Lauzun was detached from the French army, and ordered, by a forced march, to be at Morrisania at the same time to cut off Colonel Delancey, who, at the head of a corps of refugees, held all Westchester County in perpetual dread. The detachments were to support each other in case of necessity, and Washington moved the rest of his army to within four miles of King's Bridge, to be within supporting distance of both. The movement only served to alarm and warn the enemy. Lincoln was promptly met by a British force, and, to avoid the possibility of being surrounded, fell back. Lauzun was too late to find Delancey, who had left Morrisania.

Quite as much was accomplished, perhaps, as was hoped for. Desirous as Washington was of capturing New York, he never meant to make a serious attempt to do so with a probability of failure. If Clinton should be led to believe that he entertained such a purpose now, and should recall troops sent to Virginia, that would be a relief to Lafayette; and it is not likely that the Commander-in-chief intended more than this at this juncture, when it was uncertain whether De Grasse would consent to attempt to enter the Bay of New York with — as Clinton afterward called them — his “long-legged” ships. The apprehension of a siege had already induced the British General to withdraw from Cornwallis a considerable portion of his force; the appearance of a siege might induce him to withdraw Cornwallis himself from Virginia.

The Commander-in-chief, in truth, was making a fool of Clinton. Washington knew on the 14th of July that De Grasse had decided to go to the Chesapeake, and that determined his own action. Yet, seven days afterward, the British were alarmed by a reconnoissance of five thousand men, pushed across Harlem Creek to Throg's Neck, which occupied two days. It was apparently of so much importance that the movement was personally directed by Washington and Rochambeau. Parties of observation were often seen at the most favorable points for overlooking the city. The gathering of stores, the accumulation of boats, the laying out of camp-grounds, the building of ovens, and the massing of troops in New Jersey opposite the north

shore of Staten Island, seemed unmistakable preparations for an invasion of that island, which commands the entrance to New York Bay. Clinton busied himself in strengthening his works on all sides to meet the expected siege, and he was greatly relieved when, early in August, a reënforcement of three thousand Hessians arrived in New York from Bremen.

Washington, meanwhile, had written Lafayette to hold Cornwallis where he was, and to guard especially against his escape into North Carolina. He wrote also to Philadelphia, — to Robert Morris, the financial agent of the government, — for information as to the quantity of stores to be procured for the use of the army, and the number of vessels to be had for transportation down the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. About the middle of the month came definitive news from De Grasse that he would be at the mouth of the Chesapeake by the end of August. The time had come for which Washington had been waiting, though probably, even now, not a man in the allied armies — with the exception of the Commander-in-chief himself, Rochambeau, and General Heath, who was to be left in command of the force to remain on the banks of the Hudson — was aware of the splendid strategical movement about to begin, though a few may have suspected it, and hoped for it.

On the morning of the 19th of August the American army was ordered under arms, with its face toward New York, an advance-guard having been sent forward to clear the road in that direction. But when the order to march was given, the troops were faced to the right and put in rapid motion for King's Ferry, on the North River. On the 22d they had safely crossed the river and were encamped at Haverstraw. On the 19th, also, the French army moved, marching to King's Ferry by way of North Castle, occupying all the roads in their rear to guard against pursuit from New York, should Clinton be active enough to attempt it — which he was not. It was not till the 26th that their rear-guard had crossed the river. "To misguide and bewilder Sir Henry Clinton," wrote Washington, his column, about two thousand strong, marched toward Springfield, dragging boats upon wheels, as if Staten Island were the object of the movement. The French marched directly for Trenton, the advance-guard being well on their way before the rear-guard had crossed the Hudson.

The allied
armies
march
southward.

Clinton did not discover till the 2d of September that the supposed siege of New York was raised, and that the allied armies — with the exception of Heath's three thousand men encamped at Fishkill — had disappeared. The American troops that day were passing through Philadelphia. The French followed them on the 3d. There could

be no further concealment of the destination of the armies. They were received by the citizens with unrestrained enthusiasm, for none were so deaf that they could not hear in the steady tramp of that armed host a certain prophecy of the coming of great events.

It may have been with the hope of recalling Washington by a threat of overrunning New England, as is often said, that Clinton despatched an expedition against New London. As the expedition sailed, however, on the very day he learned that the allied armies were well on the way to Virginia, the plan of sending Arnold, at the head of seventeen hundred men, to New London, must have been already arranged. Clinton, indeed, may have hoped that it would influence Washington's movements; but its original purpose was simply a predatory raid which would gather rich booty, and inflict great loss on the enemy; for New London was

a privateering port, to which valuable cargoes were often taken. A London ship, the *Hannah*, had not long before been carried in there by Captain Dudley



New London — Fac-simile from an original sketch in 1776.

Saltonstall, of the privateer *Minerva*, laden with the richest cargo that had been shipped to America during the war.¹

Arnold landed his force at the mouth of the Thames on the 6th of September, and, dividing it into two columns, advanced up both banks of the river. That on the New London side Arnold commanded in person, and between him and the town was only a single weak fortification — Fort Trumbull — held by only three or four and twenty men, under Captain Shapley, who, after a single volley which killed several of the enemy, fled, and crossed the river to join the garrison of Fort Griswold, on the Groton side. This stronger position might have made good its defence, had not the militia in the neighborhood declined to come to its help, though willing to face the enemy on the open field. Lieutenant-colonel Ledyard, nevertheless, refused to surrender, when summoned, even under the threat of no quarter should the place be carried.

The assailants numbered between six and seven hundred men; the

¹ *History of New London*, by Miss Caulkina

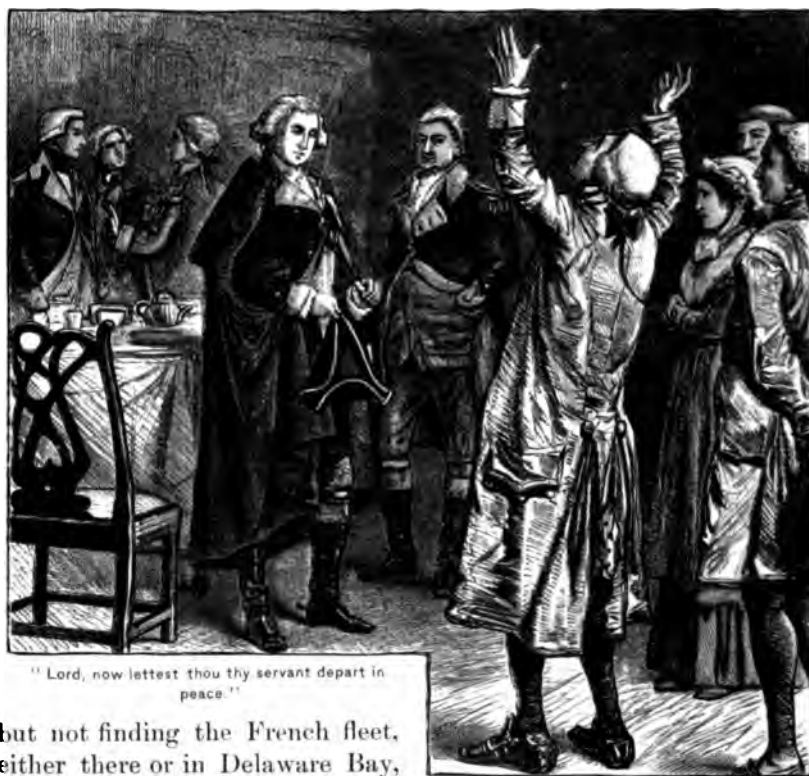
garrison only about one hundred and thirty or forty. The assault was on two sides at the same moment, and was met with great spirit. Here Colonel Eyre was wounded and carried from the field. On the other side, Major Montgomery led his men up the embankment, and, as he reached the top, was killed with a spear by Jordan Freeman, the colored servant of Colonel Ledyard. But a struggle with such overwhelming numbers could not last long. The British swarmed over the ramparts, and, as further resistance was useless, Ledyard ordered his men to throw down their arms. Submission only invited slaughter; it was seven men to one, and by sword and bullet and bayonet the devoted garrison fell on all sides. "Who commands this fort?" shouted Major Bromfield, now the British commanding officer. "I did; but you do now," said Ledyard, as he presented his sword. Either with that sword, or with another in the hand of some other officer, — tradition has left the point unsettled, — he fell on the instant, transfixed and dead. No order was given to stay the massacre till eighty-seven of the garrison were killed and thirty wounded, and of these three only were killed before Ledyard gave the order to surrender. The dead were stripped of their clothing, and when preparations were made for blowing up the magazine of the fort, a wagon, on which the wounded were piled, was rolled by its own impetus down the steep declivity of the hill, torturing all and killing some when it brought up suddenly against a tree. That region had known much of Indian warfare in the early years of its settlement, but the barbarity of the English at the capture of Fort Griswold had no parallel in the cruelties of the savage.

Assault of
Fort Gris-
wold.

Arnold, on the other side of the river, among his old friends and neighbors, — his birthplace and the home of his youth were at Norwich, a few miles distant, — had entered New London. For the atrocities committed at Fort Griswold he was not responsible, and in the town he gave orders that the property of some of those whom he recognized should be spared; but the pillage generally was unchecked. The wharves, and all the shipping, except a few small vessels that escaped up the river, nearly a hundred and fifty buildings — among them the Episcopal church, the court-house, the custom-house, the jail, and the market, — were destroyed. Clinton publicly expressed regret that the town was burned, and Arnold said it was an accident. It is impossible to prove that it was not, and, so far as Arnold is concerned, hardly worth while to disprove it, for a crime more or less adds little to his infamy. Accident, however, — if it was accident that overruled his conduct, — was singularly consistent, for fire left even less of Groton, on the other side of the river, than it did of New London. The tradition is, that he carefully directed the work of

destruction ; and it is related that a Mrs. Hinman — whose guest Arnold had often been in former years, and whose property, for the sake of that old friendship, he now ordered should be spared — was so incensed at all she saw done by his orders, that she seized a musket and aiming at him, as he sat on horseback in front of her house, would have killed him then and there, had not the gun missed fire.

Sir G. B. Rodney, the British Admiral in the West Indies, learning that De Grasse had sailed for the American coast, detached The West India fleets. Admiral Sir Samuel Hood in pursuit, with fourteen ships of the line. He arrived in the Chesapeake on the 25th of August,



"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

but not finding the French fleet, either there or in Delaware Bay, kept on to New York. On the day of his arrival at Sandy Hook, with the intelligence that De Grasse was somewhere near the coast, Clinton heard that De Barras had sailed from Newport with the French fleet under his command at that port. Admiral Graves, with five ships of the line from the squadron in New York Harbor, reinforced by Hood, put to sea, intending, if possible, to fall in either with De Grasse or De Barras before they could form a junction, not doubting that the British fleet

was more than a match for either, if encountered alone. Not meeting with De Barras, they sailed for the Chesapeake, where De Grasse had arrived on the 30th.

But De Grasse alone was stronger than the British Admirals had supposed, and on the 5th of September he stood out to sea to give battle. His force was twenty-four ships, to nineteen of the enemy, but the enemy had the advantage of being to windward. The British Admiral, however, failed for some reason to bring all his ships into action, and the result of the encounter, if it was anything more than a drawn battle, was a victory for the French, as they destroyed one of the enemy's vessels, and the rest were roughly handled. For the next four days, De Grasse kept at sea, drawing in slowly to the Capes of Virginia, and avoiding another engagement. His object was gained in crippling his antagonist; an absolute victory was not worth the risk of defeat, for the loss of the possession of Chesapeake Bay would be the ruin of the expedition, which, without his aid, would end in disaster. To Graves, defeat would be only the loss of a naval battle — a failure to gain the supremacy in the Chesapeake, for which he was contending; the risk of defeat, therefore, was nothing compared to the importance of possible victory. One avoided further encounter by which he might lose everything, and could gain nothing worth fighting for; the other sought a battle which, if successful, would give him all he was striving for, but, if lost, would leave him no worse off than before. De Grasse returned to his anchorage in Chesapeake Bay, where he found De Barras, who, by keeping well out to sea, had escaped his pursuers. Graves returned to New York baffled, and in fact defeated. Seaward there was no hope for Cornwallis.

Naval engagement off the capes of Virginia.

On the 25th of September, the allied armies — a small portion coming by water down the Delaware and the Chesapeake — had arrived at Williamsburg,¹ where they were joined by the army under Lafayette. Early in August, Cornwallis, in obedience to orders from Clinton, had evacuated Portsmouth, and taken possession of and fortified Yorktown and Gloucester, on the op-

The allied armies in Virginia.

¹ An incident occurred on this march which we do not remember to have ever seen in print. The authority for it is General Knox, who related it to the author's father. When passing through Pennsylvania, General Washington and his staff, General Knox, and others, stopped at a farm-house to breakfast. When the meal was finished, and the party were waiting for their horses, the people of the neighborhood were admitted to pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief, for whom the popular love and admiration were universal. Among the visitors was an old and venerable man, evidently the patriarch of the place, who approached Washington and stood before him for a few moments, gazing in his face without speaking. The attitude of the aged patriot was observed by all in the room in perfect silence, when, raising his hands and eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, in tones of mingled pathos and veneration — "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

posite banks of York River. In accordance, apparently, with his fixed purpose of obeying his superior officer, on whom he chose that the full responsibility should rest, he made no remonstrance, though not approving the order. He was, of course, no more aware than Clinton was, that subsequent events would prove how fatal a mistake that movement was; he only believed that his enforced inactivity would show in the end that he was right and Clinton wrong, while apprehending that no other evil would follow than the loss of opportunity for a successful campaign. There seems to be almost a spice of satisfaction in the curt brevity of his despatches to Clinton announcing the arrival of De Grasse; but when he learns that Washington is at Williamsburg, he sees how desperate his position is, and writes to Clinton — "If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst;" and it was only after he was compelled to surrender, that he declared the post was one which he had never looked upon "in a favorable light," — that it could "only be reckoned an intrenched camp," — that "nothing but the necessity of fortifying it as a post to protect the navy could have induced any person to erect works upon it." Clearly as he saw the end, however, when he knew that the French fleet was in possession of the bay, and that Washington and Rochambeau were, with Lafayette, within twenty miles of him on the Peninsula, he did not lose courage. The desperate condition of affairs seems, on the other hand, to have completely bewildered and unnerved Clinton. He had no orders to give Cornwallis — who was immovable without them — to provide for his safety, when such orders might possibly have saved him. He wrote that he should come to the aid of his unfortunate lieutenant; but he only came when it was too late.

By the 30th of September Yorktown was surrounded, from a point on the river above to another below, the French being on the right, the Americans on the left. Cornwallis retired within his works, and for the next nine days he saw weaving around him a mingled web of ditches, redoubts, and batteries, from which he could never break. He kept up a frequent fire upon the busy soldiers, whose task was never intermitted, by night or by day, and who were sometimes brought down dead or wounded; but there was no reply till the 9th of October, when the first parallel was finished. A battery, on that day, under command of Col. John Lamb, of the artillery, opened fire, the match being applied by the Commander-in-chief to the first gun discharged. Governor Nelson, of Virginia, was asked to direct the cannonading of the town. He pointed out a certain house as likely to be, from its size and appointments, the British headquarters. The house was his own.¹

¹ Sparks's *Writings of Washington*.





SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN

For four days the fire was incessant ; most of the batteries of the enemy were ruined, and their guns dismounted ; the largest English man-of-war and two transports in the harbor were set on fire and destroyed. The situation of Cornwallis was becoming daily more desperate ; of his seven thousand men, two thousand were in hospital, incapable of service ; his assailants were not less than fifteen thousand, and by a second parallel they had advanced to within three hundred yards of his works. But Clinton had assured him that on the 5th he should sail from New York with five thousand men, and come to the rescue. Cornwallis held out in the hope of his coming.

On the 14th, his two most important redoubts were carried by assault, — one by Lafayette, the other by the Baron de Viomenil. On the 16th, a sortie was made, before daybreak, on the other side, a hundred Frenchmen killed, and some cannon-spiked ; but reënforcements coming up from the trenches, the British were driven back within their works. Eleven days had passed, and Clinton had not come.

Cornwallis now determined to trust to his own devices, and to wait no longer for help from New York. He wrote, indeed, to Clinton on the 15th, — “ The safety of the place is so pre-
Cornwallis attempts to escape. carious that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risque in endeavouring to save us.” The sortie had failed even to gain time ; the only thing left was to save the army by flight, or to surrender instantly. Enough of the convalescents from the hospitals were to be posted upon the ramparts for a pretence that the place was still occupied ; then his whole effective force was to be embarked, on the night of the 16th, to cross the river to Gloucester, leaving behind the baggage, the stores, the sick, and the wounded, commending these by letter to the humanity of Washington, into whose hands they were about to fall.

Gloucester was invested by three thousand five hundred men, under General Choisé. These Cornwallis proposed to fall upon suddenly, and, breaking through them, make good his escape into the upper country. On the way he hoped to seize horses enough to mount his army, by rapid marches delay pursuit, and baffle interruption by leaving it uncertain whether his object was to retreat to North Carolina or join Clinton at New York.

At midnight the weather favored him, and the first division crossed the river. But as the boats were returning for the second
Surrender of Yorktown. division, there came on a sudden and violent storm, which dispersed and drove them down the river. They were not recovered till after daylight, and then the troops that had crossed were brought back. Yorktown was no longer tenable, and before sunset of that

day Cornwallis offered to surrender. On the 19th the terms of capitulation were concluded. In the imposing ceremonies of surrender Cornwallis took no part, but was represented by General O'Hara, the second in command, whose sword, when presented to General Lincoln, was immediately returned to him. The commanding General pleaded illness in excuse for his absence, and, in truth, he had reason for illness; but it is hardly uncharitable to see in this the token of that insubordinate and impatient temper which had led, in some measure, to this great catastrophe. That had happened which, he ought to have reflected, was, in certain contingencies, sure to happen; but he seems to have thought it quite as great an outrage that he should be compelled to submit to the inevitable, as that he should be required to submit to the judgment and authority of a superior officer.

On that day, also, Clinton sailed from New York to the relief of Yorktown — to sail back again when, on the 24th, off the Capes, he learned that every British soldier in Virginia was a prisoner of war. If he remembered then to regret his own dawdling, it was probably, to regret only that he had been too cautious; if he was moved to sympathy for his unfortunate countrymen, that sympathy, perhaps, was swallowed up in reflections upon the man whose obstinate self-will, he believed, had first frustrated the plans of his Commander-in-chief, and then, by a faithless obedience to a forced construction of orders, brought ruin upon his army, and upon his country disaster for which there was no remedy.



Elizabeth Town Stage-wagon. Two days to Philadelphia."
From a newspaper advertisement, 1781.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST YEARS OF PEACE.

EFFECT OF THE SURRENDER.—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF INDEPENDENCE.—A TREATY OF PEACE NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED.—THE VERMONT QUESTION.—ITS FINAL SETTLEMENT.—CONDITION AND TEMPER OF THE ARMY.—THE NEWBURGH ADDRESSES.—CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.—EVACUATION OF NEW YORK.—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL.—WEAKNESS OF CONGRESS.—RELATIONS OF THE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS.—NECESSITY FOR UNION.—COMMERCIAL POLICY.—THE ARMY.—THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.—THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.—THE QUESTION OF REVENUE.—SHAYS'S REBELLION.

THE surrender of Cornwallis was virtually the end of war between England and America. On the 25th of November, the disagreeable tidings reached London. The struggle thenceforth was to be a struggle of party, not of arms. Parliament met two days afterward, and amendments were moved in both houses to that portion of the King's address in which a vigorous prosecution of the war was proposed, notwithstanding this crowning disaster at Yorktown. Any appeal in the Upper House to common sense or to the sense of national justice, was of course hopeless. In the Commons the opposition grew day by day more vigorous. Outside of both, a large body of the people were tired of wasting life and treasure to no purpose, and were alarmed at the rapid progress, both by sea and by land, of the French in the insular English colonies.

Lord George Germaine was first thrown over to appease the clamor for peace. It was not enough. In February, 1782, a resolution was passed in the House of Commons, declaring that they who advised a continuation of the war in America were enemies of their country. Two or three weeks later, repeated motions of censure of the Ministry and of want of confidence were only lost by small and decreasing majorities at each motion. The indignant King threatened to retire to Holland; but the threat frightened nobody. In March, Lord North announced the dissolution of his administration, and a new one was soon formed, with Lord Rockingham at its head, and the Earl of Shelburne as Secretary for the Colonies.

Effect of the
surrender.

The first condition of Rockingham's consent to accept office was the independence of the United States. Informal measures to that end were taken in April, when Mr. Richard Oswald was sent by Shelburne to Paris to confer with Franklin, one of the American Commissioners in Europe, with John Adams, John Jay, and Henry Laurens.¹ Delay arose in the first place from a difference between the two Secretaries of State, Shelburne and Fox, each claiming that negotiations with America belonged to his office. But this embarrassment ended when, on the death of Rockingham in



Count de Vergennes.

July, Shelburne became First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox retired from office. This, however, disposed of only an initial difficulty; for, when official relations were established between the English and American Commissioners, the preliminary question, whether independence should be acknowledged before negotiations were entered upon, or whether it should be an article of the treaty itself, had first to be settled. Jay especially insisted upon the acknowledgment of independence as a necessary preliminary to the discussion of a treaty. Both he and Adams believed that this was contrary to the wishes and

purpose of Vergennes, the French minister, and that his influence was secretly used against America on the question of the boundaries and that of the fisheries. It was, moreover, the interest of England that the negotiations between the several powers should be separate and distinct. With France and Spain the reverse was true, as they hoped, by prolonging negotiations and entangling the American claims and proposals with their own, to make better terms for themselves.

¹ Laurens was a prisoner in the Tower of London for nearly two years, having been captured on his way to Holland in the summer of 1780. Among his papers was found the draft of a treaty, which had neither the sanction of the States General nor of Congress, but had been drawn up by William Lee and certain private persons in Amsterdam. It was held, however, in England, to be evidence of hostility on the part of Holland, and led to a rupture between the two governments. Laurens was exchanged for Cornwallis soon after the negotiations for peace between the United States and England were begun.

A satisfactory settlement of these questions was at length reached, the most difficult — that relating to the preliminary acknowledgment of independence — by the assent of Jay to the use of the term “the thirteen United States of America,” instead of naming each State, as the equivalent of preliminary recognition. In the discussion of the details of a treaty, the disagreements, though serious, were overcome by England’s yielding on the more important questions to the determination of the United States. England wished to retain the valley of the Ohio; to extend the western line of Nova Scotia so as to enclose a larger portion of the territory of Maine; to insure compensation to Tories for their losses; to deprive Americans of the right to fish on the Grand Bank, and the privilege of drying fish on British territory. But by the treaty the eastern boundary-line of the United States was made the St. Croix; the northern, the St. Lawrence and the Lakes; the western, the Mississippi — which was to be free to both nations — to its supposed source; the southern, not differing essentially from the present northern line of Florida when extended to the Mississippi. Restitution of property to Loyalists by Congress was impossible, as confiscation was the act of the States. The Commissioners could only agree that the several States should be advised to make compensation; knowing very well, and saying so frankly, that not the least heed would be paid to that gratuitous suggestion. It was provided, however, that there should be no further confiscations, and no impediments should be thrown in the way of the collection of debts incurred before the war. The right to the fisheries in eastern waters, and the privilege of drying fish on the uninhabited lands of the coast, were secured to the Americans by the persistence of John Adams, who would not desert the interests of Northern industry. Laurens, the Southern Commissioner, was also careful to remember the Southern workingmen; he guarded against their asserting their right to the “pursuit of happiness,” in the prohibition of “carrying away any negroes” in the withdrawal of British troops and ships from the United States.

Negotiation
of a treaty
of peace.

These were the essential stipulations of the preliminary treaty, the first article of which acknowledged the independence of the late colonies — for that, as the unhappy King had said, was “the dreadful price” of peace. It was signed on the 30th of November, 1782, but the final ratification was delayed nearly a year. The three allied powers were pledged to each other not to conclude a peace except by common consent; and the United States, therefore, was compelled to wait for the more difficult adjustment of the differences between Great Britain and France and Spain.

That long season of waiting was a time of trial in the United States — trials both civil and military. Civil war on the northern frontier had more than once seemed inevitable in the course of the current years, as a consequence of the determination of Vermont to maintain her existence as an independent State in spite of the territorial claims of New York on one side, of New Hampshire on the other, and the support which both received from Congress. The case was one always of serious import; and in the spring of 1781 it put on a new and alarming aspect.

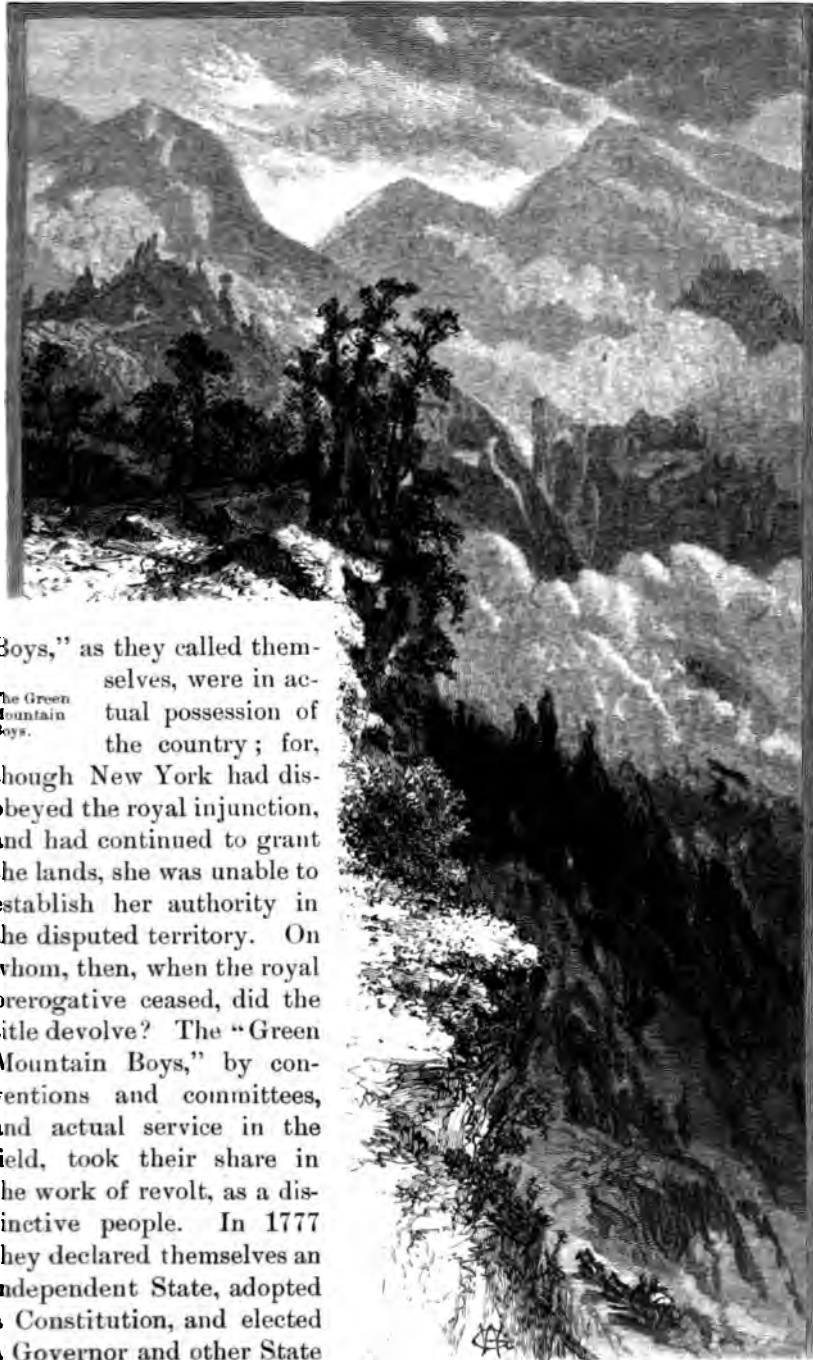
The Ver-
mont ques-
tion.

Vermont had repeatedly asked for admission into the Union, but this had been denied her, partly because of the opposition of her neighbors, who claimed her territory, and partly because of the jealousy of the Southern States, who feared then, as they have feared ever since, the admission of any Northern State without a Southern State to counterbalance it.

But Vermont, claiming now to be a State, had no political existence as a distinct colony of the Crown at the time when the other thirteen States were created by an agreement between the representatives of thirteen revolting royal colonies. The thirteen new States, therefore, were under no legal obligation to admit that community of citizens into their confederacy as a fourteenth State. And of course it was equally true that those citizens, if they had established an autonomy of their own, were quite as free from any obligation to the Union as the Union was to them. If, however, the half of Vermont belonged to New York and the other half to New Hampshire, the question involved another consideration. As the members of the confederacy were bound to defend the territory of one another, then the duty of Congress was clear if the claims of those two States were unquestionable.

But there was no such easy solution of the difficulty. The question involved, in the first place, the interpretation of the original patent to the Plymouth Company, in 1620, and their grants in the several New England States; and in the second place, the meaning of the terms of the grant to James, Duke of York, in 1664, and its renewal in 1674. Even the most modern title to the lands west of the Connecticut, on which New York could rely, — that the King and Council, induced to do so, it was alleged, by false representations, had declared, in 1765, that the west bank of the river was her eastern boundary, — was offset, in a measure, by a royal order of 1767, forbidding New York to make any more grants of land in the disputed territory. This order was never rescinded, and the Crown, therefore, it was declared, had resumed authority over the region in question as royal domain.

At the breaking out of the Revolution, the "Green Mountain



Boys," as they called themselves, were in actual possession of the country; for, though New York had disobeyed the royal injunction, and had continued to grant the lands, she was unable to establish her authority in the disputed territory. On whom, then, when the royal prerogative ceased, did the title devolve? The "Green Mountain Boys," by conventions and committees, and actual service in the field, took their share in the work of revolt, as a distinctive people. In 1777 they declared themselves an independent State, adopted a Constitution, and elected a Governor and other State

Scene in the Green Mountains.

officers. Their right to political existence was precisely the same as that of any of the late colonies, — the right of successful rebellion and of successful self-government in the country they occupied and were able to defend against all comers.

Threatened by the public enemy on their northern border; threatened in the possession of the homes they had made for themselves in that rugged and inhospitable region; frowned upon by Congress; seeing the face of no really earnest friend anywhere except in Massachusetts, the lot of the sturdy mountaineers, who from the beginning had never swerved in their devotion to the American cause, was a hard one. In 1780 a fresh appeal was made to Congress for admission to the Union, declaring that, should it be still in vain, they would propose to the other New England States and to New York, "an alliance and confederation for mutual defence, independent of Congress and of the other States." If neither Congress nor the Northern States would listen to them, then, said the memorial, "they are, if necessitated to it, at liberty to offer or accept terms of cessation of hostilities with Great Britain without the approbation of any other man or body of men . . . for she has not the most distant motive to continue hostilities with Great Britain, and maintain an important frontier for the benefit of the United States, and for no other reward than the ungrateful one of being enslaved by them."

The reception of the Vermont agents by Congress was unsatisfactory; the proposal was made to the neighboring States for an alliance, but this, of course, was unsuccessful. The Legislature of New York, however, was so impressed with the seriousness of the crisis as to be able to see that Vermont had justice on her side. In February, 1781, the Senate of that State, with only a single dissenting vote, proposed to recognize the independence of Vermont. The House voted to take up the resolutions sent from the Senate, when a message was received from Governor Clinton, which put an end to the proceedings. The Governor threatened that if the subject were not dropped, he would prorogue the Legislature.

Affairs put on presently a new and more serious aspect. In the spring a force of ten thousand men from Canada threatened an invasion across the northern border. Washington could not spare a man from his army, and New York and Vermont were left to provide for their own defence. The panic was intense, and the people of northern New York were preparing to abandon their homes and fly before an enemy whom there was not sufficient force to resist. Vermont met the emergency by sending Ira Allen — a brother of Ethan Allen — as a commissioner to Isle aux Noix, in

Invasion
threatened.

meet commissioners from Canada. An armistice and an exchange of prisoners were agreed upon, the temporary cessation of hostilities including New York as well as Vermont.

power Vermont assumed as an independent State; but it had no significance than the conclusion of a temporary peace. The position of her people had been for some time an object of interest to the British Government. Haldimand, Governor of the Province, had written to Lord George Germaine, nearly two years before, of the differences between Vermont and her neighbors, and he had replied that "much advantage might be derived" from the circumstance, should the hope be held out to them of being a separate province under the King.

In March, 1781, Beverley Robinson, the refugee Colonel, wrote on behalf of Sir Henry Clinton, to Ethan Allen, repeating his suggestion, and urging the return of the people to their allegiance to the King. No response was made to this letter by Allen, and in February of the next year it was repeated, but with the suggestion, now changed into a positive assurance, that the King would grant a charter of incorporation for a revolt against the British Government into which Vermont had admitted, should be her allegiance as a British province.

Vermont
tempted to
become a
British
Province.

The next month Allen, in consultation with the Governor and others, sent both letters to the President of Congress. In April they were laid before the General Assembly of the State. Ira Allen went, a few days later, to meet Haldimand's commissioners and negotiate an armistice and cartel, and in an earnest discussion he laid upon this subject. At first, talked only of peace, with the understanding that when the war



Governor George Clinton.

ended, they would give their allegiance to the ruling power, who might be, on condition of receiving a free charter; but without saying so, — like his brother Ethan, he was prone "to wreak his own expression," — "they would return to the Mountains, turn out and fight the Devil, Hell, and Human Nature at large."

"The conduct of the Vermontese," wrote General Schuyler to Washington, about this time, "is mysterious." Dangerous consequences, he thought, might follow this intercourse with the enemy, though he did not believe that the people generally understood it to be anything else than a scheme to alarm New York and Congress, that the independence of Vermont might be acknowledged. The only way to end this unhappy condition of things, and to test the conduct of the leaders, was to admit the State into the Union.

The mystery which Schuyler saw in the conduct of the Vermontese has been a mystery ever since. The negotiations continued from that time, and the question has been, and still is, whether the Allens, Chittenden, and their associates had any serious intention of becoming a British province, or whether they meant to deceive and amuse the British, on the one hand, and alarm the Americans, on the other, that they might secure their admission to the Union. The

Negotiations
with the
British.

conclusion reached by many writers is, that, in the one case, their conduct was hardly that of honorable men, and, in the other, that of men who were traitors to their country. But the more obvious construction seems also the most rational: By right of revolution the country they occupied was their own; if the war did not secure independence to them, as it did to the colonies of the Union, they reserved to themselves, as they frankly said, the right of choice of sovereigns; they preferred to be an independent province under the Crown of Great Britain, rather than cease to be a province at all, and become the subjects of a State they detested. The justification of the revolt of the colonies was their justification. They prayed to be a part of that Union which none believed in more firmly, or fought for more earnestly; if that was denied them, they meant to take the next best thing, — a union with Great Britain rather than submission to New York. They said this frankly, and they meant to deceive nobody. They would have gladly accepted union

Their pur-
pose and re-
sult.

at any moment with the United States; they temporized with Great Britain because they did not mean, except in the last extremity, to be driven into her embraces. They restricted their boundaries on the New Hampshire side for the sake of peace; they gave up on the New York side, by order of Congress, territory they had annexed, — no doubt injudiciously and wrongfully, but in the hope of strengthening their position, — as both concessions were required as the price of admission to the Union, though the promise was not kept. And more than all, two indubitable facts testify to the patriotism of the "Vermontese," and to the rightfulness of all they contended for: When peace was declared, Vermont was not a British province, though the State was not admitted to the Union

till 1791; and her western boundary to-day is that which she maintained in her struggle with New York,—twenty miles east of the Hudson River.¹

During the two years of negotiation and waiting for the final consummation of peace between the allied powers, there were no general military operations. The distant rumbling, as Waiting for peace. of a retiring storm, of Indian hostilities in the new settlements of the South and West, and of skirmishes with marauding parties in South Carolina and Georgia, was the only indication in the clash of arms that the long struggle was not yet quite finished. But the letters of the Commander-in-chief during this period show how anxious and dubious he was as to the prospect of a permanent peace, and whether he might not be compelled to enter upon a new campaign with an army smaller and more destitute than ever, and behind it a people incapable, perhaps, of being aroused again to that height of enthusiasm and devotion which had hitherto sustained them. Financial difficulties continued to beset the Republic, whose paper money, both national and state, had become almost absolutely worthless; the industry of the country was paralyzed; commerce was almost annihilated; large portions of the States, especially at the South, were devastated; poverty was universal; and the revulsion of a long war brought its own inevitable troubles.

Clinton was recalled soon after the surrender of Yorktown, and Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York to take his place. As Carleton was much the better soldier, as well as abler man, his appointment was not encouraging to the Americans in the event of a renewal of hostilities. He not only continued to hold New York, but even Savannah was not evacuated till the summer of 1782, nor Charleston till the following December. It was impossible to disband the American army in the presence of the enemy; and while negotiations dragged their slow length along at Paris, Washington, with his impoverished and impatient troops at Newburgh, watched Carleton at the mouth of the Hudson.

That an army half-starved, half-naked, without pay, and with nothing to do, should become also discontented and grow ripe for mischief, is not to be wondered at. The wonder rather is, Condition and temper of the army. that evil should have been threatened only and not done: that men who had taken cities should be great enough, with arms in their hands, to rule their own spirits, put aside their own wrongs and many provocations, submit to the first command of discipline, and listen to the first sober injunction of common sense and patriot-

¹ See *Collections of Vermont Hist. Soc.*, vols. i. and ii., and *Documents and Records relating to New Hampshire*, vol. x.

ism. Some of them knew almost no other government than military rule; they felt its strength in the creation of a nation, and the instruments of that achievement they held in their own hands. For such civil government as there was, they had small respect; for they saw its imbecility in the long-suffering of years, in hunger, in nakedness, in the poverty to which their own devotion to their country had brought their wives and children at home. There was little promise of future pensions in the long arrears of pay which Congress could not, or — as they sometimes suspected — would not, discharge. If their wrongs were ever to be righted, they felt that they must be



Headquarters at Newburgh.

righted by themselves, and righted now while it was in their power. What reliance, they asked each other, can we have, when the army is dissolved and we are scattered and helpless, upon the gratitude of a country which, while we are together and powerful, denies us justice?

Justice was all that most of the men asked, though there were demagogues and mischief-makers among them who had quite other purposes. Greene hanged one of these in his camp, in South Carolina, who stirred up a mutiny, one design of which was to kidnap the General, and deliver him as a prisoner to the British in Charleston.¹ But

¹ There is a tradition at Newburgh that a similar plan to capture Washington and deliver him a prisoner at New York, was revealed to the Commander-in-chief by the daughter of the man who made the attempt. It was frustrated by the warning given, and the man was arrested, but permitted to leave the country, in kindness to his daughter. No soldier, however, was engaged in this conspiracy — if it ever existed.

no such desperate measures were ever revealed in the army on the Hudson. The troops would have followed Washington to Philadelphia at a nod, and dispersed Congress, if their demands were not acceded to; but there was no insubordination, no wish to usurp power and displace civil with military rule. There were some who seem to have doubted the wisdom of attempting to establish a republic; but there is no evidence that they were many or very earnest in that opinion.

One of these, a Colonel Lewis Nicola, a foreigner by birth and education, a meritorious officer, esteemed by Washington, wrote, in the spring of 1782, a remarkable letter to the General, in which it is alleged that he spoke for some others as well as himself. The occasion, however, was one where conjecture was not in the least likely to fall short of the truth. Nicola was alone responsible for the letter, and no great importance, perhaps, would ever have attached to it, had it not been that Washington thought it worthy of a signal rebuke. The wretched condition of the country, and the distress and poverty of the troops, were the moving cause of the appeal, and these were attributed to the imbecility of government, — the fatal weakness inherent in republics. A mixed government, it was argued, was more conducive to the happiness of the people, and this might be established under that great chief who had led the army in a successful war of eight years. In obedience to popular prejudice, "it might not at first be prudent to assume the title of royalty," but when "all other things were once adjusted, the title of King" might be admitted. It was, Washington said, "with a mixture of surprise and astonishment" that he read this letter; no occurrence during the war had given him more painful sensations than the assurance that such ideas existed in the army, and he viewed them with abhorrence and reprehended them with severity. He conjured his friend to banish such thoughts from his mind, if he had any regard for his country, concern for himself or his posterity, or respect for his chief. Had the movement, if it was important enough to deserve that designation, been very much stronger than it was, Washington's decisive and indignant reply would have made an end of it.

A monarchy
proposed to
Washington.

The complaints of the army, however, were not silenced; they grew louder as the months wore on; the men were still without pay, and were not permitted to return to their homes; violent outbreaks were not unfrequent among the least intelligent of the soldiers, and many doubted whether they were not cruelly trifled with by concealing from them the fact of the supposed conclusion of peace between the two governments. They could not easily comprehend the nature

and the necessity of the protracted negotiations carried on at Paris and London.

But in the winter of 1782-83, the proposed redress of grievances assumed a more practical form than that presented in Colonel Nicola's letter, and received the hearty approval of the Commander-in-chief. A memorial, assented to by the principal officers of the army, as a calm and candid presentation of its claims upon the Government, was taken to Congress by a committee of three, — General McDougal, Colonel Ogden, and Colonel Brooks. Immediate attention was given to it, and the friends of the army in Congress probably did the best they could in a proposed adjustment of arrears of pay, and the question of future pensions. But party politics had too much weight even upon a question which should have been settled upon the single principle of common justice. Neither the thing done, therefore, nor the way of doing it, was satisfactory at Newburgh, and affairs put on a more threatening aspect than ever. The camp was a magazine, which needed only a torch, applied at the right place and at the right moment, to produce a terrible explosion.

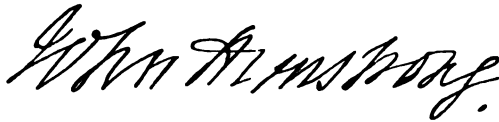
The torch was lighted, but fortunately the strong hand was ready to extinguish it on the instant. On the 10th of March an anonymous notice was circulated, calling a meeting of the general and field officers, a commissioned officer from each company, and a delegate from the medical staff, to consider the late action of Congress, "and what measures, if any, should be adopted to obtain that redress of grievances which they seem to have solicited in vain." With the notice was issued an address, — written, it was found years afterward, by John Armstrong,¹ then a Major and an

¹ Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution* (London, 1783) says of the addresses that they were, "though anonymous, known since to have been drawn up by Major Armstrong." For this information Gordon was indebted to General Gates, according to a letter from Gates to Armstrong, published forty years afterward by Armstrong himself. This letter is in a note in a review of Johnson's *Life of Grew*, published in *The United States Magazine* of January, 1823, and, though unacknowledged, written — as we know positively — by Armstrong. Johnson, in the *Life of Grew*, attributed to Gouverneur Morris the authorship of the Newburgh Addresses, and the main point and object of Armstrong's review was to deny this theory, and to show that they were written by himself, — "Major Armstrong, a very young man (the aide-camp of General Gates), who, yielding to the solicitations of his friends, in a few hours produced an address which was believed to be peculiarly adapted to its purpose." In the chain of evidence on this point, there are some statements that are inexplicable, and some that are irreconcilable; and through it all there is apparently a design to cover up the essential fact in regard to the actual origin of the addresses by the substitution of another fact which reveals only half the truth. It may be quite true that, as Gates says, and as he informed Gordon, "the letters were written in my quarters by you" (Armstrong); but it does not follow therefore, that they were written — as Armstrong attempts to show — on the sudden impulse of the moment, nor that there was not, behind the mere writing, some potent influence which inspired that

aid-de-camp of General Gates, — in which was discussed with much ability and great warmth the condition of the army. "What," asked the writer, "have you to expect from peace when your voice shall sink and your strength dissipate by division; when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you, then, consent to be the only sufferers by this Revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of despondency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to

charity which has hitherto been spent in honor? If

you can, go, and carry with you the jest of Tories and



Signature of Armstrong.

the scorn of Whigs; the ridicule, and, what is worse, the pity of the world! Go, starve, and be forgotten! But if your spirits should revolt at this . . . awake, attend to your situation, and redress yourselves! If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now." And this was his counsel: "I would advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of government. Change the milk-and-water style of your last memorial." And let that, he said, be not a memorial, but a "last remonstrance," and Congress should be told in this "that the slightest mark of indignity now must operate like the grave, and part you forever; that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the direction of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and 'mock when their fear cometh on.'"

It is not likely that Washington overrated the possible influence of

writing, dictated its tone, its terms, and its aim, and constituted the real authorship. To assume this, it must be acknowledged, is to assume a great deal, is to put upon the whole transaction a new face, involving an essentially new chapter in the history of that period. But that Washington believed there was much more in the matter than met the eye, is evident enough from his own letters; and, indeed, his energetic conduct, the unusual warmth of feeling displayed in his address to the meeting which he assembled, and the importance he attached to the crisis which he felt called upon to meet in so unusual a manner, are hardly explicable on any other supposition. Any presentation of the subject, however, on this side of it, would require an analysis of evidence, the citation and comparison of contemporary writings, and the production of testimony, hitherto unpublished, which the limits of this work forbid.

words like these, appealing to the most violent passions of men already inflamed to the point of desperation. It was an emergency to be met by the promptest, but, at the same time, the most cautious and judicious action. Any attempt at coercion was out of the question; indeed, where was any instrument of coercion to be found? If his personal influence was not sufficient to control the army, there could be little hope now of any moderate measures.

The day after the appearance of the call for the meeting and the address, they were made the subject of general orders. The reputation and true interest of the army, the Commander-in-chief said, made it his duty to avow "his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings," though he was "fully persuaded that the good sense of the officers would induce them to pay very little attention to such an irregular invitation." His reliance, nevertheless, was more upon his own good sense than theirs; for he asked that the representatives of the army should assemble at his invitation on the following Saturday, the 15th, instead of on that day, the 11th, which the anonymous call had named. The purpose of the writer of the address, and his associate conspirators, was thus checkmated. The meeting of Tuesday was not held; four days of calm consideration of the inflammatory appeal were secured, though its author made a weak attempt, during those four days, to cover his own defeat by a second address, in which he claimed that Washington's order was favorable, and meant to be favorable, to the writer's purpose.

The army had only to wait till Saturday to know the truth. The meeting was opened by Washington himself. In a calm but forcible address, he answered every statement and appeal of the anonymous writer, and showed how unwise and intemperate that counsel was which instigated a rebellion against Congress. "My God!" he exclaimed, "what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe?—some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures in either alternative impracticable in their nature?" Then he urged them to patience, to rely upon the justice of Congress; he pledged his own utmost exertions on their behalf, and begged them to "give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings."

Washington retired when his speech was finished, and the meeting

Washington
addressed
the army.



WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF HIS OFFICERS.

then — Major-general Gates presiding as senior officer — passed a series of resolutions, setting forth their own grievances, as had been so often done before, but avowing their confidence in Congress, and declaring that the army viewed with abhorrence and rejected with disdain the infamous propositions of the anonymous address, and resented with indignation the attempts to collect the officers together in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order. The crisis was over; nor was it among the least of the commanding General's many victories that by his energy and prudence he saved the country from a possible revolt that would have threatened its existence.

Though general orders announced, a few days later, the cessation of hostilities, and the news was received with almost extravagant demonstrations of joy by the army at Newburgh, ^{Cessation of hostilities.} there were months of weary delay before actual peace was declared and all the worn-out soldiers were permitted to return to their homes. Many were discharged in the course of the summer and autumn; but the whole army was not disbanded till December. The question of pay was not settled without much discussion and disappointment, but it gave rise to no further trouble, except in Philadelphia, where a body of about eighty raw recruits mutinied, and took possession of the State House. Congress adjourned to Princeton. Fifteen hundred troops were ordered to march from the Hudson to suppress this insurrection; but before they reached Pennsylvania it was ended.

On the 25th of November, New York was evacuated by the British, ^{Evacuation of New York.} Washington, with so much of his army as remained, and Governor Clinton, with the other civil officers of the State, marching in to take possession. On the 4th of December, a ceremony of less pomp, but involving far deeper feeling, took place at Fraunces's Tavern, in Broad Street, where the Commander-in-chief parted with his companions in arms. In October, he had taken leave of his army in an affectionate address; but the parting now was from those officers, with many of whom he had been in the most intimate personal as well as official relations. ^{Farewell to the army.} Such a separation could not be without great emotion on both sides. "I cannot come to each of you," he said, after a few words of farewell, "to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand." Not another word was spoken, — hardly was another word possible at such a parting of such men. On the 23d of the same month he returned his commission to Congress, then at Annapolis, in public session.

On the 3d of September, 1783, the final treaty of peace was signed

at Paris, by which Great Britain acknowledged the United States to be "free, sovereign, and independent."

The absence of a solid sovereignty in which the Commonwealths could rest, had long been a serious injury to the separate States. Each had its own interior history, its institutions modified if not produced by its own circumstances, and it was possible for this individuality to assert itself finally in a petty sovereignty. In the first Congress, Patrick Henry had expressed the larger thought which was at work: "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian — I am an American." But this was

the inspiration of a great mind at a great moment. The boundaries. boundaries of the colonies still existed, and in the slow years of the war, and slower years of the peace that followed, were more sharply defined.



Fraunces's Tavern.

The treaty with Great Britain had fixed as the limits of the United States, the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi River,¹ and the Great Lakes; Florida being excepted, as belonging to Spain. The western boundaries of the Southern States, drawn at the great river, were political bounda-

ries only; between that line and the scattered settlements which reached out from the seacoast, there was a vast and almost unexplored region. Pittsburg was an advanced military post. A trail through the wilderness extended from Johnson's house on the Mohawk to the Great Lakes.

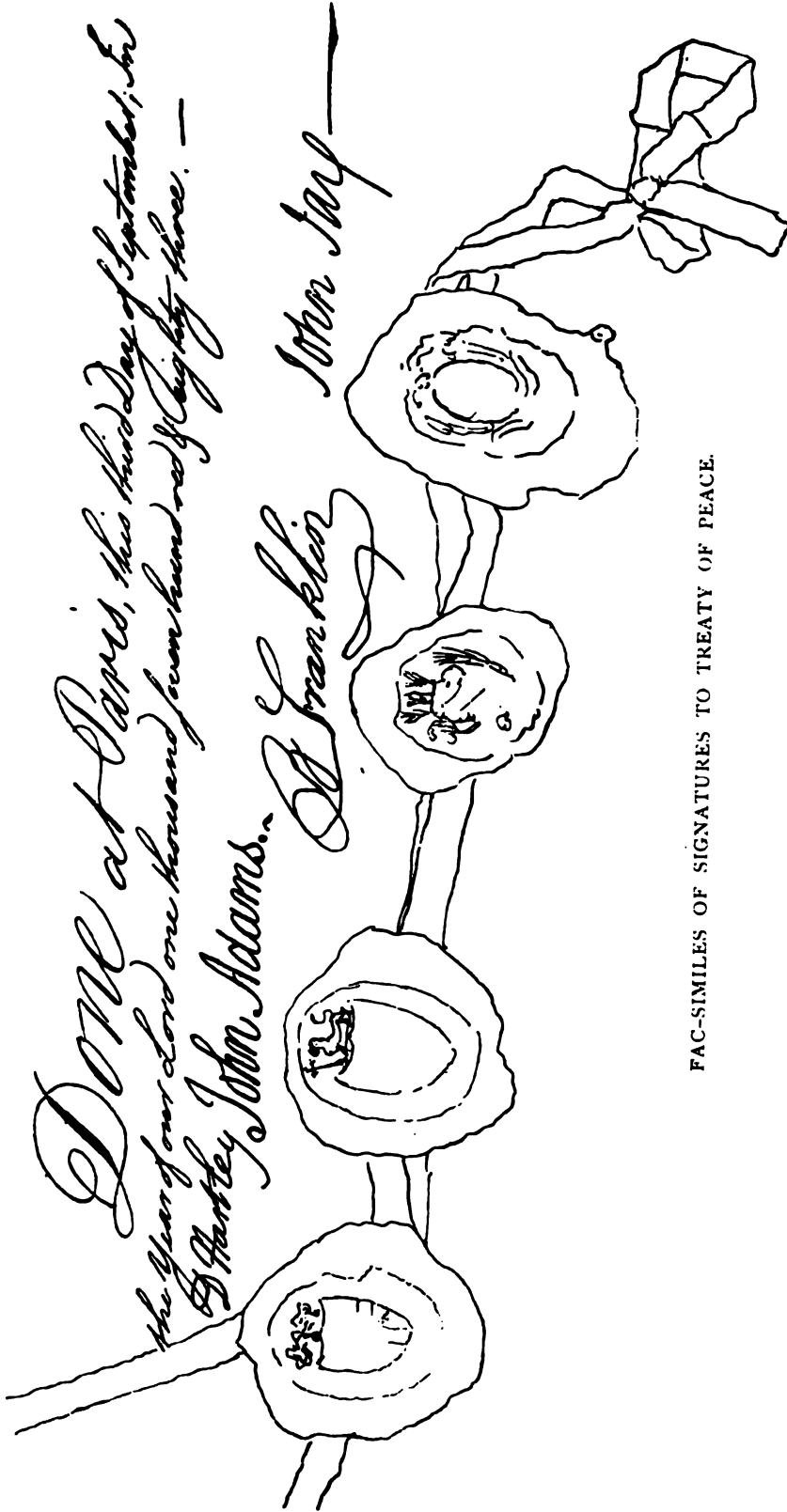
¹ In tracing out this boundary, the Missouri was considered the main branch of the Mississippi, and the line followed up that stream. But from lack of exploration about the headwaters, there was confusion as to the northwest boundary, which in fact was undetermined. There was a similar confusion as to the northeastern boundary, which was not settled till 1842.

Done at Paris, this third Day of September, in
the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty three. —

By Matthew John Adams...

By Franklin

John Jay —



FAC-SIMILES OF SIGNATURES TO TREATY OF PEACE.

The Southern States had somewhat over a million of inhabitants, while the Middle States and New England divided equally between them a million and a half. The three great States were Virginia, with its 400,000 inhabitants, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, each with 350,000. But the character and influence of the three States varied in accordance with the inherent differences in the character of the people and their social and industrial systems. In Virginia there was no single important centre; but large plantations, occupying the broad lands in the middle and eastern portions, gave singular importance to particular families. The Northern traveller, as he moved southward, no longer saw contiguous villages and small, well-cultivated farms along the road, but large, ill-built, isolated houses, surrounded with groups of rude shanties or log-huts for the negro-quarters. Within he found the rough hospitality of a people without neighbors, and with few intellectual resources to relieve the tedium of their lives, living in the coarse plenty of the plantation, self-confident in tone, and overbearing in manners from the constant practice of petty tyranny over their helpless slaves. There were two classes only, the very poor and the very rich. And already the soil of the eastern counties of these slave States showed signs of exhaustion under the excessive drain of the tobacco crop, and the planters were heavily indebted to English capitalists and merchants. The war had stayed the collection of these debts, but the fear lest their creditors should force their claims through the General Government made the planters suspicious of increasing in any way the powers of Congress. Yet the half-feudal life in the Old Dominion and neighboring States, and the absence of any pursuit save that of politics, gave their leading men an undue influence in public affairs.

At the close of the war, Philadelphia was the chief city in the country, its population of forty thousand being double that of Boston, and more than three times that of New York. ^{The cities.} It became the fashion, shortly after this date, to celebrate public events by processions of tradesmen and mechanics, and in one such pageant in Philadelphia, nearly fifty distinct trades were represented; companies existed for the better protection of the interests of the trades, and a library had been founded fifty years before, chiefly by this class. Upon the solid foundation of manufactures and trade had been built a society living in comfort and ease, and the social manners of the city marked it as the most agreeable on the continent. New York was still paralyzed from the occupation by the British and from the ravages of fire. New England, with its restless population centering about seaports, was busy with ship-building and with the coasting-trade, which extended to the West Indies, its best

market. The forests of Maine and New Hampshire sent vast quantities of lumber to the seaboard; and Newport, Providence, and the harbors on the Connecticut coast drove a thriving trade with the Bahamas and Bermuda. On the return of peace the markets were flooded with British goods, and the courts were filled with suits of British creditors.

The policy which Great Britain had so long maintained, of regarding the colonial trade as existing only for her own benefit, could not



A New England Farmhouse — 1790.

at once be changed; that country aimed at a monopoly of the trade of the new States, and the Crown, authorized by Parliament, issued two proclamations, the first of which required the importation of the produce of the United States to be committed either to British vessels, or to vessels belonging to the particular State of which the cargo was the produce; the second, with special reference to the West Indies, prohibited American vessels or citizens from trading to the British colonies. The effect was threefold: commercial treaties with other nations were encouraged, the several States passed

olutions conferring large power on Congress, and local retaliatory laws were passed, all tending to derange commercial relations and to intensify the hatred of England. But the unequal operation of State laws drove commerce from one port to another, and still further widened the breach between the States. Maryland, by lower duties, checked the commerce of Virginia. Madison had been suspicious of a proposed measure of Hamilton's, that it would inure to the benefit of the Eastern States; but those States themselves drove away com-



A Planter's Residence — 1790.

merce by retaliatory regulations. The remedies proposed, while looking sometimes to closer alliances with neighboring States, were all in the direction of conflict of interests throughout the Union; commercial leagues were formed between New Jersey and Pennsylvania, between Virginia and Maryland, and a competition sprang up for securing trade by the reduction of duties.

All the while the balance of trade against the country was rapidly increasing. Within two years after peace was declared, the value of goods imported from England into the United States was

not far from thirty million dollars, while the exports during the same time were only between eight and nine millions. This great influx of goods crushed the feeble manufactories which had been started during the war, and drew off nearly all of the specie which still remained behind the great volume of depreciated paper money. There was no mint, and the States as well as Congress issued money. In April, 1783, the debt of the United States was estimated at \$42,000,000, and that of the separate States at \$20,000,000.



A Lumbering Scene.

Congress vainly implored the States to provide the means for meeting its debts. England held by her policy of monopoly, and moreover made the difficulty of collecting debts due from American merchants to her citizens a further excuse for delaying compliance with the provision of the treaty of peace which called for the evacuation of the frontier posts. The disorganized state of the country aroused a belief in England that the restoration of the colonies to Great Britain was not impossible.

Congress was already making use of the public lands for settling

the claims of its creditors, and among these creditors the soldiers of the late army held preference. A movement at once began, which for a hundred years has been changing the face of the country. Washington held lands in the West, and made a journey toward the more remote of his possessions, his mind full of schemes which took shape in the Potomac and James River companies. Timothy Pickering, who had thought of buying wild lands in Vermont, was tempted rather by the reports of the fertile fields of Ohio, and in company with many officers of the army, devised a plan for the formation of a new State west of the Ohio River, — “the total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution.” The plan formed by that company of officers in camp at Newburgh, though crude and incomplete, was one of the earliest steps in that series of popular and legislative acts which issued finally in the Ordinance of 1787.

The Ordinance of 1787.

The one political institution which claimed to hold the country together — the Congress of Delegates — was losing its power and reputation with astonishing celerity.¹ “Is it not among the most unaccountable things in nature,” wrote Washington to Grayson, July 26, 1786, “that the representation of a great country should generally be so thin as not to be able to execute the functions of government?” Congress was frequently compelled to adjourn for want of a quorum. The States, in their jealousy of one another, dreaded a phantom power in Congress, and exercised their ingenuity in sending their delegates instructions which repeatedly blocked the measures of the General Government.

Weakness of Congress.

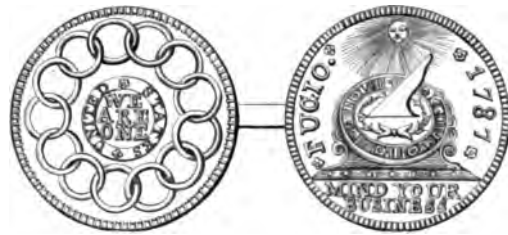
Jefferson had been sent as Commissioner to France, John Adams as Minister to England in 1786, and the relations with Spain were negotiated by Jay, the new Secretary of Foreign Affairs at home. Jefferson was impeded by his own free-trade theories, and by his disagreement with Congress; Jay was embarrassed by the claims of Spain to control the navigation of the Mississippi; Adams had to contend against the obvious failure of separate States to observe the terms of the treaty of peace. The imbecility of Congress, joined to the determination of England to maintain her monopoly of the sea, made it seem impossible for Adams to make any headway in negotiating a commercial treaty. The United States acquired no

Foreign relations.

¹ The president of Congress, Richard Henry Lee, wrote to Samuel Adams, under date of November 18, 1784: “It is now eighteen days since Congress ought to have assembled here [Trenton], and as yet we have but five States; and it surprises me that these five are southern; none but the worthy Dr. Holton, from your State, being yet arrived from the eastward, whence formerly we used to derive much punctuality, alacrity, and judicious despatch of public business. And yet there are many subjects of great importance, that demand the speedy, temperate, wise, and firm discussion of Congress.”

respect as a nation. "The most remarkable thing," wrote Adams, "in the King's speech and the debates is, that the King and every member of each house has entirely forgotten that there is any such place upon the earth as the United States of America. We appear to be considered as of no consequence at all in the scale of the world." Washington summed up the situation a few months later, when he wrote: "Without them [*i. e.*, adequate powers] we stand in a ridiculous point of view in the eyes of the nations of the world, with whom we are attempting to enter into commercial treaties, without the means of carrying them into effect, who must see and feel that the Union, or the States individually, are sovereigns, as best suits their purposes; in a word, that we are one nation to-day, and thirteen to-morrow."

The dangers at home were even greater. Not only were the States arrayed against Congress whenever their local interests seemed in jeopardy, but popular conventions and neighborhood meetings began to arrogate authority. "Bodies of men," wrote



The Franklin Penny — First United States Coin.

Samuel Adams in April, 1784, "under any denomination whatever, who convene themselves with a design to deliberate upon and adopt measures which are cognizable by legislatures only, will, if continued, soon bring leg-

islatures to contempt and dissolution." Washington again, in 1786, wrote with warning to his nephew Bushrod against societies formed in Virginia for the indirect management of public affairs: "Societies, nearly similar to such as you speak of, have lately been formed in Massachusetts; but what has been the consequence? Why, they have declared the Senate useless, many other parts of the Constitution unnecessary, salaries of public officers burthensome, etc. To point out the defects of the Constitution, if any existed, in a decent way, was proper enough; but they have done more. They first vote the courts of justice, in the present circumstance of the State, oppressive, and next, by violence, stop them, which has occasioned a very solemn proclamation and appeal from the Governor to the people. You may say no such matters are in contemplation by your society. Granted. A snow-ball gathers by rolling." The power issuing from the people was being reclaimed by them individually, from lack of a supreme authority in which the incomplete fragments of the state could rest.

The indications of this extreme logic of local sovereignty were many and frequent. When the authority of the Government was weakened over the old States, it was to be expected that the frontier would show more open independence. In the Wyoming country of Pennsylvania there had been a long-continued dispute between the Pennsylvania Government and that of Connecticut, which had sent emigrants to occupy the wilderness. The boundaries and respective rights of the States were open questions then ; but it was finally settled that the Wyoming country was under Pennsylvania's jurisdiction.

Thereupon the State claimed that the settlers from Connecticut could hold their lands only under fresh titles. The settlers, well used by long controversy to a re-



Dollar of 1794.

bellious attitude, took up arms and resolved to form a new State, but were suppressed as rioters.

The western counties of North Carolina set up an independent Government, organizing themselves into the State of Frankland. There arose at once a local quarrel. The portion of Virginia which afterwards became Kentucky set up similar claims to independence. Maine, a province of Massachusetts, struggled for a separate government, and finally in Massachusetts the disorganizing and rebellious elements broke out into formal and armed insurrection. The accumulation of debts rendered the courts of justice, in the minds of many, mere "engines of destruction ;" the increasing distress in private affairs, the depression in commerce, and the burden of Federal taxation, swelled the popular discontent. The old methods of opposition to British tyranny were resumed in this new opposition to what was imagined to be Federal tyranny. Local conventions were held, and committees formed, and the movement was spreading into the neighboring States.¹ Congress ordered troops to be raised, pretending

Quarrels
over new
States.

Shays's Re-
bellion.

¹ "The number of these people amounts in Massachusetts to about one fifth part of several populous counties, and to them may be collected people of similar sentiments from the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, so as to constitute a body of about twelve or fifteen thousand desperate and unprincipled men. They are chiefly of the young and active part of the community." — Knox to Washington, in *Writings of Washington*, ix., 207.

that they were for service against the Northwestern Indians. Fortunately the Government of Massachusetts had a man of force at its head in Governor Bowdoin. At Worcester and at Springfield an



A Scene in Shays's Rebellion.

attempt was made to prevent the sitting of the Courts, and at the latter place was ludicrously unsuccessful.¹ Here also the insurgents

¹ "Previous to Shays appearing at the head of an armed mob, so called, an attempt was made to stop the courts of justice. A court was to be held at Springfield; a few warm partisans had assembled about the court-house, in plain sight of the old brick school-house, where I attended school, and from my windows saw all that was going on. Mr. Sheriff Porter, with his insignia of office and side-arms, preceded the judges; and when the Sheriff came to the door-steps, which had been taken possession of by the mob, he sung out at the top of his voice, 'Clear the way for the court!' But the party in possession did not budge an inch, until the Sheriff drew forth his glittering sword and made several bold and cutting thrusts upon the naked air. At this moment a young man full of zeal stepped forward, seized the leader by the collar, and drew him forth. The others gave way, the court entered, opened, and closed in due form. *O yes!* The two persons clenched each other, rough and tumble, and both rolled into the brook, which passed under the court-house. I had looked on with intense interest, but could no longer resist the impulse, but sung out, 'Master, they are at it!' detaching my hat from the peg, without leave or license, and

threatened the arsenal, under the lead of Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the Continental army. The State militia, under General Lincoln, drove the rebels from Springfield to Petersham, and finally dispersed them. At Exeter, N. H., two hundred armed men had assailed the Assembly and demanded the emission of paper money as a relief from unendurable burdens. They held the legislative chamber for a day, but gave way at the appearance of formidable opposition.

That the difficulties of the country sprang from the lack of a close and authoritative union in which all the members could rest, was forced upon the minds of men. At a meeting of commissioners from Maryland and Virginia, at Alexandria, for the purpose of regulating the navigation of the Chesapeake and the Potomac, a convention of the States was suggested. Five States Movement
toward
Union. sent commissioners to Annapolis in September, 1786. Alexander Hamilton, who had foreseen this necessity six years before, proposed a national convention to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787, "to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provision as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them, and afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State, will effectually provide for the same."¹ A memorial signed by Governor Dickinson, chairman of the meeting, was addressed to the legislatures represented by the Commissioners. Virginia at once responded in a grave and noble address, which recognized the crisis and accepted the proposed measure. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Delaware followed. In Congress the party which feared the consolidation of power was in the ascendancy; but it finally assented to a convention, provided it confined itself to "the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of Confederation." Delegates were elected from the other States, except Rhode Island, and the instructions given, or the character of the men elected, foreshadowed, in some degree, the probable result of the important labor on which they were about to enter.

rushed out of the school to see the whole fun and mingle with the crowd. The master and whole posse of urchins soon followed." — Daniel Stebbins, in the *American Pioneer*, i., 385.

¹ J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, iii., 166.

CHAPTER V.

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION. — INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON. — MANNERS OF THE TIMES. — ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC DEBTS. — GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES. — THE NATIONAL BANK. — PROTECTIVE TARIFF. — CULTIVATION OF COTTON. — CONSTITUTIONAL COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY. — GENERAL EDUCATION. — WESTWARD EMIGRATION. — DEFEAT OF HARMAR AND ST. CLAIR. — WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INDIANS. — THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION. — FRIES'S INSURRECTION. — HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON. — FRENCH INFLUENCE. — GENET. — JAY'S TREATY. — POPULAR DISSATISFACTION WITH IT.

THE Convention met at Philadelphia, on the 14th of May, 1787, adjourned from day to day until enough delegates were present for or-



The President's Chair.

ganization, and began to work on the 25th day of the same month. It met in the chamber where the Declaration of Independence had been signed. The chair which had been filled by Peyton Randolph, when Johnson of Maryland had nominated the Commander-in-Chief of the army in 1776; by

John Hancock, when presiding over the Continental Congress which affirmed the independence of the States; and by Henry Laurens, when the Articles of Confederation were signed, was taken now by the delegate from Virginia, George Washington. Many of these men assembled in Independence Hall had been members of the old Continental Congress or of succeeding ones. Those who had achieved independence were still leaders of public opinion. Langdon, Gerry, Sherman, Franklin, Morris, Clymer,

A convention of the States.

Wilson, Read, Wythe, Dickinson, Daniel Carroll, were in this Convention. With these were others of national note, including two young men who were to have preëminence in the councils of the nation — Alexander Hamilton and James Madison.

The members represented two unformed parties; yet as the Constitution slowly issued out of the contest of debate, the very names by which these parties were called seemed finally to be transposed. The rules of the body having been determined, including one enjoining secrecy, and one giving a vote to each State, Randolph of Virginia submitted fifteen resolutions, proposing a national legislature of two branches, a national executive, and a national judiciary embracing grades of courts. Pinckney of South Carolina brought in a similar but more elaborate plan. Both plans were discussed in committee of the whole. The Virginia plan, as it was called, gathered The Virginia plan. to itself those in favor of the national government. Its fundamental proposition was finally embodied in the first resolution adopted: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme Legislative, Judiciary, and Executive." The debate was chiefly upon two points, — the power of the General Government to coerce the States, and that representation in Congress should be proportioned to population. The one gave Congress an unquestioned supremacy; the other referred all power directly to the people.

The resolutions were re-committed to the Convention on the 13th of June. Two days later Patterson of New Jersey presented The Jersey plan. resolutions of the minority. They maintained that the Convention was only to revise the Articles of Confederation in accordance with the call of Congress; hence the Jersey plan, as it was called, contemplated the enlargement of the powers of Congress, without any radical change in the principles of the Confederation, recognizing the States as both equal to each other and superior to the Confederation. Those who supported this plan were at first called the Federal party, favoring a federal or league government; the supporters of the Virginia plan were known as Anti-federalists. Patterson's resolutions were referred to the committee of the whole, and at once Rutledge, seconded by Hamilton, moved a recommitment of the Virginia resolutions which had been adopted by the Convention, so that the two plans might be placed on an equal footing. The Virginia resolutions, by being first on the floor, had the advantage at the start. The opponents could now rally about an equally concrete plan. The larger States naturally favored the first, which based representation upon population; the smaller favored the other, which gave but one house and an equality of power to the States, irrespective of population.

Hamilton brought in a proposition of his own, which went beyond the Virginia resolutions in providing for a centralized power, rather as a well-defined criticism of those plans which were before the Convention than as an independent system. Back of all the discussions lay the consideration that if the work of the Convention should be accepted, it would not be as the triumph of a party, but as the adjustment of practical difficulties, the very existence of which had called the Convention into existence. When the Constitution should be presented to the States for ratification, the question would turn upon its principles, not upon any abstract consideration of the power of the convention framing it. Hence the great questions which divided



Alexander Hamilton.

the Convention were settled, not by forcing the will of the majority, which would have been only a barren victory of debate, but by the discovery of a common ground which should give a practical trial to the controversy at issue. By giving the States an equal representation in the Senate, and assenting to the fatal compromise of permitting three fifths of the slaves to be counted in forming the basis of popular representation in the House, the Convention transferred the questions which agitated them to other arenas and to later days. It accomplished

its work of providing a bond of union under which, if the people accepted it, the whole country might organize and present a single front to the world.

On Monday, the 17th of September, 1787, the Constitution, finally agreed upon, was signed by the delegates — Gerry of Massachusetts, and Edmund Randolph and Mason of Virginia, alone withholding their signatures — and submitted to Congress, which in turn called upon the States in separate conventions to act upon the instrument, the acceptance of nine States being requisite before it could be declared adopted. The debates, which had been secret, were now renewed, not only in the several State conventions but in the public press and by every fireside. The discussions of the winter of 1787-88

The Consti-
tution.

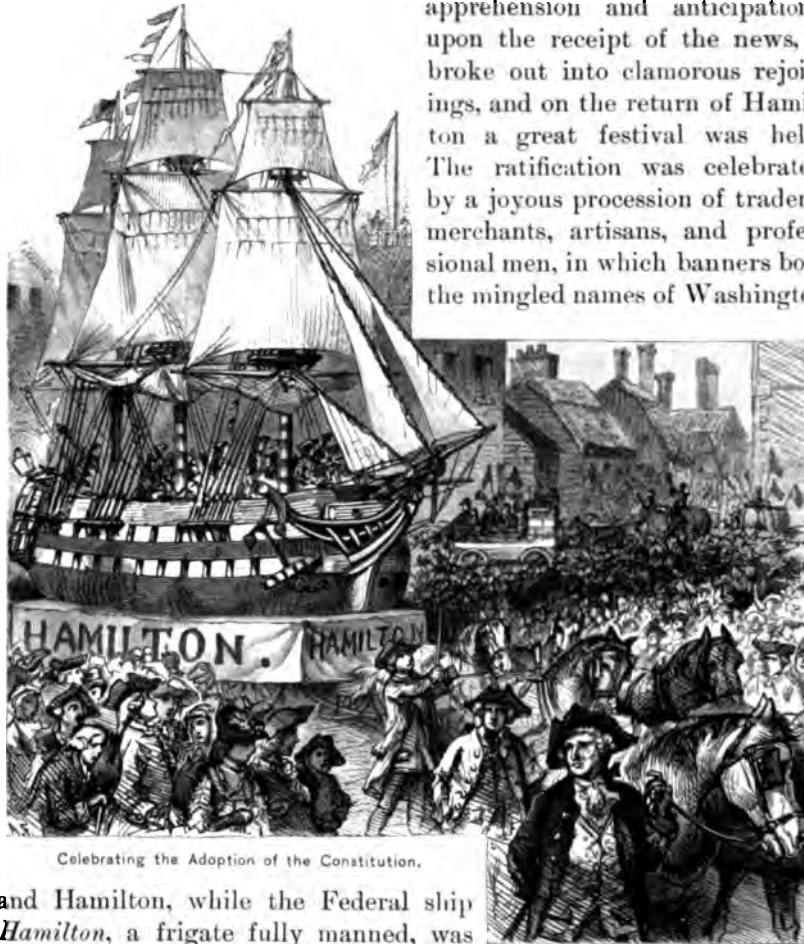
were the political education of Americans. The series of papers which have been collected under the title of "The Federalist" present the defence of the Constitution by those who had most to do with its formation. The name, which now became the name of the party maintaining national as distinguished from confederate principles, indicates, in spite of its anomalous application, the spirit of the dominant party. The contest was over the necessity of a strong central government; and those who thought this the paramount need of the country took the name of Federalists as the distinction between themselves and those who would have made State authority supreme. As the positive, aggressive, and structural party, they threw upon the opposition the necessity of accepting the negative title of Anti-federalists, a name which was accepted unwillingly, and finally left behind when those who had borne it found themselves in power.

The opposition to the Constitution was mainly in the large States. In the smaller States it was quickly seen that their only hope of security was in a general government so defined that the assumption of undue power by the larger States would be restrained by the Constitution and the laws. Various conventions tried hard to evade the naked issue, and to put limitations upon their consent. North Carolina drew up amendments, and made her assent conditional upon their acceptance; Massachusetts, giving a bare majority, strongly recommended certain amendments, and other States followed her example. One by one the States fell into line, until on the 21st of June, 1788, New Hampshire, the ninth State, ratified the Constitution. Two conventions were still in session at that date in the important States of Virginia and New York. When on the 25th of the same month Virginia ratified, it was under the supposition that her vote had finally decided the result. The vote was not reached without a hard struggle. The ratification was carried by a majority of only ten in a convention of one hundred and sixty-eight, and was hampered with several proposed amendments and a bill of rights.

The New York Convention was in session at Poughkeepsie while Congress was sitting in New York. But all interest centred about the Convention. The important geographical position of the State, and the dawning commercial greatness of her chief port, made her decision of the utmost importance. The opponents of ratification, ably led by Clinton and Lansing and Smith, fought bitterly to the last. Against them stood Alexander Hamilton, and behind him was a strong popular opinion. The unceasing activity of Hamilton, and his persuasive eloquence, gave the contest a dramatic interest. The opposition yielded inch by inch, taking its stand finally on a conditional acceptance. There the last struggle came, and a major-

ity of two was given in favor of the Constitution. The final decision was reached on the 25th of July, when the Constitution was ratified by a vote of thirty to twenty-seven. The man who at the age of thirty-one had achieved this victory, returned to his seat in Congress in New York, and presented the result of the Convention's work. During the last days of the Convention the city had been in a tumult of

apprehension and anticipation; upon the receipt of the news, it broke out into clamorous rejoicings, and on the return of Hamilton a great festival was held. The ratification was celebrated by a joyous procession of traders, merchants, artisans, and professional men, in which banners bore the mingled names of Washington



Celebrating the Adoption of the Constitution.

and Hamilton, while the Federal ship *Hamilton*, a frigate fully manned, was borne on wheels, its cannon saluting and receiving salutes throughout the course of the pageant.

The first Congress assembled in New York on the 4th of March, 1789, but it was a month before a quorum could be obtained, and the government was not fairly organized until the 30th of April. The votes of the presidential electors had been counted, and the unanimous first choice was for George

Inauguration
of
Washington.

Washington. Of the other candidates, John Adams received the largest number, thirty-four out of sixty-nine, and was declared Vice-president. Washington was notified of his election by a special messenger sent by the President of the Senate, and two days later he set out for the seat of government.¹ His journey to New York was through files, as it were, of uncovered heads, and when, on the 30th of April, he took the oath of office upon the balcony of the hall in which Congress was assembled, the vast concourse before him maintained a religious silence. Services had been held in all the churches of the city, and after the delivery of his inaugural speech, the President went on foot to St. Paul's Church, where prayers were read by Bishop Provoost. In the evening the city was brilliant with illuminations and fireworks.

The work which most needed to be done pertained immediately to the office of the Secretary of the Treasury. Hamilton, Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury. strongly recommended by Morris, and proved by his own essays to be the fit man for the place, was appointed to the office, and his extraordinary administrative power was at once employed in organizing the department with such completeness of detail that subsequent officers have never found it necessary to modify his plans in any essential particular. An incredible number of minor affairs were submitted to the Secretary by Congress, or introduced by his own fertile brain, — as the sale of public lands, navigation laws, regulation of the coasting trade, the purchase of West Point, establishment of revenue cutters, number and condition of light-houses, petitions for claim and relief, plans for collecting the revenue, and various legal questions growing out of the hitherto confused relations of government and people.

The great question of the day, however, was that suggested by resolutions of the House of Representatives, passed September 21, 1789, ten days after Hamilton received his commission, in which he was called upon to report such measures as he should deem expedient for providing for the national debt and sustaining the public credit. The debt of the Confederation, including the interest arrears, amounted to fifty-four millions; the debts of the States, incurred for Improvement in finances. general objects, amounted to twenty-six millions. Between January and November, 1789, the public securities rose thirty-three per cent., and by the beginning of 1790, when Hamil-

¹ On the day of his departure he wrote in his Diary: "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York in company with Mr. Thompson and Colonel Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

ton made his report, advanced still higher. The means which he proposed was, briefly, to fund the entire debt, issuing new certificates. The whole principle of Hamilton's measure was an emphatic notice to the world that the new Federal Government was the organic successor of the old confederation, assuming all its obligations and providing, as that could not, for their discharge.

The most important branch of the subject was the assumption of the State debts. Again the two great parties divided upon this question. Hamilton and those who thought with him were in favor of their assumption. The opposition, acting upon various grounds, but resting finally upon State supremacy, maintained a solid front not easily secured on any less vital point. They understood the immense cohesive power which lay in the assumption.¹ The Federal party was in the minority; but as the special upholder of the new Government it was the more forcible and determined. The Anti-federal party was in the majority; when it could act in concert it could defeat the measures of the minority; but the

Political
parties.

Richard Henry Lee.

Signature of Richard Henry Lee.

very con-
stitution
of the par-
ty as the
aggregate

of representatives of various local interests, made it lack cohesion. But the lines of party were not yet firmly fixed. Madison, for instance, who had been one of the principal writers in the "Federalist," was a leader now among those opposed to assumption. The question at issue was seen by Hamilton to be vital. He was once defeated, but gained success by a political manœuvre. Men who opposed assumption were still more eager to secure certain local ends. The question of the seat of national government was one appealing to some of these men with great force — especially to the Virginians; and Virginia, having a greatly reduced State debt, was opposed to assumption. White and Lee, from that State, under Hamilton's influence, changed their votes in consideration that Hamilton and Robert Morris should use their influence to secure the establishment of the capital upon the banks of the Potomac. By this bargain, Hamilton gained his point.

In 1791, Hamilton carried another measure for the relief of government from financial embarrassment. There were at the time but

¹ "A greater thought than this of assumption," said Stone, of Maryland, an Anti-federalist, "had never been devised by man, and if put into execution, would prove to the Federal Government a wall of adamant, impregnable to any attempt on its fabric or operations."

three banks in the country — one in Philadelphia, one in New York, and one in Boston. These were all State institutions. He recommended the establishment of a bank which, under ^{The National bank.} private direction, was yet to serve the Government, by making it owner of one fifth of the capital stock of ten million dollars, and a preferred borrower to the same amount. The subscriptions were to be paid, one quarter in gold and silver coin, three quarters in the six-per-cent. certificates of the national debt. This measure was also the signal for fresh antagonism between the two nascent parties, but the division took place mainly upon sectional grounds; the planting States opposing it, the commercial States favoring it, and gaining the point. The establishment of the bank gave occasion for a remarkable evidence of the strengthening of public credit; for the whole number of shares offered was taken up in two hours.

The borrowing of money, however, could be but a temporary expedient; it was necessary to make provision for permanent means of support. The adoption of the Constitution made ^{Protective tariff.} a uniform tariff possible, and one of the first acts of Congress was to pass a tariff bill. The measure was necessarily temporary, and it was not until 1791 that Hamilton made his great report upon manufactures, in which he took ground distinctly in favor of a system of protection as the only one he thought possible in that stage of national life and in the condition then of the civilized world.

He proposed the exemption of the materials of manufacture from duties, prohibition of rival articles, and other methods which taken together were to comprise "one great American System, superior to the control of transatlantic force or influence, and able to dictate the connection between the Old and New World."¹ A bill embodying the recommendations of this report was passed February 9, 1782. The power of a sovereign state was also exercised in the coining of money, and a mint was established. A bill had also passed, imposing a duty upon imported and domestic spirits, for the purpose of bringing the revenue up to the required point.

There were circumstances in the times which gave a great impetus to American enterprise. The French Government, in 1787, issued a decree placing American citizens commercially on ^{Commerce.} the same footing with Frenchmen, and admitting American produce free of duty; and as France had a free-trade treaty with England, this act practically nullified British hostility to American commerce. Then upon the breaking out of war between France and England, the carrying trade of the world fell into the hands of the United States, and an immense stimulus was given to the exportation of

¹ *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States on the Subject of Manufactures, presented to the House of Representatives.*

American produce. The trade with the West Indies, which England had manœvered to keep in her own hands, became almost wholly American. French ships could not safely trade there, Spanish trade was carried on under a neutral flag, and even English merchants found it safer to employ American bottoms. At this time arose also those great commercial houses which sought out and held the China and East Indian trade, and American commerce nurtured a bold and hardy race of seamen who united mercantile sagacity with courage, honesty, and enterprise.¹

During this period one industry received an extraordinary and momentous impetus. The export of cotton in 1792 was only 138,328 pounds; in 1795 it had risen to 6,276,300. So little attention did this export attract, however, that neither Jay nor the English ministers with whom he negotiated his treaty in 1794, remembered that cotton was a product of the United States. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as its culture had long been nurtured in the Southern States. Nearly twenty years before, the State of South Carolina had given to one of her citizens a reward of two hundred pounds for inventing a cotton card, and official measures were taken to bring it into use.² Whitney invented the



The Cotton Plant.

cotton-gin in 1793, and from that moment the question of slavery assumed an importance which was to make it paramount to all others for the next seventy years.

¹ A view of the exports of the country shows a steady increase from \$19,012,041 in 1791, to \$67,064,097 in 1796. They fell off the next year, to increase again in 1798. The fisheries, which had suffered during the war and had not recovered in 1790, revived again under the impulse of a special bounty and the resumption of trade.

² The following report is from the original manuscript, in the possession of Samuel Wilde, Esq., of New York:—

“ IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
the 22d day of August, 1777.

“ Report of the Committee to whom the Petition of Thomas Lenoir was referred, as amended and agreed to by the House.

“ That they have considered the Petition of Mr. Lenoir, and have had sufficient evidence to convince your committee that the said Petitioner is qualified to carry on the business

The continued existence of slavery was one of the most difficult questions of settlement and compromise in the formation and adoption of the Federal Constitution. The Convention ^{Slave labor.} hoped it had been put to rest forever by securing the termination of the slave trade in 1808. Opposition to that trade and to slavery was with many, and especially the Friends, a religious conviction. In the first year of the new government petitions were sent in from members of that society in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, asking for its abolition. One from a Delaware Quaker, Warner Mifflin, for the abolition of slavery, was returned to the petitioner.¹ The ground was generally taken, however, that Congress had no power over slavery in the States. In the Territories, indeed, it had power, and it exercised it with geographical distinctions.

In 1783, the several States claiming the right of domain in the region northwest of the Ohio River ceded those claims to the United States, and in March, 1784, a committee was appointed by Congress, with Jefferson as chairman, to report a plan for its government.² By that plan, slavery was prohibited, but not till the year 1800. This was Jefferson's famous Ordinance, for which so much credit has been awarded him; but fortunately this portion of it relating to slavery was defeated for want of Southern votes. Had the slaveholders been wise enough to accept it, and maintained the right of possession from 1784 to 1800, there can hardly be a doubt that the movement of half-a-dozen years later, led by William Henry Harrison,

both of drawing the wire and making as good wool and cotton cards as are usually imported into this State, and do therefore recommend that the sum of Two hundred Pounds be immediately given to Mr. Lenoir, as a reward, he being the first Person that has begun that business, and a farther sum of Eight hundred pounds advanced him on his giving an obligation to deliver to Joseph Kershaw, Esquire, at Camden, and in case of his death or absence from the State, to such Person as may be appointed by the President for the time being to receive the same, to be sold on account of the public, after giving twenty days Public notice of such Sale, Forty pair of good cotton cards at the end of one year, and forty pair equally good at the end of the second Year, proved upon oath to have been all manufactured by the said Thomas Lenoir within this State.

"Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Treasury be served with a copy of the foregoing Report, and that they advance the sums of money and take the obligation therein mentioned.

"By order of the House. THO. BEE, Speaker."

"Received, August 22, 1777, from the Com'srs of the Treasury, One Thousand Pounds of the within Resolution of the Gen. Assembly.

"THOS. LENOIR."

¹ "As I do feel alarmed," — said Mifflin in commenting on the refusal to receive his petition, — "when I consider that the solemn professions so lately made in time of extremity and danger, and held up as the national faith, should so soon on this important occasion seem to be regarded as mere tricks of State, what can be thought will be the issue? May it not be considered as trifling with omnipotence?" — *A Serious Expostulation with the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States.*

² The Ordinance reported provided that the States into which the region was to be eventually divided should have the fanciful names of Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelesipia.

to make Illinois and Indiana slave States, would have been successful.

But by the Ordinance of 1787, all the territory northwest of the Ohio, then belonging to the United States, and comprising the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, was saved for free men and free labor by the interdiction of slavery then and forever. It was expected that this western country would be settled by emigrants from the Northern States, and millions of acres were bought for that purpose by a Massachusetts Land Company, and others, at the time of the passage of the Ordinance. It was probably for this reason that the Constitution and laws of Massachusetts were made the basis of the Ordinance, and the work of framing it was intrusted to Nathan Dane, a member of Congress from that State; and for this reason, probably, the Southern members of the committee, to whom the subject was referred, acquiesced in the prohibition of slavery in a region where they did not believe it would flourish.¹

It was held by some that the Ordinance of 1787 applied to all the Territories; but when, in 1789, North Carolina ceded her western lands to the Union, under the condition "that no regulation made or to be made by Congress shall tend to the emancipation of slaves," the cession was accepted with that condition.

The necessity for general education had been recognized in the Ordinance of 1787, and the measures then taken were perpetuated in the States formed out of the Territories. In the older States the necessity had been felt, and provision made in different degrees; but in nearly all the new State constitutions, educational interests were acknowledged. The great movement for compulsory and universal education came at a later date; the people were still somewhat influenced by old habits which separated the great body of un-

¹ An attempt was made in *The North American Review* for April, 1876, by Mr. W. F. Poole, to show that Dr. Manasseh Cutler, and not Nathan Dane, was the real author of the Ordinance of 1787. Dr. Cutler was the agent of the Ohio Land Company of Massachusetts, and other proposed purchasers of Western lands, and the purchases depended, apparently, upon the character of the government to be established over that region. It is quite probable, therefore, that Cutler may have been permitted to read the Ordinance before it was reported to the House, and he may have suggested some changes. The evidence that he wrote the article relating to the prohibition of slavery depends upon the assertion of Dr. Cutler's son in 1849, that, forty-five years before, he heard his father say — twenty years after the date of the Ordinance — that the article relating to slavery was his. But the evidence that it was written by Dane is his own handwriting, on a printed copy of the instrument found among the archives of the United States. An earlier attempt to take away the honor from Dane, and to bestow it upon Jefferson, was made by Senators Benton and Hayne, in a debate with Webster in 1830, in the United States Senate. But the Ordinance of 1784, which Jefferson wrote, did not prohibit slavery till 1800, and even that never became the law, nor was there any essential similarity in the two ordinances.

educated from the small body of educated men. Nevertheless, the growth of free government was the growth of education for all. Noah Webster, a man of narrow but forcible intellect, in 1783 began the publication of elementary school-books, and continued ^{Noah Webster.} his work amidst ridicule and against obstacles which would have appalled a man less obstinate and self-confident. He avowed his purpose to be "to diffuse an uniformity and purity of language in America, to destroy the provincial prejudices that originate in the trifling differences of dialect and produce reciprocal ridicule, to promote the interest of literature and the harmony of the United States." He preached a crusade of nationalism, and had dreams of an Ameri-



Fort Washington — Cincinnati.

can language. Societies for the preservation of historical material began also to come into existence, and the scattered and feeble representatives of literature and science to combine into associations. Society itself was undergoing a change in manners and gradation, under the enthusiasm of republican ideas; but the distinctions of rank did not disappear suddenly. At Philadelphia, the seat of government, they were still rigidly insisted upon. The President rode out to take the air, with six horses to his coach, and two footmen. He held a republican court in which the unwritten laws of etiquette were carefully regarded. It was proposed, and the proposition debated with ardor, that he should be addressed as his "High Mightiness." His birthday was celebrated in the cities, and odes were often

addressed to him. Much of this state, however, grew out of the personal regard in which Washington was held. The judges of the Supreme Court wore robes of scarlet faced with velvet; clergymen wore wigs with gowns and bands; and gentlemen and ladies were distinguished by the richness and elaborateness of their dress. College customs imitated in miniature the ranks and grades of society in the outer world. The Revolution had made many inroads upon these customs, but the years following peace saw them still carefully observed by many people, especially in the cities.¹

North Carolina had given in her adhesion shortly after the formation of the Government, and Rhode Island followed in a few months, — the last of the original thirteen. Vermont was admitted in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796.

In the North, the western part of New York was still the Great West; but the Ohio country was receiving settlers from Westward emigration. New England, Kentucky from Virginia, and Tennessee from North Carolina. The removal of the western frontier was accompanied by the same conflict which had gone on since the discovery of the country. Every step taken over the mountains into the fertile lands of the West was taken in territory held by Indian tribes. John Cleves Symmes, afterward famous for his theory that the earth is hollow, with openings at the poles, obtained in 1788 a grant of one million acres bounded south by the Ohio and west by the Miami — extending twenty miles on the Ohio, and about eighty on the Miami. Here two principal settlements were begun, — North Bend and Cincinnati. The former seemed likely to become the centre of trade for the Miami country, but a personal incident decided otherwise. Ensign Luce, sent thither to make a fortification for the protection of the settlers, became enamoured of a beautiful woman, the wife of a settler, and the prudent husband presently removed with her to Cincinnati. Thereupon the Ensign began to doubt the strategic importance of North Bend, and against the protestations of Judge Symmes, he removed his command to Cincinnati, and put up a substantial block-house, and the necessity for protection soon drew after him most of the inhabitants of North Bend. A few years later the block-house was replaced by a work called Fort Washington.²

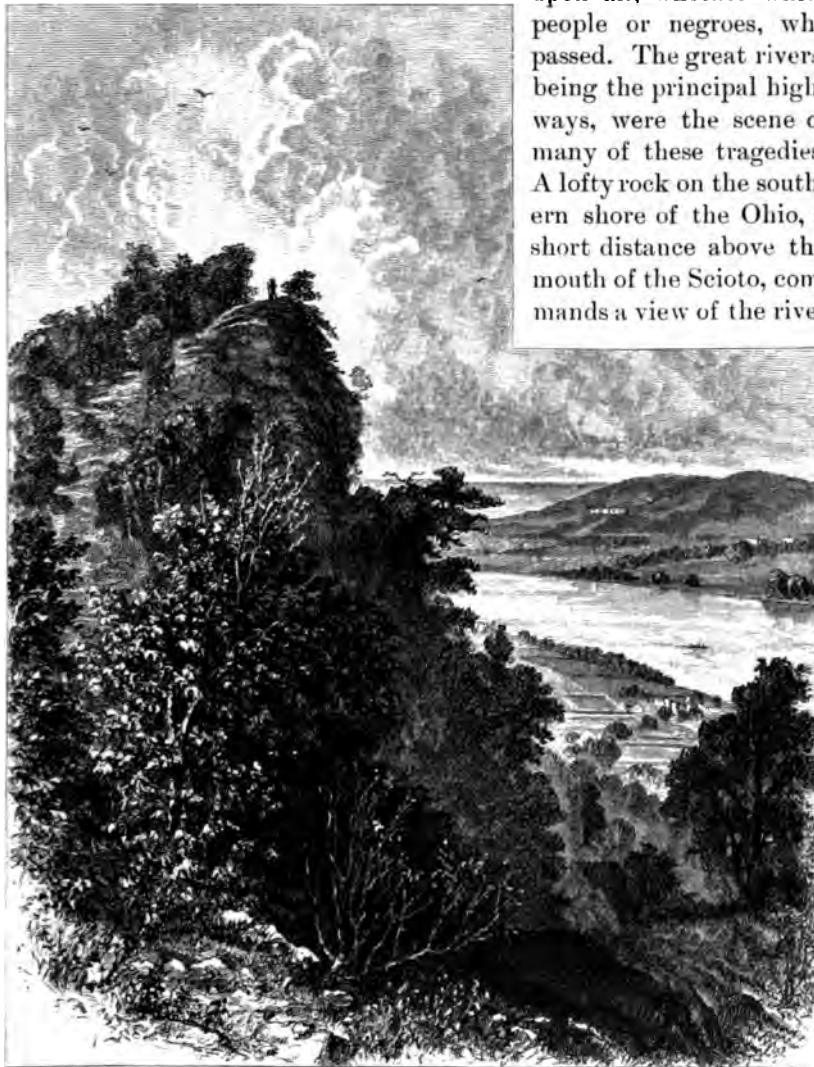
Some of the frontier posts which, under the treaty of 1783, should have been surrendered, were still retained by England. Hostilities in the West From these posts, communication was kept up with the Indians, who were made to believe that the Americans had no claim to any territory beyond the Ohio, and were incited to continual acts of

¹ For many details on these points, see *Recollections by Samuel Breck*, *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*, and *The Harvard Book*.

² Burnet's *Notes on the Northwestern Territory*.

hostility. A cruel warfare upon settlers was gradually developed. Men went out in the morning to plough, and at evening were found dead in the furrow. Women and children were killed in their houses. The savages lay in concealment along the lines of travel, and fired

upon all, whether white people or negroes, who passed. The great rivers, being the principal high-ways, were the scene of many of these tragedies. A lofty rock on the southern shore of the Ohio, a short distance above the mouth of the Scioto, commands a view of the river



The Indians' Rock, near Portsmouth, on the Ohio.

for a long distance, and was used as a watch-tower for the discovery of boats descending the stream. Often a white prisoner was sent to the water's edge, to decoy them to the shore, and after the bloody

work was done, the boat-load of corpses was sent adrift to tell its ghastly story to the settlements below. Several incipient villages were plundered and burned, and their scattered inhabitants never rebuilt them. Judge Harry Innis declared that to his knowledge fifteen hundred persons had been killed or captured by the Indians on or near the Ohio since 1783,¹ and the number of horses stolen was estimated at twenty thousand.

Antoine Gamelin, who had been an Indian trader, was sent out in the spring of 1790 to visit the disaffected tribes and invite them to enter into a treaty of peace with the United States, or confirm the treaty that had been made at Marietta the previous year. He found the older people generally disposed to be peaceful, but the young men were not so pacific. Said a chief of the Kickapoos, "You invite us to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British." All the tribes told him they could not give a final answer till they had conferred with the British authorities at Detroit. When it was found that peace through peaceable means was hopeless, Congress authorized General St. Clair, Governor of the Territory, to call for five hundred militiamen from Pennsylvania, and a thousand from Kentucky, and with these and a regiment of four hundred regulars under General Harmar, make a campaign against some of the principal Indian villages. By the 1st of October Harmar's campaign. the expedition, commanded by Harmar, was fairly in motion. It passed up the valley of the Little Miami, and found the Indian villages at the head-waters deserted. Here the troops girdled the fruit-trees and destroyed the winter store of corn. Thence the line of march was westward, crossing the Great Miami at Piqua, and thence northwesterly about thirty miles, when a halt was made. The principal village, Girty's Town, was fifty miles distant, near the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Colonel Hardin was sent forward with six hundred men to surprise it. They found it deserted and burned, and went into camp to await the arrival of the main body. Four days later, October 20, Colonel Hardin was sent with a hundred and fifty militiamen and thirty regulars to destroy a town, six miles southward, on the St. Mary's. This detachment fell into an ambuscade, and the militia at once broke and fled. The regulars stood their ground, and fought bayonet against tomahawk, till all were killed but two officers and two privates, who escaped to a swamp. General Harmar immediately resolved to make his way back to Fort Washington; but he had only marched eight miles when intelligence came that the Indians had re-occupied their village. Hardin begged for an opportunity to retrieve his disaster, and was

¹ Letter to the Secretary of War, July 7, 1790.

permitted to turn back with six hundred militia and sixty regulars. He made skilful dispositions, and attacked vigorously ; but the savages were more skilful than he. They pretended to be defeated, fell back across the Maumee, and then retreated up the St. Joseph, followed for two miles by the militia. But a portion of them had remained behind in ambush to intercept the regulars, and now fell upon them in overwhelming numbers. The fight was desperate, and largely hand-to-hand, and but eight of the regulars escaped. The militia were unable to overtake the Indians in their front, and on their return down the St. Joseph were annoyed by a continuous fire from both banks. The remnant of Harmar's force returned to Fort Washington, having lost one hundred and eighty-three killed and forty wounded, but had not killed more than fifty Indians. Harmar and Hardin were court-martialed, but acquitted.

The next spring, Gen. Charles Scott, of Kentucky, organized a brigade of mounted riflemen, crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Kentucky, surprised and destroyed several Indian villages on the Wabash and Eel Rivers, laid waste their corn-fields, and returned in June with fifty-eight prisoners, without having lost a man, and with only five wounded.

Scott's raid.

In August a similar raid, with similar success, was made by Colonel Wilkinson against the villages on the northern tributaries of the Wabash.

Meanwhile General St. Clair was organizing a more formidable expedition, consisting of about two thousand men, with cavalry and artillery. Leaving Fort Washington on October 3, this force advanced twenty miles to Fort Hamilton on



General Arthur St. Clair.

the Miami, thence twenty miles farther north, and erected Fort St. Clair, and thence twenty miles farther and erected Fort Jefferson, near the present boundary between Ohio and Indiana. The force was now considerably reduced, not only by the detachments for garrisons, but by numerous desertions. St. Clair pushed forward into the wilderness, and on November 3 encamped

St. Clair's campaign.

on a wooded plain among the southeastern sources of the Wabash. Before sunrise next morning a horde of Indians, led by Blue Jacket, Little Turtle, and Simon Girty, fell upon the camp of the militia, who at once retreated in disorder upon the main camp, and threw it into confusion. The Indians pressed close after them, and attacked furiously, especially on the centre, where the guns were posted. Considerable execution was done by these; but the gunners were repeatedly driven from their pieces. Several bayonet charges routed the savages on either flank in succession; but each time they rallied and returned to the attack, their numbers apparently undiminished, while the American forces were constantly decreasing, the loss of officers being especially heavy. At last the artillery was silenced, half of the army had fallen,¹ and the remainder began a retreat that quickly degenerated into a disgraceful rout in which everything was abandoned. The Indians pursued only a short distance, and then returned to despatch the wounded and scalp the dead. Several of their prisoners were burned at the stake. During the fight, British officers in full uniform were seen on the field. They had come from Detroit to witness the exploits of their savage friends.

After these defeats, a peaceful settlement was more hopeless than ever. Repeated flag-parties sent out to open negotiations Wayne's campaign. were treacherously murdered. The renegade Simon Girty, a Pennsylvanian in the British service, who had great influence with the savages, declared that he would "raise all hell to prevent a peace," and Lord Dorchester, in the autumn of 1793, issued a proclamation to the Indians, in which he said: "From the manner in which the people of the United States push forward, act, and talk, I should not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year. If so, a line will have to be drawn by the warriors." The only remedy was vigorous war, and the most vigorous man to prosecute it was Anthony Wayne.

This dashing soldier of the Revolution was appointed Major-general in 1792, and given the supreme command in the West, with power to raise three additional regiments of infantry and two thousand dragoons, for a term of three years. Early in 1793, he began to concentrate troops and supplies at Fort Washington; but recruiting was slow, and it was September before he could advance. Then he marched northward eighty miles, built Fort Greenville, — the present site of Greenville, Darke County, Ohio, — and went into winter quar-

¹ Thirty-eight officers and six hundred privates were killed or missing, and twenty-one officers and two hundred and forty-two privates wounded. Among the camp-followers were two hundred and fifty women, fifty-six of whom were killed, and most of the others captured.

ters. At the same time, Governor Simcoe marched from Detroit with a detachment of British troops, and established a military post at the rapids of the Maumee. All winter the Indians were vigilant, and they seldom failed to attack any small party that ventured far from the fortifications. They seemed to understand that a decisive struggle was at hand, and quotas were sent from nearly all the northern and western tribes. In June, a strong detachment sent out by Wayne to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, buried the bleaching bones of six hundred men, and built Fort Recovery. This work was attacked, on June 30 and July 1, by a large body of Indians, assisted by a considerable number of French Canadians with blackened faces, and encouraged by a few British officers whose brilliant uniforms were conspicuous on the field. The Americans lost twenty-five killed and thirty wounded; but the assailants were driven off with heavy loss. The Indians were employed two nights in carrying away their dead and wounded.

In July, Wayne was reinforced by 1,600 mounted Kentuckians under General Charles Scott, and having now nearly four thousand men, he set out for the Indian town on the Au Glaize. He had been minutely instructed by President Washington, whose experience of savage warfare dated back



General Anthony Wayne.

to Braddock's defeat, and the orders were carefully observed. He marched with open files, to secure quickness in forming a line in thick woods, or prolonging the flanks. He kept his army together, and always halted in the middle of the afternoon, encamped in a hollow square, and surrounded it with a rampart of logs. On the 2d of August he arrived at St. Mary's River, where he erected Fort Adams and left a garrison. Thence he crossed the Au Glaize, and marched down that stream, through villages and fertile fields, all deserted, to its junction with the Maumee, where he built Fort Defiance. Meanwhile the cavalry were laying waste the country for miles on either side the line of march. The next advance was down

the Maumee, to the head of the rapids, within seven miles of the British Fort Maumee, where Wayne built Fort Deposit. He now had two thousand regulars and eleven hundred mounted riflemen, all well disciplined. On the morning of August 20, the Americans advanced in three columns, and found the Indians and Canadians formed in three lines, their left resting on the river, and their right extending nearly two miles to a dense thicket. While the cavalry attempted to turn their flanks, the infantry advanced with trailed arms against the centre, roused the enemy with the bayonet, poured a volley into them as they turned their backs to retreat, and then continued the charge so impetuously that the line was completely broken, and the fugitives, pursued for two miles, took refuge under the guns of the British fort.

In this action Wayne lost forty-four killed and a hundred wounded. The loss of the enemy was not ascertained. The victorious troops were encamped for three days in sight of the British post, and destroyed all the houses and property in the vicinity. They then returned to Fort Defiance, laying waste the country as they went, and continued the march to the Miami villages, at the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's, where Fort Wayne was built. This campaign put an end to Indian hostilities for the time, and rendered the name of Wayne a terror to the savages, which no persuasions of their English friends could allay. In 1795 a treaty was made at Fort Greenville, by which the Indians ceded a large tract of land to the United States, and the close of these Indian hostilities marks the beginning of the rapid and safe settlement of the West.

In the recommendation of an excise on distilled spirits, made by Secretary Hamilton in his report of 1790, he asserted that such duties were not novel, as several of the State governments had imposed them,¹ and that all ground for objection might be removed by giving the officers no summary jurisdiction, and restricting their search to depositories which the dealers themselves should designate. A bill drawn up by him was passed by Congress, in March, 1791, after a long debate, and went into operation in July. It increased the duty on imported spirits, making it from twenty to forty cents a gallon and laid a tax on distillation. The law met with violent opposition, especially in central North Carolina and Western Pennsylvania. The Legislature of Pennsylvania had instructed their representatives in Congress to vote against it, and the people of the western counties — sustained by several eminent men, among whom was Albert Gallatin — held meetings, appointed committees, and

¹ This was true. But it was also true, that in some of the States, notably Pennsylvania, it had been found impossible to collect them.

adopted resolutions demanding an unconditional repeal. So violent was the feeling, that General John Neville — who, at his own expense, had equipped and marched a company to Boston in 1776, who was known far and wide for his benevolence, and in years of scarcity had thrown open his wheat-fields to his poor neighbors — was insulted and mobbed, and finally had his house burned down, because he accepted the office of collector for Western Pennsylvania.

The counties west of the Alleghanies — Fayette, Washington, Allegheny, and Westmoreland — contained about 70,000 inhabitants,



A Mountain Still.

including a considerable number of recent Irish emigrants, who had brought with them their traditional hatred of excise laws and their habitual methods of opposing them. Several of Neville's deputies were tarred and feathered; others yielded to the clamor of the mob, and resigned. It was pleaded on behalf of the insurgents that the tax bore heavily upon the poor people of this region, who had no transportation over the mountains except by pack-horses, and had, therefore, no market for their grain unless they reduced it to spirits, — a fallacious argument, though even now believed in, since all taxes are added to prices and ultimately come out of the consumer. It was not the tax on the whiskey they sent over the mountains that really



View of Pittsburgh in 1790.

troubled these people, but on that which they drank themselves, said to be no inconsiderable portion of their whole product.

The rebellion rapidly gathered head, till finally there was a thorough organization for resistance to the law. On July 15, 1794, General Neville's house, barricaded and occupied by his servants and a few friends, was attacked by forty armed men, who were fired upon and driven off, six of them being wounded. The next day the mob returned, increased to five hundred, and led by John Holcroft, who had become notorious as "Tom the Tinker," and under that signature had written seditious articles which the newspapers did not dare refuse to publish. But the party in the house had been reënforced by a dozen soldiers, and the demand for surrender was rejected. The rioters attacked the house, and received a volley which killed their chosen military leader, one McFarlane, and wounded several others. The outhouses

were then set on fire, the defenders, three of whom were wounded, were compelled to surrender, and the mansion itself was soon in flames. A few days later, the mail to Philadelphia was intercepted, and several letters which gave accounts of the riotous proceedings subjected their writers to special persecution.

The insurgents next summoned the militia to meet on Braddock's Field, August 1, armed and provisioned for four days, and seven thousand responded. William Bradford assumed command, and marched them into Pittsburg; but they were unwilling to carry out his design of capturing Fort Pitt, and gradually dispersed. Governor Mifflin, on various excuses, declined to call out the militia to suppress the insurrection, and it was spreading to contiguous States. President Washington, who feared that successful resistance to one law might be the beginning of rebellion against all law, called on New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia for 15,000 men, and sent commissioners to the scene of the disturbance with power to arrange for peaceful submission any time before September 14. Ten days after that date, they returned to Philadelphia, having failed to make a satisfactory settlement. The troops were promptly put in motion, the Governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia commanding their respective quotas. The left wing, marching by Braddock's route, captured more than a hundred insurgents at Hagerstown; the right, marching through Carlisle, had an encounter with the populace, and killed a man and a boy. It is said that many of the soldiers died of disease contracted while crossing the Alleghanies in inclement weather. On the appearance of the troops, the insurrection subsided. Some of the leaders left the country; many hastened to avail themselves of the proffered amnesty; others were arrested and brought to trial. Two only were convicted of treason, and they were pardoned by the President.

Five years later, a similar, but much less violent, insurrection took place in another section of Pennsylvania. Discontent with the window-tax began to manifest itself in 1798, and in the spring of 1799 a rebellion against it broke out in Northampton County, and quickly spread into adjoining counties. Most of the insurgents were Germans, or of German descent. The President promptly called out the militia, and in a short time the leaders, deserted by their followers, submitted to arrest. The chief of them, John Fries, was put upon trial in May, for high treason. The trial lasted nine days, and resulted in a verdict of "guilty." A new trial was granted, and held in April, 1800, with the same result, and Fries was sentenced to be hanged. Against the advice of every member of his Cabinet, the President not only pardoned him, but issued a gen-

Fries's in-
surrection.

eral amnesty for all the offenders.¹ Fries had declared that "great men were at the bottom of the business," but he gave no names, and there was only his own word to justify the statement. Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, in writing to the President, said: "B. McClenachan, of the House of Representatives, was certainly an agitator among the insurgents, but I do not know, nor do I believe, that the insurgents had any general views, other than to defeat the execution of the act of assessment." Fries subsequently opened a tin-ware shop in Philadelphia, and became rich and respectable. The pecuniary cost of this insurrection, to the government, was comparatively trifling — eighty thousand dollars. The Whiskey Insurrection had cost eleven hundred thousand.

Hamilton's associate in office was Thomas Jefferson, who, as Secretary of State, represented the relations which the country held with Europe. It is true that so far as those relations were commercial, — as they chiefly were, — they belonged to Hamilton's department, and the two Secretaries were brought into close communion. That the contact was one of conflict was inevitable, both from the nature of the men and from the widely opposing views which they represented. Hamilton, possessed of the keenest intellect and the most aggressive nature in the Federalist ranks, boldly stood in the front upon all the great national questions. His leadership, moreover, was of men having a clear conception of the work needed in establishing the government. The opposing party blindly and fiercely attacked the Federalist measures, but not until it found its leader in Jefferson did it discover its own power as a party. Gradually it dropped the negative title of Anti-federal, and adopted that of Republican. Jefferson came back from France filled with the popular ideas, which were looked upon as the manifestation of a new humanity, and he found a large number of people ready to kindle to enthusiasm at the mention of France. His adherents were among those who were moved by a constant jealousy of a strong central government. France was establishing the "Rights of Man;" they had themselves taken part in the deliverance of their own country from British tyranny, and they feared in Hamilton and his associates a party which would forge new

Hamilton
and Jefferson.

French influence.

¹ It was argued by the prisoner's counsel that resistance to a specific law was not high treason, but simply riot, — except in the case of the militia law, resistance to which was tantamount to resisting all laws, since they all depended upon this for their enforcement. Mr. Adams appears to have adopted this view, for which he was severely criticised by Hamilton. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, had written to the President: "Painful as is the idea of taking the life of a man, I feel a calm and solid satisfaction that an opportunity is now presented, in executing the just sentence of the law, to crush that spirit which, if not overthrown and destroyed, may proceed in its career and overturn the government."

chains for them. Clubs sprang up all over the country, in imitation of the French republican clubs, and the dress and names of the French heroes of the hour were enthusiastically copied in the streets of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

The Federalists, reviled for their supposed English proclivities, were certainly not helped by those whose allies they were charged with being. England, in 1791, had tardily sent George Hammond to represent her in the United States; but she continued to treat them as if they were still rebellious colonies. The effort made by Hammond on his arrival to negotiate a commercial treaty was obstructed by Jefferson. The sharpest controversy between the two countries arose when England, at war with France, undertook to control the commercial movements of the world. In June, 1793, she ordered that the goods of a neutral power, if consisting of provisions for the enemy, were to be captured or bought up, unless shipped to a friendly port. In November, she declared all vessels laden with the produce of a French colony to be lawful prize, and claimed the right of search, with power to impress into her service all seamen of British birth, wherever found. These acts created the bitterest feeling against England, and fanned into a stronger flame the zeal of the French party.

But the French were no less aggressive. In April, 1793, Edmund Charles Genet landed at Charleston, accredited to the United States from France. He came fresh from the councils which had sent Louis XVI. to the scaffold, and was received with enthusiasm by the French party in the United States. Without waiting to present himself at Philadelphia, he issued commissions to privateers and ordered that their prizes should be tried and condemned by French consuls in the United States. He fancied that the people who welcomed him constituted the Government of the United States, or at least could control it. He threatened to appeal to the people against the decisions of the officers of the administration, and became, at last, so violent in his insolence, that there was no decent or dignified course to pursue but to demand his recall. The Neutrality Act of 1794 was passed by Congress as a defensive measure at this critical juncture.

A British order in council, issued in November of this year, directing the cruisers to make prize of any vessel carrying the produce of a French colony, or transporting supplies to such colony, became public two months later, and created great excitement in the United States. This was intensified by the speech of Lord Dorchester, already referred to. An embargo for thirty days, afterward extended to sixty, was at once laid by joint resolution of

Congress, and measures for strengthening the military power were introduced ; a resolution for the sequestration of debts due to British subjects, was debated ; and one to discontinue all commercial intercourse with Great Britain till the western posts had been surrendered, passed the House, and was only lost in the Senate by the casting vote. To avert war, Washington determined to send an envoy extraordinary to London to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce, and after careful consideration conferred the appointment upon Chief Justice Jay, who sailed in May, 1794.

He found Lord Grenville, Minister for Foreign Affairs, apparently quite as anxious as himself to place the relations of the two governments on a better footing, and by November they had agreed upon a treaty which was ratified by the Senate in June, 1795,



John Jay.

and went into operation in February, 1796.

The first ten articles, which were intended to be perpetual, provided for the withdrawal of British troops and garrisons from the western posts by June 1, 1796 ; for free inland navigation and trade to both nations upon lakes and rivers, except that the United States were excluded from the domain of the Hudson Bay Company ; for the admission of British vessels to the rivers and harbors on the sea-coast of the United States, but closing to

the vessels of the latter the rivers and harbors of the British colonies on the continent, except to small vessels trading between Montreal and Quebec ; the Mississippi to be open to both ; a joint survey of the head-waters of the Mississippi ; a commission to determine what was meant by the St. Croix River, and fix the northeastern boundary ; the United States to guarantee payment of debts to British creditors in all cases where they would be collectable by an

American creditor; Great Britain to pay for losses by irregular captures by British cruisers; citizens of either country to be permitted to hold landed property in the territory of the other; and no private property to be confiscated in case of war. By the twelfth article, which was to become void two years after the close of the existing war, trade between the United States and the West India Islands, in the productions of either, might be carried on on equal terms in both American and British vessels; but the former were prohibited from carrying West Indian products from the islands or from the States to any other part of the world. It provided for further negotiation at the end of the two years. The remaining articles, whose operation was limited also to two years,—unless the negotiation then under the twelfth article should decide otherwise,—provided that American vessels might trade to the East Indies, but in time of war must not take thence any rice or military or naval stores, without special permission, and must not carry anything to any place but the United States; established liberty of commerce between the British dominions in Europe and the United States; provided for the regulation of duties, the appointment of consuls, the proceedings with prizes captured at sea, and the rules of blockade, defined contraband of war, regulated privateering,¹ and promised to punish piracy; citizens of either country were not to accept commissions from any state at war with the other, on pain of being treated as outlaws; no reprisals were to be made till a demand for satisfaction had been refused; ships of war were to be received in each other's ports; foreign privateers were not to arm, or sell prizes, in the ports of either, if warring on the other; in case of war between Great Britain and the United States, citizens of either in the other's territory were not to be molested; and criminals escaping from one country to the other were to be delivered up.

This, as its friends admitted, was not altogether a good treaty; it was much more favorable to England than to the United States. But they argued that to the United States it was better than no treaty, better than war, better than a continual liability to war. Washington favored it, and all his cabinet, except Randolph, agreed with him. The opposition to it was very violent. Public meetings to denounce it, with riotous demonstrations, were held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and elsewhere. When it came before the House of Representatives, the opposition of the Democrats was bitter and unrestrained. The President's instructions to Jay, and all other papers relating to the treaty, were demanded. The President, with

¹ Mr. Jay had proposed an article abolishing privateering altogether, by citizens of either power against the commerce of the other; but Lord Grenville would not agree to it.

the assent of his Cabinet, denied that the House could rightfully make any such demand, and refused to comply with it. The treaty-making power was conferred by the Constitution exclusively upon the President and Senate; but the Democrats proposed to nullify the supreme law by withholding the necessary appropriations to carry out the terms of the treaty. Their ground was, that where the execution of any treaty — and treaties with Spain, with Algiers, and with the Northwestern Indians, as well as with Great Britain, were at this moment before the House — depended upon appropriations, they might be made or withheld at the pleasure of the House; that as regarded this particular treaty, it favored England, it was opposed to France, it was for the benefit of Northern trade, it failed to provide for the loss of slaves who fled with the British armies at the close of the Revolution. The resolution to make the needed appropriations, however, passed after a long and hot debate; but it was carried by Northern votes, only four votes from States south of the Potomac being given in its favor. The South was already quick to oppose anything that did not add to its own strength. The cloud, at first not bigger than a man's hand, was growing visibly larger.



Franklin's Grave in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.

THIRD ELECTION OF PRESIDENT. — NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN JEALOUSY. — THE CHIEF OF ONE PARTY THE SUCCESSOR TO THE CHIEF OF THE OTHER. — SENSITIVENESS OF PUBLIC MEN AND VIRULENCE OF THE PRESS. — ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS. — THE CARRYING TRADE OF THE WORLD. — FRANCE AND AMERICA. — ENGLAND AND AMERICA. — THE CONDESCENSION OF FOREIGNERS. — ENVOYS TO FRANCE. — THE X. Y. Z. CORRESPONDENCE. — NAPOLEON'S ACCESSION TO POWER. — YELLOW FEVER IN AMERICA. — WASHINGTON'S DEATH. — THREATENING OF WAR WITH FRANCE. — PREPARATIONS AGAINST SPAIN. — NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI. — WILKINSON'S CORRUPT INTRIGUES. — SPAIN'S DREAD OF THE UNITED STATES. — HAMILTON AND MIRANDA. — FOURTH ELECTION OF PRESIDENT. — THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA. — AARON BURR'S EXPEDITION. — HIS TRIAL FOR TREASON.

WITH the autumn of 1796 came the period prescribed for the third election of President. Through the summer it was not known, excepting to Washington himself, perhaps, and possibly to ^{Election of John Adams.} some confidential friends, whether he would serve for a third term. He had requested Madison and Hamilton to prepare drafts for a farewell address, — but this he had done in 1792, at the end of his first term. There was then no precedent which suggested that eight years was the period of a full presidency; nor do any of the authors of the Constitution seem to have committed themselves for or against such a suggestion. So far was it uncertain whether Washington would consent to serve that, in the nomination of electors, both parties aimed to strengthen themselves, if possible, by naming candidates who were certain to vote for him if he would stand. The other candidates were John Adams, who was supported by the Federalists, and Jefferson, who had received four electoral votes in the election for the second term.

It may well be believed that Washington permitted the doubt as to his purpose in the hope of strengthening the canvass of Adams's friends. And probably it had some effect in this direction. But it was easy for the Democratic leaders, who worked under very careful counsels from their own candidate, to name electors whose first vote would have been given to Washington. This was done in Virginia, and

probably in other States. The voters of the Federal party voted for electors with the intention of making Adams President, if they could, and Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, Vice-president. The intention of Democratic voters was to make Jefferson President, and to elect as Vice-president Aaron Burr, of New York, who had received four years before, one electoral vote thrown away in South Carolina. The reader must remember, however, that it was impossible for the electors in the most distant States to confer with one another in the period between their own election and the day when they met to choose the President. The North was jealous of the South, and the South of the North. In the fear, therefore, at the North, that Mr. Pinckney might be chosen President at the South over Mr. Adams, the New Hampshire electors threw away their six votes for Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut. One elector in Massachusetts and four in Rhode Island did the same. Five of the Connecticut electors voted for Jay instead of Pinckney. In South Carolina, to have the whole government in the hands of Southern men, the electors, regardless of other party ties, gave their eight votes for Jefferson and Pinckney, though one was a Federal candidate and the other a Democrat. This was exactly what the Northern electors had feared. Pinckney also lost four votes in Georgia, which were given to George Clinton. The result was, that while Adams had seventy-one votes, just the number necessary for a choice, Mr. Pinckney had but fifty-nine. Jefferson, whose votes were all given by persons in opposition to Adams, had sixty-eight votes — not a majority. The Senate had to choose him or Pinckney Vice-president, and chose Jefferson. Thus the head of one party was chosen President, and the head of the other, Vice-president, of the Republic.

To the eyes of the actors in the politics of those four years, unaccustomed as they were to the larger movements of nations, their contests seemed of supreme importance; and certainly they were conducted with an acrimony that had never been known in America

before, and never has been known since. The writers for the press were, unfortunately, in many cases, adventurers from other lands, who had nothing at risk, and were quite unacquainted with the traditions of America, and with those underlying and fundamental characteristics of a nation, which cannot be expressed, even in constitutions, but which need to be recognized in all its policy. To the bitterness of the invective and satire of such writers, the public men of the country were new. Of the impotence of such invective and satire they had no experience. Their letters and their public addresses, therefore, are full of such allusions to the venomous and hateful slanders of the press as must have de-

The bitterness of politics.

lighted the assailants, really insignificant, whose spite thus gained far more influence than it deserved.

The violence of such invective drove the Government to propose a measure, passed by Congress, which was in fact aimed at these very writers. On the 18th of June, 1798, this act was approved. The facility of naturalization was restricted, and the President was permitted to send out of the country such aliens as he thought dangerous to the United States. He might give license to aliens to remain during his pleasure; he might require bonds for their good behavior. Aliens who had no licenses might be imprisoned; and masters of vessels who brought them might be fined for not reporting their arrival. This statute was certainly not in the tone of those trumpet proclamations which represented America as the home of the oppressed of all nations. It did not meet with a very hospitable welcome from those travellers — more remarkable for their former rank than for their numbers — who in the troubles of Europe sought America as the land of promise. Volney, Talleyrand, and Chateaubriand, and the son of Philippe l'Egalité, the Duke of Orleans, are representatives of this class of travellers, some of whom had some thought of becoming citizens of the Republic. The framers of the law had not such men in mind, so much as men of whom Cobbett and Duane are the better types, who had brought sharp pens with them, which they were ready to use whenever they could sting men to madness or draw hot blood. It is still a question whether this law was unconstitutional.¹ Handled as it was by the writers whom it was meant to terrify, it certainly proved obnoxious.

It was coupled in the popular opinion with what was called the Sedition Law. The "Alien and Sedition Laws" stood and fell together as monuments of what their friends called the courage, and their enemies the folly, of the Federal party. The Sedition Law made five offences penal, which have been briefly described as "defaming Congress or the President," "exciting the hatred of the people against them," "stirring up sedition in the United States," "raising unlawful combinations for resisting the laws," and "aiding foreign nations against the United States." It cannot be doubted that in

¹ Von Holst (*Constitutional History of the United States*) says, "for a long time they had been considered in the United States as unquestionably unconstitutional." This is too strong. But Chief Justice Marshall is said to have intimated it. There is a letter of Calhoun's which Von Holst probably had in mind, in which he says that "no constitutional question of a political character which has been agitated" — since the adoption of the Constitution — "has ever been settled in the public mind, except that of the unconstitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Laws, and, what is remarkable, that was settled against the decision of the Supreme Court." But the Supreme Court never gave any decision, although all the judges of the time, except Judge Chase, in different decisions pronounced them constitutional.

the organization of the government some legislation on such points was necessary. Such legislation has been silently approved and assented to in later times. But in the process of forming national opinion and a national life, this particular measure met the same storm of dissent which fell upon the Alien Act. That act had the additional misfortune of being based on an English model. The English Alien Law, indeed, had given to the English Government the power of banishing some of those strangers whose comfort here was now threatened by the sister act in America.¹

Both acts, and the bitter discussion which accompanied them, might have fallen into the forgetfulness in which lie many other laws passed and repealed in times of great partisan excitement, but for the comments made on them by the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky. In resolutions which for half a century were celebrated, — referred to, indeed, more often than they were read, — these legislative bodies declared, that when Congress passed acts beyond its constitutional powers, the States were not bound to obey, and that each State had the right to determine the question of constitutionality. The resolves had the more importance because they were secretly dictated by Vice-president Jefferson, the leader of the Democratic party. In the

Kentucky resolutions, the significant word "nullification" first occurs. In the original draft of the Resolutions of 1798, written by Jefferson himself, he says: "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy: that every State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact, to nullify, of their own authority, all assumptions of power by others within their limits." Though this passage was omitted in the resolutions of that year, it was restored, with some slight verbal changes, in those adopted a year later. The resolutions were transmitted to the legislatures of the other States. They became matters of eager discussion, and were for half a century the declaration of the "State Rights" theory of the Constitution. As, in point of fact, Jefferson became President, in an election where these resolutions made the programme of his supporters, as he never had any thought afterward of abandoning any power which the Federal Government could claim, and as his successors followed the same convenient precedents, the "nullification" resolutions never had any practical effect, until South Carolina, led by Mr. Calhoun, attempted to carry out the doctrine, a generation afterward. For the present,

¹ "During this debate, an Irish representative remarked to a stranger in the lobby, that nearly one fourth of the members then present were natives of Europe." — *American Annual Register*, vol. ii. The debate was on the stamp-tax on naturalization papers, July 1, 1797.

the resolutions gave the rallying cry to the Republican or Democratic party for the overthrow of President Adams and his supporters.

Foreign negotiations, meanwhile, occupied attention and interest, such as belonged to a struggle in Europe in which every fundamental principle was involved. That struggle, from Foreign relations. the very nature of the case, interested the sailors and merchants of the United States. It appeared already that a "carrying trade" was possible for American vessels, because they were neutrals, which might become a trade of very great value. Between Europe, America, and the East Indies, and between the different ports of Europe, American vessels could go and come, while the vessels of belligerent powers were restrained by frequent blockades. This profitable commerce gave a development which even later times would call large, to the ship-building and mercantile life of the United States, especially in those States whose people had most experience on the sea.

But it was fettered by many annoyances. England had never abandoned the custom, which now seems so barbarous, of impressing into the naval service of the King such seamen as might be needed, wherever they were found. In the voyages of English cruisers, the commanders did not scruple to search for English seamen on board of American merchant ships. They often abused a privilege which was at best but the right of the stronger, and would take from an American vessel American seamen, under the pretext that they were English. Restrictions on commerce. Commanders of blockading squadrons, also, when they had overhauled an American merchantman, did not readily abandon such a prize because she was a neutral. The vessel would be turned from her voyage, and sent into a convenient port for adjudication. Even if the court there pronounced the seizure illegal, and released the vessel, the delay of her voyage was an insult to the nation and a serious injury to her master, crew, and owners. As, generally speaking, half Europe was at war against the other half, every American vessel sailing from one belligerent port to another had to pass two blockading squadrons, if the blockades which had been proclaimed were enforced. It may readily be supposed that the unprotected merchantmen of a nation far away were by no means sure of friendly investigation by officers of such squadrons. The "right of search."

Nor were considerations of interest the only ones which brought the people of the United States into close relationship with European politics. The sympathy of France with America through the Revolution had been close and efficient. The present war was the result of an effort made by Frenchmen to establish a republic, and they

were eager to acknowledge that they had taken their first lessons in republican government in America. On the other hand, it was from a war with England that the United States was only now recovering. All along the coast were traces of the incursions of English soldiers or English sailors. War had assumed all those forms of personal resentment which are inevitable where hostile armies land on an unprotected coast, and where the first object of the invasion is to strip the farms of the food which may be necessary to the invader. Such memories do not die in one generation. In this instance they left a bitterness against England in the minds of the people of the United States, which was never vainly appealed to by the leaders of parties, till half a century had gone by.

The proceedings of Genet, Adet, and Fouchet in representing the French Government in America had been exasperating to Washington. To that air of condescension still observable in all foreigners in America, they added the arrogance which reminded their hosts of the bounties of Louis XVI., — and an arrogance of their own, as representatives of pure republicanism, in comparison with which they considered that of America but a sham. More than one of these diplomatists met the rebuke of Washington and his cabinet. In these rebukes even Jefferson was obliged to join sometimes, though it was well enough understood that he and his party favored the French, and were willing to apologize for the indiscretion and insolence of their envoys. But to diplomatic insults, which aroused some indignation in the country, was added the blow to American commerce, as vessel after vessel was seized by one or another French cruiser, detained for examination, and perhaps condemned. Nearly a thousand vessels, thus detained or captured, were named in the authenticated despatches published by the Government.

Attitude of French envoys,
The Directory of France justified such measures only by pleading their displeasure at the Jay Treaty. They went so far as to refuse to receive Pinckney, whom the American Government had sent out as its envoy, and ordered him to quit the Republic.

and of the Directory.
On this news the President called an extra session of Congress. He named Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry as a commission to renew the negotiation. In this appointment he not only tried to pacify France, but to satisfy the opposition to his own administration by naming Elbridge Gerry from the number of his opponents. The first news received from them was not favorable. It was a decree of the Directory and Council that all neutral ships bearing any English commodities should be good prize, and that French ports should be closed against all neutral vessels which had

touched ports under the English flag. The next report informed the Government that on their arrival in France they had been met by unofficial agents, who assured them that they would not be received until they had offered suitable bribes to officers of the government. Talleyrand himself, who was then Foreign Minister of France, was implicated in this disgraceful proposal.¹ Externally, any reception was refused to the three envoys by the Directory. Privately they were made certain that if they paid the bribes they would be received, with good probability of success; "money is needed, a great deal of money." Once received, the American Government would be asked to make a handsome loan to the French Republic, the credit of which was at a very low ebb. If this loan was granted, the Directory, on its part, would make concessions. The envoys rejected the humiliating proposal. They were then ordered out of the country, with the exception of Mr. Gerry, who, as an adherent of Jefferson's, it was supposed might prove more pliable.



Chief Justice Marshall.

The report made by its envoys was at once published by the Government of the United States, and republished in England and France. In place of the names of the three unofficial agents, the letters X, Y, and Z were substituted in the publication, and the correspondence has been known ever since as "the

The X. Y. Z.
correspondence.

¹ Of this there can be no doubt. Gerry's letter proves it. Napoleon knew it to be true. Compare Sir Henry Bulwer's sketch of Talleyrand.

X. Y. Z. correspondence."¹ The disgraceful proposal aroused the whole country to indignation. Congress ordered an enlargement of the standing army by twelve regiments. It ordered the construction of a navy of twenty-four vessels, and authorized merchantmen to arm themselves against the French vessels of war. So far as the acts of their cruisers went, the two nations were, in fact, at war. It was not so long since the privateering of the Revolution but that seamen and merchants could fit out their ships for fighting in the most effective way. In the West Indies two serious conflicts took place. The *Delaware*, of the United States navy, captured a heavy French privateer, and the *Constellation* took *l'Insurgente*, a French frigate. Both vessels were sent into port as prizes.

Had that unwise and ill-fated body, the Directory, led France any longer toward her ruin, war would certainly have been proclaimed on one side or on both. But the young Napoleon, when he seized the reins of power, had sense enough to see the madness of the claims on which the Directory had insisted. He received, with the most cordial welcome, the new embassy sent out by Adams. It consisted of Chief Justice Ellsworth, William R. Davie, and William Van Murray. Napoleon had already learned that Talleyrand was not above suspicion in matters where pecuniary integrity was involved. He made his own brother Joseph the head of the three plenipotentiaries appointed to treat with the Americans.² Orders were immediately given to French cruisers to avoid the molestation of American vessels, and that cordial understanding between the countries began of which the important result was the cession of Louisiana two years later.

Meanwhile, in America, every step of the negotiation, and every turn in the politics of France, was marked by new appeals to the one political party or the other. The national feeling inevitably stood with the party which seemed, at the moment, most zealous for national honor. All political discussion was impregnated with sentiments which sprang from the sympathy of the parties with the different combatants in Europe. In the Federal party itself, great disaffection was aroused at every step by which the President attempted either to conciliate their opponents or to take a middle course between extremes. His appointment of another mission to France, without consulting his Cabinet, in spite of the contemptuous treatment of the late envoys, in spite of his own declaration that he would never send another minister to that government till he was

¹ X. was Hottinguer, a banker; Y., Bellamy, of Hamburg; Z., Hautval, a Frenchman.

² Joseph Bonaparte, as Count de Surville, afterward resided for many years in America.

assured of a cordial reception, alienated the confidence of some of the most influential leaders of his party. The result of this disaffection, and of the unpopular Sedition Law, appeared in the issue of the election of 1800. By that issue the administration of government was taken out of the hands of the Federalists, to fall into and remain in the hands of the Democrats for the next quarter of a century.

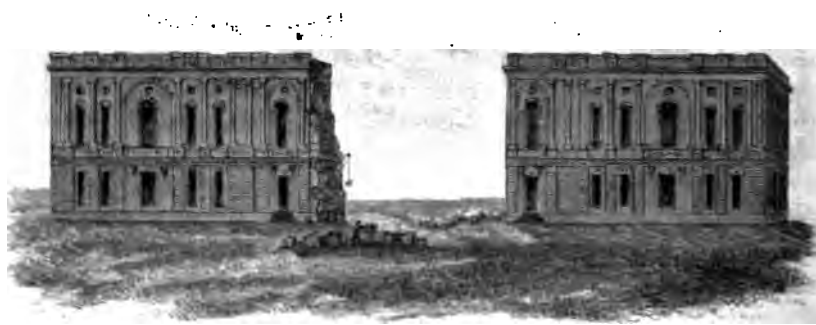
The country had other interests of great importance which were quite independent of these European complications. In the summer of 1798, yellow fever, that disease which is still as mysterious in its movements as it was then, established itself in most of the principal seaports of the Atlantic coast. Congress fled from Philadelphia before its approach. The administration of the government was seriously affected by the absence of leading members. Trade of course suffered, especially commerce with foreign nations. In the negotiations with the Barbarians on the Moorish coast, our envoys even apologized to the Dey of Tripoli for the cessation of our government while the pestilence had driven men from the capital. In the summer of 1800 the capital was removed to Washington, "the Federal City" as it was at first called.



Elbridge Gerry.

While the preparations for war with France were impending, and for war with Spain under the pretext of war with France, the whole country was moved with profound sorrow by the announcement of the death of Washington, December 14, 1799, at his home at Mount Vernon. For some years past, his resolute sympathy with the national policy of the Federalists had brought on his head some of the most rancorous abuse of the opposition journals of Philadelphia. The English writers, who then attempted to lead public opinion, were, as they have often been in later cases of history, especially bitter. But all such abuse ceased when his death was announced. The whole country, even in its smaller towns, arranged

public solemnities by which to express its grief. From that time it has been difficult to discuss the character or exploits of Washington with the same impartiality with which those of any other man are regarded. It was felt at the time, and has been felt ever since, that his services through the war, and through the crystallization of the Constitution in its first years, were such as no other man could render. A single passage in the address made before Congress by General Henry Lee has become proverbial. It pronounced him "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."¹



The Beginning of the Capitol. — From an old print.

At the time of his death, Washington had been appointed Lieutenant-general of the enlarged army, with a view to its organization for what was called the war with France. But he did not suppose, nor did the President, nor did Hamilton, who was first in command under Washington, suppose that France would invade America. Of course they did not propose that America should invade France. Twelve new regiments were to be recruited and stationed at Fort Mifflin — now Philadelphia. At that post General Wilkinson, who commanded in the West, was directed to build flat-boats sufficient to carry the army thus formed down the Ohio and the Mississippi. The plan of the campaign was digested between Hamilton and Wilkinson by conference in part.

¹ The resolutions passed by Congress on the death of Washington, contained the words, "to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." Marshall (*Life of Washington*) says the resolutions were written by General Lee, though read by another member. In the oration pronounced before both Houses of Congress by General Henry Lee, the words used were "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." It is a fact worth noting that Henry Lee, the son of the General, in a note to the second edition of his father's *Memoirs*, says the oration before Congress was delivered by Marshall. It is a remarkable mistake to make, but that it is a mistake, there can be no question.

and in part by letters. Wilkinson was, in truth, the last person who should have been entrusted with any such business. He had left the army at the end of the Revolution, and settled in Kentucky. He had soon after entered into personal communication with Mirò, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, which resulted ^{His treason.} in his receiving, regularly but secretly, an annual payment from the Spanish Government, to buy his services for detaching Kentucky and the Western States from the Union.¹ Such was the traitor into whose hands Adams and Hamilton gave with confidence the com-



Mount Vernon in 1797. — From an old print.

mand of what was called "The Legion of the West." Such was the man who afterward had the fortune of arresting — if he did not first desert — the movement of Aaron Burr, and compelling him to that flight in which he became a prisoner to the United States.

The determination to strike at Orleans,² and wrest it from Spain, was forced on the Government by the exasperation of the people of the States on the Ohio and Mississippi, when their trade by the great river was suddenly arrested. From the time of the treaty of 1783 they had been ill at ease. Under that treaty Spain held the mouth of the river. For, though the eastern

Importance
of the Mis-
sissippi.

¹ This treason, suspected at the time, is now made certain by the documents copied from the Spanish archives for the State of Louisiana. See Gayarré's *Louisiana*.

² So it was generally called till the cession of Louisiana, though the official name was "Nouvelle Orleans."

side of the Mississippi had been granted to the new nation, the western side was left to Spain, the ally of the United States as against England. Spain also had the eastern side, south of 31° N. latitude, partly because Orleans was on the eastern side, and partly because the boundary between Florida and Louisiana had never been determined. But, before 1783, there were settlers from the sea-coast States in the valley of the Mississippi. As they increased in number, the necessity for a route to the sea by the river was more and more manifest. Such was the severity of the Spanish colonial policy, that all goods sent down the river had to be transhipped at Orleans, and, indeed, to be sold to Spanish purchasers. Tobacco, a large part of the produce of Kentucky, could be sold only to the Spanish Crown, which assumed the monopoly of that trade. All these impositions enforced by the Spanish Government were regarded by the new settlers as the greatest hardship, as, indeed, they were. Many of the settlers had emigrated to escape taxation at the East; but they found their agriculture and commerce in their new home hampered by restrictions more severe than any Eastern taxation. Their disaffection showed itself from time to time in different forms.

Some men thought of independence of the United States, with close alliance with Spain; some proposed to submit to Spain, as a part of her colony of Louisiana; others dreamed of seizing Orleans, and making war with Spain, by the unaided force of the West; others hoped to induce Congress to declare war; and still others proposed an alliance with France, and to persuade her to reassert her empire over the valley of the Mississippi. Of course the great body of settlers were ignorant of such intrigues. But such schemes, more or less distinctly formed, were in the minds of all leading men. They did not lack counsellors from without. Miró, the shrewd Spanish Governor of Orleans and Louisiana, held Wilkinson in his pay, as has been said, for many years. Nor was the Governor slow in bribing other politicians or employing other agents. Lord Dorchester, in Canada, known to the officers of the American Revolution as Sir Guy Carleton, — the ablest officer, except Cornwallis, whom Great Britain then employed in high command in America, — was on the alert to feel the dissatisfaction of the West by his agents. Genet, the envoy of the French Republic, freely issued commissions in the West, to such as adhered to the broad schemes of the Directory for the universal emancipation of mankind. Into the details of such intrigues it is not more necessary to go than into the history of the intrigues of any other self-seeking politicians, who, in the end, attain no object of public importance.

The relations of the United States with Spain came to one crisis

when Adams sent Ellicott, as a scientific commissioner, with an escort, to Natchez, to run the line of 31° N. latitude, in conjunction with the Spanish authorities. The Spanish Governor, still relying on his plans for separating the Western States from their allegiance, deferred, to the very last, the withdrawal of Spanish garrisons from territory which was confessed to belong to the United States. When Ellicott arrived with his escort at Natchez, the American troops occupied one cantonment, while the Spanish troops still held the old forts at Nogales.¹ The surveys went forward, and Ellicott, as American commissioner, steadily pressed the removal of the Spanish garrison. Castilian diplomacy and politeness exhausted themselves in the long delays, but these lasted till the end of March, 1799. Captain Guion, commander of the American forces, finally told Gayoso, the Spanish commander, that he would storm the forts if they were not evacuated before the 1st of April. This threat prevailed. The Spaniards sent their guns down the river, and, without any notice, either to the commissioner for the boundary, or to the military commander, withdrew silently and sullenly on the 29th of March, just in time to avoid a collision.

Troubles
with the
Spanish au-
thorities.

A policy more likely to be effective on their part, would have been, to soothe the Western settlers by every concession possible. But the traditional severity of the colonial laws of Spain did not permit such concession; and there is mixed up in all the Spanish diplomacy of the period, a curious distrust of the future enmity of the people, whose good-will at the moment the governors at Orleans should have been attempting to obtain. As early as 1776, when, at the instance of Oliver Pollock,² Governor Unzaga was supplying powder to the American insurgents by way of Pittsburg, in obedience to commands from Madrid, he wrote to Madrid: "I suspect that at any moment the royalists and insurgents may make up their quarrel and unite to take possession of one of the domains of some European power." This was fifteen days before the Declaration of Independence. The same suspicion haunted the Spanish officers in all the after negotiations. In 1787, Navarro wrote home: "I see clouds rising and threatening us with a storm which will soon burst on this province, and the damage would be still greater if, unfortunately, the inundation extended itself to the territories of New Spain." Acting under this terror, he and his successors attempted to guard against the Americans by keeping them away. With a policy as wise as that which should have dammed the Mississippi itself, in dread of such an inundation as Navarro's metaphor suggests, the successive Spanish governors of Louisiana attempted to hold back

¹ Now known as "Walnut Hills."

² See vol. iii., p. 413.

the settlers from any access to the sea. Once and again, in the course of seventeen years, between the treaty of 1783 and the transfer of the province back to France, the indignant Kentuckians enrolled their hunters to go down on the flood of the river and take possession of the little capital. The French envoy, Genet, who founded Jacobin clubs in the West, whispered promises of similar invasion. In 1796, as a result of negotiation in Madrid, the preceding year, the malcontents on the river were in a measure satisfied by a concession on the part of Spain of the "right of deposit" at Orleans. This meant simply that the settlers might send their goods there, to store them and await a market.

But, in 1799, as soon as these three years had expired, Morales, who was the Intendant of Commerce at Orleans, announced, by an unexpected decree, that this concession would be allowed no longer. Once more the rage of the Western States burned hot. Once more they threatened to take law into their own hands. It was then that, under the pretext of the war with France, President John Adams began the enlistment of the twelve regiments for service in the West. They reported for duty at Fort Washington, and here flat-boats were built to convey them to the attack on Orleans. Spain had no force there to resist them. The garrison of Orleans was but a handful. Its defences were a bare picket fence. And, as was just now said, the commanding post at Nogales, near Natchez, had been abandoned at the pressing instance of Captain Guion of the United States army.

In this willingness to attack the little Spanish post, it may be said that all parties of influence among the Americans joined. The Western men were eager; they filled the ranks of the newly-enlisted army. President Adams had been always determined to secure access to the sea by the Mississippi, and he had no hesitation in taking decisive measures. Hamilton, who was practically first in command, seems to have been led on not only by these considerations, but by the eagerness of a successful soldier, still young, for a field worthy of his ambition. He had become interested in Miranda, a Spanish adventurer, who only lacked success to earn a more honorable name in history. Miranda had persuaded Hamilton that the English Government would support him in a scheme for overthrowing the Spanish authority in the Spanish Main; and, without committing himself to the plan, in any public document, he entertained the hope of leading the armies of the United States in an attack on their Southern neighbors. It is interesting to observe that he had thus enlisted himself in an enterprise not differing widely from that which proved, a few years after, to be the crisis in the life of Aaron Burr.

Contempla-
ted attack
on New Or-
leans.

Hamilton
and Miran-
da.

Miranda's acquaintance in the United States was as early as the Revolutionary War. He was said to know more of its families and parties than any man in the country.¹ His talk of the resources of South America, and the ease with which the ^{Their plans.} Spanish yoke could be thrown off, fascinated young men eager for adventure; and all the correspondence of the time shows that such schemes were largely entertained among adventurous people in the West.² The project took definite form when, in December, 1797, four men, who professed to be commissioners of disaffected South American constituents, prepared a "Convention" in Paris. These men were Miranda, Sucre, Salas, and Dupéron. Their plan proposed a union of an English fleet and an American army with the Spanish rebels who were to throw off the yoke. The ninth article of this Convention proposed that the United States should be invited to join in a treaty. The possession of the two Floridas and of Louisiana was to be guaranteed to them, and, in exchange, the United States was to furnish to South America an auxiliary force of five thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. Miranda, in an "adroit letter" to President Adams, written on the 24th of March, communicated to him the probability of such an effort, without giving the details of the plan. To Hamilton he was more explicit: "It seems that the time of our emancipation draws near, and that the establishment of liberty in the whole Continent of the New World is entrusted to us by Providence. The only danger which I foresee is the introduction of French principles, which will poison liberty in its cradle, and will finish soon by destroying yours."

While the President himself looked incredulously on a scheme so bold, three members of his cabinet approved it, and were in correspondence with Hamilton to carry it forward. In Hamilton's mind it involved the necessity that he should be the head of the movement. So soon, therefore, as the new army was ordered, he was eager to secure its real command. Adams wished to make him second, under General Knox,—Washington being the nominal head. But Hamilton refused subordination to any but his old chief. Washington had already pronounced in Hamilton's favor. Pinckney was made second, and Knox third, the President himself acceding to Washington's proposal.³ Hamilton found himself, therefore, so near the object of his wishes as to be at the head of an army of West-

¹ John Adams to Lloyd, March 6, 1815.

² Thus Philip Nolan, quoted in Moor's deposition of 1797, said, "I look forward to the conquest of Mexico by the United States, and I expect my patron and friend, the General, will, in such an event, give me a conspicuous command." The General was Wilkinson.

³ See a number of interesting letters on this subject from distinguished Federalists in chap. vi. of *Life and Letters of George Cabot*. By Henry Cabot Lodge. 1877.

ern riflemen, with easy access to Orleans, and a good cause of quarrel with Spain. Miranda gave good reason to hope that the English fleet, an important part of the combination, would be ready in time.

But all these plans, fine-drawn at the very best, fell to pieces, when to the game of European politics, which thus far had been played by the coöperation of many bunglers, there came one master player. Napoleon Bonaparte took in one hand the varied enterprises which had confused the Directory, and which the Directory had so mismanaged. With his accession to power, the envoys of the American Government were again welcomed courteously. The seizure of American vessels ceased for a time. Navigation on the Mississippi was again permitted. Cause of war with



Aaron Burr.

France was thus removed from the complicated plan. The opposition to the Administration, and the national dislike of standing armies, were too intense to permit a large armed force at Cincinnati without an ostensible object. It has since been surmised, by some of the few persons who have paid any attention to this piece of history, which at the time was carefully concealed, that if Mr. Adams had promptly given his support to Miranda, the English Government would have done the same. In that event Hamilton and

Wilkinson would probably have captured Orleans when the high water of 1799 raised the Mississippi. The invasion of South America would have followed, and Hamilton's after career would have been left to the chances of war in Venezuela. It is interesting to observe that one of his anxieties in assuming the command which Washington's favor had secured for him, was his fear that he might not have the choice of his subordinates, and in particular that he might have Aaron Burr as quartermaster in his new campaign. So sensitively do men dread the presence of those who hate them.¹

¹ It would seem as if all who were interested in this first "filibustering" expedition wished to conceal the record of it. The fact that the new army made rendezvous at Fort

As the nation became a nation, and grew unconsciously to that unity of life which the makers of the Constitution hoped for, but dared not expect, national parties took more definite form. When the election of 1800 approached, the Federalists named Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, with the general wish that Adams might be first and Pinckney second. With this critical election the Federal party lost its control of the nation, and it never regained it under that name. The loss is generally ascribed to that distrust of the people which, from the beginning, hampered the leaders of that party, and which deserved the recompense of failure. But this interpretation comes after the fact, and is not warranted by the details of the contest. There can be no doubt that the national position assumed by Mr. Adams in the controversy with France, increased his popularity in the nation at large. The distrust of him which was entertained by Hamilton and by other of the Federal leaders, rather improved his popularity in States not immediately under their control. The Sedition Act was the cause, and, so far as the final vote shows, the chief cause, of Adams's defeat, and it was only within a single State that that cause proved important. That State was New York. In the two elections of 1796 and 1800 she won the title of the "Empire State," by exerting the power which she has so often used since in determining the election of President. In 1796, her twelve electors, chosen by the Legislature, voted for Adams. As early as April, 1800, the new Legislature was chosen, which would elect the presidential electors in November of that year. This State election proved decisive. The city of New York had the year before given a Federal majority of nine hundred. This year it elected Republican members to the Legislature. This result was due in part to local contentions among the great families which then governed New York, and in part to the skill with which Aaron Burr conducted the canvass, he having had the address to see that his own name, which was at the moment unpopular, was not on the Republican ticket. More surprising to the Federalists was their loss of the western district of the State. This loss was due to the severity of proceedings under the Sedition Law. As the result of these elections, it was known, early in 1800, that the Legislature of New York would give all its twelve votes in the Electoral College for the Republican candidates. Only

Washington, was of course known at the time, and roused the jealousy of the Spanish ambassador. But no publication of the plans of Government was made in Congress or elsewhere. Even in the Life of Pickering, who was Secretary of State, no allusion is made to probable war in the West. The Life of Hamilton furnishes little information. But no doubt of the facts, as stated in the text, will rise in the mind of readers of John Adams's Life, of his letter to Lloyd, of Stoddard's *Louisiana*, of the letters of Miranda, and of Hamilton's unpublished private correspondence with Wilkinson.

the year before, the Republicans of the State had attempted to choose the electors by popular vote, by districts. They would gladly have acceded to such a plan, which, in practice, would have nearly neutralized the vote of the State. But the Federalists, confident in their strength, had refused to make this concession.

All Mr. Adams's gains elsewhere were insufficient to overcome this defection of the State of New York. In face of the discouragement of such an event, which made almost a foregone conclusion of the presidential election, his friends gave him seven more votes in Pennsylvania than he received in 1796, and three more in North Carolina. He lost two in Maryland, and that State gave one vote less than in 1796. The result of the election, therefore, gave Jefferson and Burr, the Democratic candidates, seventy-three votes each, while Mr. Adams had but sixty-five.

Warned by the risks which the last contest had disclosed, the Republican electors voted "solidly" for each candidate. Burr and Jefferson had as many votes as Jefferson. This consolidation of the Democratic vote brought about a result which may have been anticipated by the makers of the Constitution, but was none the more acceptable to Jefferson. As he had received the same number of votes with Burr, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, under the constitutional provision. The Federalists were therefore called upon to say which of the two Democratic candidates they preferred. After some hesitation, they determined to support Burr. Hamilton used all his influence with the Federal leaders in Jefferson's favor. In Burr the Northern States, who had all supported Adams, had at least a Northern man to vote for. Here was also the best chance for the discomfiture of Jefferson, whom the Federalists hated with a very perfect hatred. A long and bitter contest in the House followed. Thirty-five ballots were taken, with the same result, — eight States voting for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two being divided. At last, at a Federal caucus, "all acknowledged that nothing but desperate measures remained, which several were disposed to adopt, and but few were willing to disapprove." The words are those of Bayard of New Jersey. On the thirty-sixth ballot, the Federalist votes of Vermont and Maryland were wanting. The result gave Jefferson ten States, and he was elected. He owed his election to the influence of Hamilton and the action of Bayard in caucus. The extreme Federalists wished to prevent any election, and leave the President of the Senate the acting President for an interregnum. But Jefferson and his friends were determined, "one and all, that the day such an act was passed, the Middle States would arm, and no such usurpation should be submitted to." These are Jefferson's words, and John

Randolph afterwards added the local color and detail. "Had we not," he said, "the promise of Darke's Brigade, and of the arms at Harper's Ferry, which he engaged to secure?" All such plots became unnecessary, when the Federalists, under Hamilton's and Bayard's influence, gave way. And in after years all parties would have been glad to consign such plots to oblivion.¹

So soon as Jefferson was inaugurated, it proved that his dread of a consolidated government had vanished, now that it came under his control. The forecast of Hamilton proved true, Jefferson's policy. that Jefferson would calculate on what would promote his own interest. The inaugural speech contained a phrase which afterwards became proverbial: "We are all Republicans;—we are all Federalists;" and as the nation became a nation indeed, and grew in strength, Jefferson, and his followers in the presidency, were as willing as any men to wield the national power. His first act, the purchase of Louisiana, was quite outside all constitutional provisions. It was wholly justified by the great necessity; and the results have shown that no single act of an American President, down to Lincoln's emancipation of the slaves, has been so important. But no strict construction of the Constitution permitted any such act, and this Jefferson and his advisers knew.

Indeed, the purchase of the immense region known as Louisiana was no plan of his, or of theirs. On his accession to office, Purchase of Louisiana. he found the negotiation with France in the most promising condition which it had presented for many years. All immediate cause of quarrel with France was over. Jefferson, moreover, was ready to do anything that France asked because she asked it without asking questions. It soon became an open secret among diplomats that, by a private article in the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, signed on the 18th of October, 1800, Spain had again ceded to France the territory of Louisiana, — meaning, as the reader must always remember, not merely the State now known under that name, but the region north of Florida, west of the Mississippi, and east of the Rocky Mountains and a line drawn through the Sabine, Red, and Arkansas

¹ To guard against such dangers in future, Jefferson provided for a change in the Constitution, and, since that time, the Vice-president and President have been designated by the electors. In this celebrated election, the vote of South Carolina was doubtful. The opposition to Adams in that State offered to unite on Jefferson and Pinckney, as four years before the State Legislature had united on Jefferson and the other Pinckney. But Charles C. Pinckney, loyal to his leader, refused to consent to such an arrangement. Had he agreed to it, he, and not Burr, would have had the second number of votes. Pinckney would have been Vice-president and Jefferson President. That is to say, the same condition of things that had resulted from the election of 1796 would now have recurred, but with the Democrats first and the Federalists second. Probably the makers of the Constitution foresaw such contingencies.

rivers.¹ At home the Government was goaded by constant appeals from the Western States to secure open passage to the Gulf of Mexico for their products. Actuated by a sort of madness, which has never been fully explained, the Spanish Intendant, Morales, in 1802, suspended a second time even the right of deposit at Orleans.² Again the Western States roused themselves, and protested that they would take the city and sweep the Spaniards, if necessary, into the sea. Impelled by their indignation, Jefferson sent new powers to Livingston, our Minister in France, to whom Monroe was joined, and bade the two propose to the First Consul the purchase of the island on which Orleans stands, and the right of passage to the sea.

The commissioners were authorized to offer the First Consul two and a half million dollars. Before Monroe's arrival, however, Liv-

¹ In the map, entitled "Acquisition and Transfer of Territory, 1780 to 1870," published in vol. 1. of *The Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, the "Province of Louisiana, 1803," appears as extending from the mouth of the Mississippi, on the southeast, to a north-western limit, on the Pacific coast, including Oregon and Washington Territory. This map is erroneous, inasmuch as the Province of Louisiana did not extend, either under Spain or France, west of the Rocky Mountains. The mistake probably arose from want of care in distinguishing between the line agreed upon by the United States and Spain to mark their boundaries in the Florida Treaty of 1819, and that line understood to be the western boundary of Louisiana in the treaty of 1803. It is worth while to correct the error, as it has been repeated in popular school-books since the publication of the official map in the volume of the Census, and probably on its authority.

The original territory of Louisiana, as a French province, comprised, under the title of "The Government of Louisiana," in general terms, the valleys of the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Illinois. At the close of the French war in 1763, France ceded to Great Britain all that portion of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi and north of the Berwick, or Bayou Manchac, about a hundred miles above Orleans; and at the same time transferred to Spain all the rest of her territory on the western side of the Mississippi. In 1800, the province was retroceded to France by Spain by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, "with the same extent," so runs the treaty, "that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it." And it was precisely these words, quoted from the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, that were chosen to describe the Territory of Louisiana when Napoleon sold it to the United States in 1803. Its southern portion was bounded on the west by the region held or claimed by Spain; the northern portion by the mountain ranges which separate the Pacific slope from the region whose waters flow into the valleys of the Missouri and the Mississippi. In 1819, however, the United States and Spain agreed, in the treaty of Florida, upon the dividing line between their possessions west of the Mississippi, Spain agreeing to relinquish all claim to any territory east and north of it, and the United States surrendering her pretensions to all south and west of it. This line was from the mouth of the Sabine to the 32d parallel, thence north to the Red River, and along that river to the 100th meridian, thence north to the Arkansas, and along that river to its source in the 42d parallel, and thence west to the Pacific. It is this boundary which is erroneously designated in the census map of "Acquisition and Transfer of Territory" as the western boundary of the "Province of Louisiana, 1803." See an exhaustive discussion of the whole question in an article by Albert Salisbury, in the *Wisconsin Journal of Education* for May, 1880.

² October 16, 1802. The measure almost caused famine in Orleans. His own statement was, that, by the Treaty of Amiens, Spain had regained a direct commerce with England; that the "right of deposit" had only been justified by the state of war, and that it ceased because peace had returned.

ston was met by a proposal which astounded him. Napoleon was aware by this time that the existing peace with England would not last long. England had the supremacy of the sea, and so soon as war began, her fleet would seize Orleans and the mouths of the river. When the journals announced that the new American envoy was on his way, he sent for Marbois, his Minister of the Treasury, and bade him meet the commissioners immediately and offer to sell them the whole region for fifty million francs. Marbois was in every way a proper person for the negotiation. He had been an envoy of France since the Revolution, had lived in Philadelphia, and was intimate with Livingston, the head of the American mission, who at that time was American Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Marbois told the young consul that the price proposed was too small, and obtained permission to name harder terms at the outset. Accordingly, as soon as Livingston arrived, Marbois met him with the proposal to sell him the empire for one hundred million francs, with the additional proposal that the United States should pay to the American merchants who had suffered from French spoliation all their fair claims against France.

Livingston was surprised at an offer so extraordinary. Marbois intended to say that he knew the sum was exorbitant, but the Consul had suggested that the Americans could borrow it. Livingston and his companions asked time to send the proposal home. But delay was dangerous, for England might at any moment declare war by seizing the mouths of the river. Marbois pressed Livingston in haste to name a price, and finally suggested that he would try to persuade the Consul to accept sixty million francs. All this was the play of diplomacy. As we have said, Marbois was instructed to offer fifty million francs, if he could get it. The bargaining ended when the American envoys agreed to give sixty million francs, in bonds bearing six per cent. interest, and to assume the payment of that was due from France to her own merchants, not exceeding twenty million francs more. As the United States Government, for three quarters of a century, has neglected to pay these claims, they were proved to be only a feather-weight in the great negotiation. It is curious to see that, when Marbois went back to his principal, well pleased with his success in obtaining ten million francs more than he was authorized to sell for, Bonaparte rebuked him that he had not obtained a hundred million. But when the secretary repeated him of his own original proposal, he expressed himself delighted with the result. "There is nothing left to ask," he cried; "sixty million for an occupation that will not last a day, perhaps. Let France enjoy this unexpected capital." In fact, he dictated a

decree for the construction of five canals with it. But the American payment was sunk in the renewal of the fleet of transports gathered at Boulogne for the invasion of England, and in the equipment of the other fleet which was scattered at Trafalgar. Napoleon, however, had at heart a policy which looked further. In his joy of success he said, "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States. I have given England a rival."

The consent of the commissioners to this great purchase was not received in America with the enthusiasm which it deserved. How it was received. They did not themselves in the least know how well they had builded. When, in the previous negotiation, Talleyrand had



Flat-boat going down the Mississippi.

asked if the Americans wanted the whole, Livingston had stoutly said "No," and had said truly. In one of his letters, he was careful to impress on the French that the United States would not for a hundred years make any settlements west of the river. "I told him we had no wish to extend our boundary across the Mississippi." These were Livingston's words, and the same indifference to territorial aggrandizement may be observed in all the public utterances of the time. Before the invention of the steamboat, indeed, the regions acquired were so nearly inaccessible that statesmen may be pardoned who did not foresee their exceeding value to the nation.

It will be more convenient to the reader to anticipate in this chapter the course of events, so far as to trace the first results of this

great acquisition. The Government took possession of the new territory by a public act on the 20th of December, 1803. General Wilkinson, so long in the secret pay of Spain, was now commander of the American army, and, with Claiborne, Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, was authorized to receive possession. For this purpose the Spanish Government made the cession to the French Prefect, Laussat, who had been appointed, as it proved, for this purpose of ceremony only. The joy of the West was unbounded. At the East, the wisest men looked gloomily on the prospect of the depletion of the old States by emigration into these rich valleys.

With the next summer a new element displayed itself. Aaron Burr had been chosen Vice-president in 1800. But he had lost all his friends in both parties in the election. In the course of a bitter political quarrel in New York, in 1804, he challenged Hamilton to a duel. Hamilton was mad enough to accept the challenge, and was killed.¹ Even after this event Burr presided in the Senate; but, with the election of 1804, when Jefferson was reëlected and George Clinton became Vice-president, Burr lost office, as he had lost friends before. Moved by the very same spirit that had disposed Hamilton to coquet with Miranda, he took up the thread of the very same adventure which Hamilton had been forced to lay down, and after some private correspondence in the East with men who were to furnish money, and probably with Miranda, he went down the Mississippi River, almost as a conqueror seeking a new empire. To take the expressive phrase which the West has since invented, Burr was "prospecting" on this

The Burr-Hamilton duel.

Burr's mysterious scheme.

¹ There is a prevalent error in regard to the house in which Hamilton died, which is worth correcting, if only to show how little tradition is to be trusted. The duel between him and Burr was fought at Weehawken, in New Jersey; Hamilton, mortally wounded, was immediately taken back to New York, the boat landing at what is now the foot of Gansevoort Street, and he was carried to the nearest house, that of his friend, William Bayard. This house stood between the present Greenwich and Washington Streets, about the centre of what is now Horatio Street. The common belief is (see *Historical Magazine*, vol. x., 1866), that the house now standing at No. 82 Jane Street was the Bayard House where Hamilton died. But that house stood a block farther north — on Horatio Street, as we have just explained — and the house at No. 82 Jane Street was another country residence known at that time as the Ludlow House. The estates joined on the line of Jane Street, and this house occupied the block south of the line, as the Bayard House did the block north of it. When, about half a century ago, the land of that neighborhood was filled in from about the line of Washington Street to the present bank of the river, and streets were opened and graded, the Ludlow House was turned round and placed on the south side of Jane Street — No. 82 — and the Bayard House was demolished.

The late Hon. Henry Meigs, long an eminent and highly esteemed citizen of New York, occupied both these houses alternately for many years. His children grew up in them, and from two of his sons, Henry and Charles, these facts are obtained. One of these gentlemen has preserved a water-color drawing by his father of the Ludlow House, while his family occupied it, and of its identity with the house No. 82 Jane Street, there can be no question.

journey. What his plans were, history is not yet able to say precisely. Probably they were not precise. Probably he would have found it as difficult to explain them clearly as it is to the historian after seventy years. Those who wanted to make their fortunes in adventure, thought he was going to take possession of Mexico. To those whose suspicions he wanted to disarm, he said he was going to settle on the Baron Bastrop's lands on the Washita River. Those who thought they knew, supposed he was going to take Orleans and



View on Blennerhassett's Island.

establish a Western empire. He undoubtedly interested adventurous people in the West, who still maintained the hatred for Spain which the Spanish authorities had so steadily fanned. Thus he would cultivate the indignation which had been roused by the violation of the safeguard of Nolan, and the death of that popular young adventurer. Philip Nolan was an agent of Wilkinson's, who had gone into Texas to collect horses for the Spanish post at Orleans, under a pass from the Governor of Texas and Coahuila.

The Spanish Governor, alarmed by new orders from home, had sent to arrest him. In the skirmish which followed, Nolan was killed. All his companions were captured and sent to the mines. Eventually one was shot. From the time of La Salle down, Spain had been jealous of any interference from the East with her silver mines in New Mexico and Arizona. Her statesmen, although purblind, could foresee what has come in the present generation. To this jealousy Nolan and his companions owed their fate, and every such act of cruelty on the part of Spanish viceroys hastened the inevitable issue. The death of the Kempers in Florida was a similar transaction.

On such chords Burr played on his first voyage down the river. He visited Blennerhassett's Island, in the Ohio, not far from Marietta, and made the acquaintance of Harman Blennerhassett and of his charming wife. They had emigrated from Ireland in 1798, and had made of the island what the writers of that day describe as a paradise. Blennerhassett himself was quite ready by this time for new adventure, and, when Burr wrote to him afterwards, enlisted readily in the enterprise. From point to point, as Burr stopped on the river, he was received with enthusiasm. Public dinners were made for him; and, in vague terms, he intimated that he was to come again at the head of an army. When he met Wilkinson, he had long private conferences with him. These were followed through the next winter by correspondence in cipher. Of what passed in the conferences, the accounts differ absolutely. Burr declares that Wilkinson committed himself entirely to his views. Wilkinson declares that he declined all complicity. As we now know that Wilkinson was a traitor to his country long before, very little weight is to be given to his unconfirmed asseveration.

Encouraged by his reception, Burr made the attempt, in the summer of 1806, of which he had given such fair warning. But Jefferson at last roused himself to take notice of an enterprise so audacious. The Spanish Government had been watching it from the first with the most intense curiosity. The best account of it would now be found in their archives, for all that the Government of the United States knew of it was destroyed when the State Department was burned in 1814, — if it had not been earlier destroyed by order of Jefferson. So vindictive did his treatment of Burr appear afterwards, that it seemed as if he wished to lure him to his fate by the indifference with which his first movements were met, and by the civility with which Wilkinson was permitted to treat him. However this may be, when Jefferson acted he acted decisively.

Burr made his first rendezvous at Blennerhassett's Island. Blennerhassett himself had provided boats and provisions, and arms and ammunition were here placed on the boats. A considerable party of men joined the expedition here, and recruits were added at different points on the way. But Jefferson published a proclamation denouncing the whole scheme, and the United States marshals of Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky made attempts, more or less zealous, to arrest it. The expedition, as it advanced, was flying from pursuit while going



Parade of Burr's Force

to conquest; and the danger from behind was such that the arrangements made to secure victory before were at best sadly hurried. Still he stopped at the various forts on the way, asked favors and received them, and gained a few recruits. At the mouth of the Cumberland River, two boats and a few men joined him. He now had thirteen boats and sixty men. He drew them up on the shore and addressed them, but did not reveal his plans. This parade was subsequently called the array-in arms of a military force.

With this force Burr came within thirty miles of Natchez, to learn that Wilkinson had betrayed him. That is his way of stating it. Wilkinson says he had received Swartwout, an envoy of Burr's, had amused him by pretended sympathy, and had dismissed him. Wilkinson probably changed his mind at some period in the matter, and determined to stand by Jefferson rather than Burr; or, on Burr's first visit, he may have well supposed that all this was done with Jefferson's connivance. The little party found the militia of the Territory in arms to oppose them, and were all taken to Natchez as prisoners of war. A grand jury was impanelled at once. True to the general sympathy for Burr, they presented the military force raised against him as a grievance, and declared that he was guilty of no crime. Burr awaited no further inquiry. He disguised himself as a boatman, and disappeared in the wilderness. But in his attempt to cross the country to the Atlantic, he was recognized in Alabama, arrested, and sent home for trial. In 1807 he was tried at Richmond for treason. The Government attempted to make out that he had enlisted troops within its jurisdiction for an attack on one of its allies, the King of Spain. The charge was, that this constituted treason. Judge Marshall, who presided, instructed the jury that the overt act of embodying an army must take place within the State where the trial was held. On this point Burr was acquitted. Jefferson's rage at his escape could not contain itself. But from that moment Burr was without a shadow of his old power. After times have seen many similar enterprises attempted in the United States, mostly against Spain or Mexico; but none has ever attracted the universal attention of Burr's. Mystery has always surrounded its history. The downfall of a man who came within a single vote of holding the highest office in the state, to be an adventurer without friends, often literally a beggar, was a fall too profound not to be noted by the moralists. A complete absence of moral principle is enough to account for such utter failure.

CHAPTER VII.

JEFFERSON AND MADISON.

THE BARBARY STATES. — WAR WITH TRIPOLI. — THE IMPORTANCE OF LOUISIANA. — INCREASE OF POPULATION AND WEALTH. — JEFFERSON'S CREED AND HIS POLICY. — SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST. — LEWIS AND CLARKE'S EXPEDITION. — FOREIGN COMMERCE AND ITS DIFFICULTIES. — THE BERLIN AND MILAN DECREES, AND THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL. — CONDITION OF THE NAVY. — THE AFFAIR OF THE "CHESAPEAKE." — THE EMBARGO. — MADISON'S ACCESSION. — THE "PRESIDENT" AND THE "LITTLE BELT." — BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE. — CLAY AND CALHOUN — PREPARATIONS FOR WAR, AND ITS DECLARATION.

Relations
with the
Barbary
States. To Mr. Jefferson's administration was due a partial settlement of a long-standing grievance, the existence of which was not altogether creditable to the management of the foreign affairs of the government in its earliest years. American ships had been compelled to submit to spoliation by the corsairs of the Barbary States for twenty years, and from time to time large sums had been paid to redeem the captured crews from slavery. In 1787, a treaty was ratified with Morocco, for which Congress paid eighty thousand dollars; in 1796 another was made with Algiers, by which it was agreed to pay forty thousand dollars for the release of thirteen Americans held as slaves in that State, a large amount in cash besides, and an annual tribute of twenty-five thousand dollars as the price of exemption from future aggressions. Delay occurring in the first remittance, still further exaction was submitted to, and a ship of war, costing about a hundred thousand dollars, was sent to the Dey, ostensibly as a present to his daughter. Eventually the treaty was made to cost even more than these large sums; as the tribute was to be paid, when required, in naval stores at stipulated prices, and these were so far below the cost of the stores that the expenditure was often several hundred per cent. above the estimate.

The humiliation that was submitted to at the hands of these pirates was as remarkable as the consent to purchase their forbearance. The subsidy for 1800 was sent to Algiers in the frigate *George Washington*, commanded by Captain William Bainbridge. The Dey ordered his own tribute to the Sultan — consisting partly of slaves and wild

animals — to be taken on board and carried to Constantinople, and that the American flag should be hauled down and his own hoisted in its place. Bainbridge assented, by advice of the American Consul, but declared that he hoped, should he ever again be sent with tribute, he might deliver it from the mouths of his guns. Unless, as has been asserted, he ran up the national flag again after leaving port, the first American ship that ever passed the Dardanelles sailed as the vassal of a vassal. "You pay me tribute," the Dey had said, "by which you become my slaves!"

The next year (1801) war was declared by Tripoli, because the Dey was dissatisfied with his pecuniary relations with the United States. It was a war of naval engagements, — al-
War with
Tripoli.
most of duels, — and in these battles some of the men who in later



Tripoli.

years placed their names highest in the naval annals of their country, won their first laurels. Indeed, these operations in the Mediterranean, for the next two or three years, were of importance, not so much for the immediate result — for that could have been secured at any time — as for the fact that in them and the men who conducted them we find the germ of that navy which in the next war saved the country from the most absolute humiliation, if not from political destruction. And nothing exemplifies so pointedly the extreme partisanship of the times as that Jefferson and his followers — who opposed the creation of an efficient navy because the Federalists demanded it — would not

or could not see that just so far forth as America had reason to be proud of her naval achievements in the Mediterranean, just Jefferson's gunboats. so far she had reason to be ashamed of Jefferson's — emphatically Jefferson's — naval system at home. By that it was assumed to be sufficient for the defence of a continent that a small fleet of gunboats should be kept in dock-yards, carefully housed to protect them from the weather, ready to be floated in case of emergency.

The first engagement of note was fought in August by Lieutenant Sterrett, in the *Enterprise*, of twelve guns and ninety men, with a Tripolitan vessel of fourteen guns, off Malta. The enemy had struck after a two hours' fight, and then treacherously discharged another broadside when the Americans had left their guns and were cheering for their victory. The battle began again, and again the Tripolitans struck, when defeated in their attempt to board the *Enterprise*. Then ranging under her quarter, they once more resumed the fight, hoisting a bloody flag. Sterrett raked his treacherous enemy from stem to stern, shot away his mizzen-mast, riddled his hull, killed and wounded fifty of his men, and kept up this terrible fire till the captain begged for mercy with frantic gestures, and tossed his colors into the sea. He was ordered to throw overboard also all his arms and ammunition, his remaining masts were cut away, his ship was completely dismantled, and then, under a jury-mast and a single sail, he was left to make his way home, with Lieutenant Sterrett's compliments to the Dey. Notwithstanding the length of the fight, and the repeated attempts to take the Americans by surprise, they did not lose a single man.

As a naval power, these semi-barbarians were contemptible; what Minor engagements. fighting faculty they had, they exhibited only in hand-to-hand encounters, just as they were formidable as pirates in boarding peaceful merchant ships. Naval engagements were frequent, in which their vessels and crews were destroyed, wholly or in part, without the loss of a man to the Americans. In July, 1802, the frigate *Constellation*, Captain Murray, fought nine gunboats, off Tripoli, and drove five of them ashore, while the others escaped into the harbor. In June, the next year, a Tripolitan cruiser of twenty-two guns was driven into a bay seven leagues east of Tripoli, where she anchored with springs on her cables, while nine gunboats were sweeping along the shore to her assistance, and a body of cavalry appeared on the beach. The *John Adams*, Captain Rodgers, and the *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Isaac Hull, stood in and gave battle at point-blank range. In three quarters of an hour the enemy's guns were silenced, and her people leaped overboard. The Americans manned their boats to take possession, when a boat-load of Tripolitans returned to

her and reopened fire. The *Adams* replied, and in a few minutes the Tripolitan's colors came down, then her guns were all discharged at once, and the next instant she blew up with an explosion that tore her hull to fragments.

In 1803, the squadron in the Mediterranean numbered nine ships, carrying two hundred and fourteen guns. The *Philadelphia* captured a Moorish cruiser which the Governor of Tangier had authorized to prey upon American commerce. Commodore Preble entered that harbor with four of his fleet, and demanded an explanation of the Emperor, who disavowed the act of the Governor, and the treaty between the United States and Morocco was renewed. The *Philadelphia* soon after struck upon a reef in the harbor of Tripoli, when in pursuit of a blockade-runner. In this helpless condition she was attacked by gunboats, and Captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. She promised to be a valuable prize to the enemy, when, floated by an unusually high tide, she was hauled off and refitted.

But Bainbridge's misfortune was remedied by the daring act of a young lieutenant, Stephen Decatur. Running into the harbor one night in February, 1804, in a small prize vessel which had been named the *Intrepid*, he made fast, under pretence of being a merchantman and that he had lost his anchors, to the *Philadelphia*. At a given signal, his men rose from the deck and poured over the frigate's side and through her ports. With a cry of "Amerikanos!" the terrified Tripolitans ran below or plunged into the water. In twenty-five minutes, Decatur cleared the decks, carried combustibles to every part of the ship, and set fire to them. Regaining his own vessel, he cast off and sailed out to sea as the flames ran up the rigging, and the heated guns of the burning ship fired her last broadside.

In July, Preble was off Tripoli with his fleet. On the 3d of August he entered the harbor, and for two hours bombarded the town from his mortar-boats, while his frigates and schooners attacked the



Stephen Decatur.

batteries. It was intended that the six gunboats should engage the enemy's boats at close quarters ; but one of them fell off to leeward, another had her lateen yard shot away, and a third obeyed an erroneous signal of recall. The other three closed with the enemy. One of them, commanded by Lieutenant James Decatur, a brother of Stephen, attacked a Tripolitan gunboat, and fired a volley, when her antagonist struck. As Decatur stepped upon her deck, the Tripolitan commander shot him through the head, the boats drifted apart, and for the time being the enemy escaped.

Bombard-
ment of
Tripoli.

Stephen Decatur, in command of another boat, poured a shower of musket-balls into the nearest enemy, and then laying alongside, boarded. His men, dividing into two parties, charged around each side of the open hatchway, bayoneted all who resisted, or who did not leap overboard, and compelled the surrender of the rest. Decatur next turned to the boat where he knew his brother had just met his death. Throwing himself on board with his men, he singled out, after a general fight of twenty minutes, the Captain, who had shot Lieutenant James Decatur. He was a large and powerful man, and defended himself with a pike. As he made a thrust with this, Decatur attempted to cut off the head with a blow of his sword ; but the blade struck the iron, and broke at the hilt. The next thrust he partially parried with his naked arm, but the point of the pike entered his breast. Tearing this out, he wrenched the staff from the Turk, and grappled with him, and they rolled upon the deck together. While the Turk strove to use his poniard, Decatur held his arm with one hand, and with the other cocked a pistol in his own pocket, and, without drawing it, shot his antagonist. The wound was mortal, and the dying Turk relaxed his grasp.¹

Exploits of
Decatur.

While this contest was going on, a Tripolitan officer aimed a blow at Decatur from behind ; but a young sailor named Reuben James interposed his arm, — according to one version, his head, because both arms had been disabled, — and saved the life of his commander at the expense of the arm, which was shorn clean off. Of the eighty men in the two boats captured by Decatur, fifty-two were killed or wounded.

A similar desperate, personal encounter occurred upon another of the gunboats, commanded by Lieutenant Trippe, who, by the rebound of his own boat in an attempt to board another, was left on the deck of the enemy, with only ten men. The commanders met

¹ There are various versions of this famous encounter. The one here given, from Mackenzie's *Life of Decatur*, professes to have been obtained from the hero himself by two of his intimate friends.

d fought, — Trippe with a pike, his antagonist with a sabre. The American was forced to the deck, covered with wounds; but mustering all the strength that was left him, he succeeded in transfixing the Turk with his pike. At the fall of their Captain, the crew, of



Decatur and the Turk.

whom twenty-one were killed or wounded, submitted. The result of the battle was, three of the enemy's boats sunk, and three others captured, with a loss to the Americans of only fourteen killed and wounded.

Four other assaults were made upon the city in the course of August and September; but with little impression, because, as it was afterward ascertained, of the poor quality of the bomb-shells. Ex-

perience, moreover, had taught the enemy to avoid coming into close quarters with the American gunboats, and to fight at long range. In a cannonade which lasted three hours, Preble lost eighteen men; and a single hot shot from a battery, exploding the magazine of one of his gunboats, cost him more than would have befallen him in the capture of a half-dozen of the enemy's vessels. Though with her stern under water, her brave crew loaded and fired a last shot from their long gun, and gave three cheers as her decks sank under them.

Meanwhile the bomb-ketch *Intrepid* had been fitted up as an "infernal," and the night of September 4 was selected as the time for sending her into the harbor. Two rooms had been planked up in the hold, and filled with a hundred barrels of powder and missiles. On the deck over this were piled a hundred and fifty heavy shells, and a large quantity of shot and fragments of iron. Captain Richard Somers, Lieutenant Henry Wadsworth, and eleven men were to take her in among the Tripolitan fleet, fire the combustibles, and escape in two boats. The stars were visible, but a thick haze overspread the water. The *Intrepid*, accompanied part way by several of the smaller vessels, made for the western entrance of the harbor, said a low farewell to her consorts, and disappeared in the darkness. As she passed out of sight of her friends, she came within view from the enemy's batteries, and they opened fire. One observer, who tracked her with his night-glass, presently saw a light move horizontally along her deck; then it suddenly dropped out of sight, as if carried down a hatchway, and the next instant there was a tremendous explosion; a great column of fire shot up from the vessel, the mast, with its rigging and canvas ablaze, rose into the air, and bomb-shells were seen flying in every direction. Two days afterward, thirteen mangled bodies, not one of which could be identified, were found—some in the hulk and some in the water. Several of them had been pierced by grape-shot. The cause of the explosion has never been ascertained. The *Intrepid* was at least a quarter of a mile from her destination when she blew up, and probably did no damage to the enemy.

On the 10th of November, Preble was superseded by Commodore Samuel Barron, who arrived with the *President* and the *Constellation*, making the Mediterranean squadron the largest force the United States had ever assembled at sea,—ten vessels, carrying two hundred and sixty-four guns.

The reigning Bashaw of Tripoli, Jussuf Caramalli, had gained the throne by deposing his elder brother, Hamet, who was now an exile in Egypt. William Eaton, the American Consul at Tunis, sought the deposed prince, and, with the sanction of the Govern-

Explosion
of the In-
trepid.

ment, proposed to reinstate him. They got together a small force, — adventurers from various nations, — and early in 1805 ^{Alliance with Hamet.} marched upon Derne. Within three miles of the place, arms and ammunition were landed from the fleet, and several vessels took position in the harbor. On the 27th of April fire was opened on the town and batteries. After a bombardment of an hour, which drove the enemy from their guns, the land force, numbering ^{Capture of Derne} about twelve hundred, carried the works by storm, hauled down the Tripolitan flag, and raised the American flag, — the first time it ever floated over a fortification on that side of the Atlantic. The guns were turned upon the town, which, being assailed at the same time from the other side, soon capitulated. The victors lost only fourteen men.

The reigning Bashaw was now more than willing to make peace, and on the 3d of June a treaty was negotiated by Tobias ^{Peace.} Lear, Consul-general at Algiers. All payment of tribute was abolished; an exchange of prisoners was effected, and for those still remaining in the hands of the Tripolitans a ransom of sixty thousand dollars was agreed upon. Hamet retired to Syracuse, and the Bashaw retained custody of his wife and children, as hostages for his peaceful behavior in the future. Two years later, Hamet, justly thinking that he had not been fairly treated by his powerful ally, addressed a pathetic letter "To their Most Serene Highnesses," — meaning the United States Congress, — in which he said: "I have lost my family; I have lost my inheritance; my acquisitions and my fair prospects are lost also. . . . To my own individual sufferings I ought to annex also those of my faithful people, whose attachment to me has involved them in the same wretchedness. . . . I will not, like the world, reproach the representatives of the American nation with ingratitude. I rather implore their commiseration toward me, — at least so far as to restore me to my family, and to grant me a competence."

Eaton was as little satisfied as Hamet. That prince, Eaton believed and asserted, had only been used as an instrument by the United States to further their own purposes, to be abandoned, when these were attained, to an unhappy fate. This treachery he ascribed to Lear, the Consul-general, whom he accused at the same time of betraying the best interests of his own government. Tripoli, Eaton asserted, could have been easily taken, and the Bashaw compelled to submit to any terms that the United States had seen fit to dictate. On his return to this country, Congress and the Administration were reluctant to admit the merit of his services, and even the settlement of his accounts was delayed for years. Massachusetts was more grate-

ful; her Legislature, "desirous to perpetuate a remembrance of heroic enterprise," presented him with ten thousand acres of land in her province of Maine.

It was this Eaton who, in the Burr trial, was the most important witness. The plan of the proposed Southern expedition had been confided to him by Burr himself; and it is not at all unlikely that at the outset he was dazzled by an enterprise which seemed to promise so much of brilliant adventure, and offered a temptation to which he was peculiarly open from his African experience. But there seems no good reason for doubting his integrity of purpose when he turned against Burr, and, whether mistakenly or not, denounced him as having aimed, not only at foreign conquest, but at the subversion of the Federal Union.



The Sugar Plant.

The acquisition of Louisiana was by far the most important transaction of Jefferson's administration. But it was not so regarded at the time, excepting by the settlers west of the Alleghanies, who made no loud expressions of their joy, and by those who thought the acquisition important because they believed it would prove disastrous. As in the preceding administrations, the politics of Europe engaged the chief attention of the people of the Atlantic States, who had not yet learned what was to be the true independence of the nation. Nor had any public man, so far as appears, any sufficient prescience of the power which his country had gained when she secured for every child rights often given to the first born only; when she provided for general education; when she put away the temptations and the expense of a standing army, and virtually gave to every man who asked it, a share of the public domain. It has proved that in those years, these privileges, and others closely connected with them, were working changes in the state of affairs so great and so rapid that history finds it difficult to record them. But the men in the midst of them had no sense of their grandeur. They were as prone as men always are, to say their country was going to ruin; and they mistook, as men are apt to do, some failure in their own plans, for a

Power of the
new nation.

Importance
of Louisi-
ana.

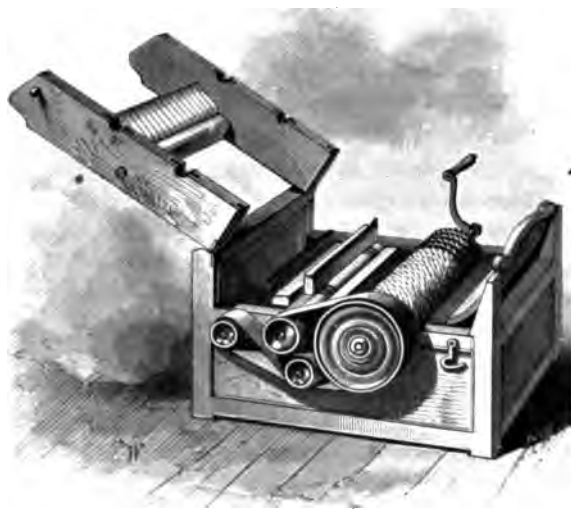
check in the general prosperity. Least of all, had the country learned the great lesson that the general administration ought not in strictness to be called the government of the country. In truth, it was governed not only at Washington, but in a thousand other places. It was governed in its town meetings, or in its State legislatures; in the assemblies which made its ecclesiastical rules, or in the agreements which set on foot its emigration. In a thousand ways, under the instinct for local government which has been the salvation of this race since its history began, these people were governing themselves. But the delusion still possessed most of them, as it possessed all the writers for the press, and many of the members of the national Administration, that they were governed by the President and Congress, as France was governed by Louis XIV. and Louis XV. The movements of local government are such as journals did not then record, while the speeches in Congress, and the messages of Presidents, had some chance for being circulated and read. The mistake is easily accounted for which rejects the element of power that is unseen and unheard.

Meanwhile, the population of the country nearly doubled in twenty years, though there was, as yet, no such large number of emigrants from Europe as Washington and other far-sighted men hoped for. At the end of the first ten years of the century, the census showed a population of seven million two hundred and forty thousand. The Abbé Raynal, in his flattering prophecy of the greatness of the new nation, then much quoted, had fixed ten million as the maximum number of its people. Wealth was increasing in a proportion vastly greater. Reference has been made, in another chapter, to the rapid increase of the cotton crop, resulting from Whitney's invention. From the merely nominal amount of one hundred and eighty-nine thousand pounds exported in 1791, the export rose to sixty-two million pounds in 1811, the year before the war with England, and, so soon as that war was over, to eighty-three million. That is to say, this single export multiplied one hundred and sixty fold. There was no other important article of commerce in which the increase was so large. But the exports in all articles, which were valued at only eighteen million dollars in 1791, rose in value to one hundred and eight million in 1807 — increasing six fold in sixteen years. This increase was not steady. There was flux and reflux, caused chiefly by the wantonness of foreign wars and the follies of legislation at home. But, in face of all obstacles, and while private fortunes were often wrecked in changes so sudden, the nation was increasing in strength in a proportion larger than those ever dreamed who thought they were its rulers. Of what was visible in

its prosperity, the features most important were its foreign commerce, and the shipbuilding and fisheries which were tributary to this, the emigration to the West, and the exploration of the wilderness. The improvement of internal communications, and the development of manufactures were not, though begun, so obvious till the second decade of the century, though in both directions a beginning was made.

In this first decade, it was the great good fortune of the country that Jefferson, elected President after a struggle of such bitterness, was committed, in every form of language, to the statement that the people could be intrusted with the manage-

ment of their affairs. True, it proved on many occasions that Jefferson was not able to resist the temptations which press on all men in authority. He often thought he knew better than the people he had praised. But in his long antagonism with Washington and Adams, he had constantly owned, what was at bottom his political creed, that the less men were governed



Whitney's Cotton Gin (from the Original Model).

from above the better, and the more they governed themselves, the wiser would the government be. Whenever, therefore, he yielded to temptation, and forced a policy on an unwilling nation, he knew, and all men knew, that he contradicted his own theory, and he often blundered. His was a character of not uncommon type, which starts in life with lofty principles and purposes, but is ruled by circumstances, and often led into courses directly opposed to what were once cherished convictions.

It was a misfortune that he fancied himself a philosopher: for he was not one, in any real sense of that word. But in his residence in France, he had made acquaintance with those fanciful speculators among the Encyclopædists, who thought that the world was to be at once made over on the plans of an advanced

and character.

philanthropy. Many of these men in Europe had come to an uneasy end in the horrors of the Revolution. So soon as the young Napoleon took the helm, little indulgence was given to their dreams and fancies. Of the whole circle, Jefferson was the only one who, in a certain irony of destiny, had been promoted to be the chief of a State. He was too steadfast to abandon then the theories which, in a position less distinguished, he had proclaimed. To these fancies the country owed more than one of the absurdities which nearly paralyzed its energies during the years of his administration. And when he left the seat of the President he had to be satisfied with the poor selection that, as a friend of peace, he had not made war himself, although he had done everything in the power of one man to drive the country into war under his successor.

In his inaugural address, with a comprehensive courage which satisfied all parties, he accepted as his own the policy of the Federalists; and, from that moment, for a generation, nothing was really heard from his followers of the demands for State rights, which had been discussed for the last fifteen years, and theoretically maintained by the Democratic party. For, so soon as it held the power, following his lead, that party assumed habits of national administration, such as no Federal leader even had ever dared propose. For the next generation, the armory from which Statesmen in opposition should draw their sharpest weapons would be the resolutions of State rights framed by Jefferson and his companions in the bitter controversies with Adams. Majorities were to govern now that the Democrats were in the majority. "All shall bear in mind," he said, "this sacred principle, that ^{His inaugural} though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression." Again he said: "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists." . . . "I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this government is not strong enough. . . . I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. . . . Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own Federal and Republican principles." In another part of the address he enumerates these principles. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-

republican tendencies ; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad ; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided ; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism ; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them ; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority ; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened ; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith ; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid ; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason ; freedom of religion ; freedom of the press ; and freedom of the person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus* ; and trial by juries impartially selected."

As Jefferson and his friends interpreted these principles, they meant a strong central government. As the nation grew in wealth and power, that government grew in patronage and consideration. With every year the laurels and the prizes which any State government could offer to ambitious or to selfish men, became of less importance, in comparison with those the general government had in hand. Year by year the extreme doctrines of State rights, as proclaimed in 1798, were confined more and more to the eloquence of debating societies and public dinners. In practice, the Republican or Democratic party became the national party. Confident of popular support, the President and his followers were able to carry forward such measures as they thought the national interests required ; and, for the first twelve years of the century, even while local irritations were strong enough to keep up very bitter partisan animosities, they fortunately never offered any hindrance to the maintenance of a definite national policy abroad,—had the President ever determined on such a policy,—nor any check on the development of healthy national sentiment at home.

In Jefferson's first years, a Federal majority in the Senate to a certain extent restrained the full adoption of such measures as a consistent fulfilment of the promises of the canvass would require. The checks of the constitutional system often give such fortunate delay in the work of eager partisans, affording a relief, which a seaman would call lee-way, giving the ship of state sufficient time to change her course. But success had its accustomed fruits. State after State turned out its Federal rulers, and took part with the Republicans.

Side by side with the legitimate political discussions of the people, ecclesiastical discussions of the first interest were going forward, in which the older order of church establishments were giving way to the more popular adjustment of what we now call the "voluntary system." In New England, the clergy — who in Massachusetts and Connecticut were settled for life, and, in a fashion, took on themselves some of the offices of an aristocracy, — were threatened by the change which has long since left the appointment and maintenance of the ministry to the order of the congregations. A very large major-



Monticello — the Home of Jefferson.

ity of the ministers, as of the lawyers of New England, had allied themselves to the Federal party; in truth, the ministers and lawyers had led it. The opposers of the system which maintained them, — a system clearly in opposition to the general drift of democratic institutions, — naturally allied themselves to the Republican party. In the newer regions of the country, at the same time, the most enthusiastic followers of the eager preachers of religious revivals were found in like alliance with the Republican party. Chilled by the suspicion or antagonism of the more decorous established clergy, they readily opposed any political scheme which that clergy was supposed to uphold. In one part of the country, therefore, Jefferson's friends had the assistance of the increasing body of what were called "Free-thinkers;" in another part, the ready support of religious enthusiasts. On the other hand, the former leaders of the Federalists were left with no

spell to conjure with. They could only appeal to the cultivated and thoughtful men with whom politics was a science, not an amusement or a game, — men who knew that in the long run government would succeed or would perish as it adhered to or abandoned certain great fundamental principles. Jefferson permitted himself to be governed by these principles when it suited his purpose, and, when it did not, was quite ready to set them at defiance to defeat his opponents on detailed questions of administration, which were often settled before the discussion of them could well be brought before the popular tribunals. Communication was difficult between different parts of the country; the seat of government itself was an outpost in a wilderness; and the diffusion of popular information by a vigilant press was in its infancy, — as we speak of it to-day, it was wholly unknown.

The rapid increase of the settlements west of the Alleghanies had already shown itself in the results of the census of 1800. That part of the Northwest Territory which we now know as Ohio, was admitted into the Union as a State soon after Jefferson's accession to office.



Courthouse at Chillicothe, O., 1801. — From an old picture.

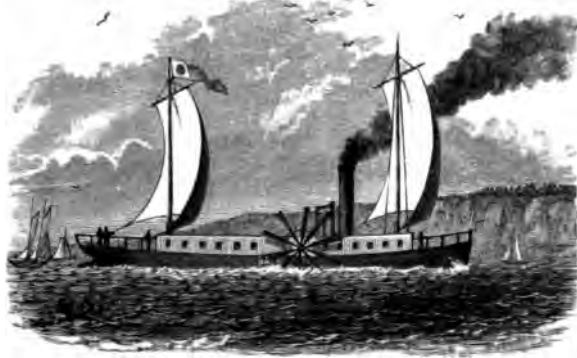
Its people adopted a Constitution by a convention which met at Chillicothe in November, 1802. In admitting the new State, Congress adopted some principles which have become precedents of the very first importance. In a wise determination to encourage settlement, the new State Constitution provided, by an ordinance which could not be repealed,

that for four years after any settler purchased land of the United States, no local taxes should be laid upon it. Congress met this liberality of the new-born State by a gift more than princely in its munificence, which has been made a precedent in all subsequent legislation. The law granted to the State one township in each section of the survey for the establishment of its schools.

Lands given
for schools.

That is to say, one thirty-sixth part of the public domain has been consecrated since that time to the purposes of public education. A grant so munificent, under a policy so large, has given to what are still called the "new States" in America, opportunities for a system of public education unequalled in the world. In some instances, where statesmen of prudence have been able to administer this fund from the beginning, such a system of public education has been attained.

With the acquisition of Louisiana and the consequent free right of navigating the Mississippi, the States in the valley of that river attained every advantage which the boldest of their leaders dared to ask. The increase of emigration into territories of such matchless fertility and luxuriant beauty was proportionate. Not one of those leaders, however, dared to forecast the great invention of the steamboat, which was necessary to give to their territory its full value. The experiments of John Fitch in driving barges by steam had been tried on the Delaware, where there was really no local trade



Fulton's First Steamboat.

sufficient to give much interest to his enterprise. In an early volume of the "American Philosophical Transactions," Mr. Latrobe, the engineer of most reputation in the country, expresses his regret that American inventors waste so much time in futile efforts to drive boats by steam, instead of turning their attention to the improvement of the steam-engine for its work on land. As early as 1804, the year after the United States had acquired Louisiana, the American Robert Fulton was urging upon Napoleon, in Paris, his own plans for the steamboat. But the experimental vessel was too slightly built; the boiler and engine, too heavy for it, broke through and sank to the bottom of the Seine, and the discouraged inventor was dismissed in disgrace. The first successful experiment was to be made in this country. In the summer of 1807, a boat called the *Clermont* made the trip from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours, and back again in thirty. This was at the rate of about five miles an hour; and, although the experiment was ridiculed as im-

Steamboats.

practicable before it was made, and useless afterwards, it was, nevertheless, so conclusive from the start, that the speed attained on the first trip was nearly half as great as that at which many ferry-boats are run in the harbor of New York, more than seventy years later. "The morning I left New York," wrote Fulton, "there were not, perhaps, thirty persons in the city who believed the boat would ever move one mile an hour." It was not until 1812 that a steamboat navigated the waters of the Ohio.¹

Long before this time, however, Jefferson, in the spirit of scientific research, which gives dignity to every period of his life, Lewis and Clarke. had commissioned two officers of the army — Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke — to explore the waters of the Missouri River, cross the mountain range, and descend to the Pacific. This commission they successfully fulfilled in 1804 and the two following years. With a large party, they embarked on a considerable flotilla of boats, and stemmed the rapid current of the Missouri for twenty-six hundred miles. Leaving their flotilla there with a garrison, they crossed the mountains with the remainder of the party, mounted on horses which they had captured, and were thus the discoverers of the two streams still known as the Lewis and Clarke Rivers. They followed these rivers to their junction in Columbia River, which they then traced to the sea. This great river had already been discovered by Robert Gray, of Salem, Massachusetts, commander of the ship *Columbia Rediviva*, in May, 1792. On these two discoveries — first of the mouth of the river, and then of its course — rested, in part, the claim of the United States for its territories west of the Rocky Mountains.² In this journey, the party of explorers met many Indian tribes who had never before seen white men, — some who, it was supposed, had never heard of white men. It was the first journey ever made to the Pacific by the whites, north of the line of Mexico.³

The rapid development of the Western country was really the feature of most importance in the history of the nation in Development of the West. the first decade of the century. But the great law held, under which men do not at the moment fully estimate the force of the deeper currents on which they are borne. Some of the

¹ This vessel was the *Orleans*, built by Fulton and Livingston, at Pittsburg. She had a stern-wheel and masts, and this seems to have been the first successful experiment with the stern-wheel.

² It eventually acquired by the Treaty of Florida all the claims of Spain to that region.

³ The first, through northern Mexico, was that of Cabeça de Vaca, already described, vol. i., p. 156. By absurd errors, the biographical dictionaries often say that the same journey was accomplished by Caiver in 1767, and by Chateaubriand in 1791. These errors are due to the ignorance of writers in Europe on points of American geography.

most thoughtful men in the country deprecated the Western emigration. They thought it would reduce the Atlantic States to insignificance, and endanger the permanence of the Union.

In the immense development of the physical wealth of the nation, the large increase of its foreign commerce attracted attention more general. The rapid increase of exports, which Foreign commerce. has been alluded to, was due not only to the increase of domestic



Gate of the Mountains, on the Upper Missouri.

productions, but to the commercial necessities of the world, while the European wars lasted. Allusion has already been made to the great carrying trade which the European war almost forced upon the fortunate American merchants. For such an article as sugar, for instance, such countries as Holland, Italy, and France were largely dependent on importations in American vessels. To a considerable extent, the course of trade brought sugar from the West Indies to ports in the United States, — in accordance with the rule enforced by England, in regard to neutrals, — whence it was shipped again to

Europe. Of this single article, not then produced largely in Louisiana,¹ the export from the United States in the three years 1805, 1806, 1807, exceeded four hundred million pounds. The export of coffee from the United States was only less valuable, — the amount being one hundred and thirty million pounds. Although drawbacks were allowed at the custom-houses on the principal foreign articles thus exported, on foreign imports reexported which had no drawbacks the treasury received four million dollars in those years. This single item of revenue, wholly paid by foreign consumers, was nearly equal to one quarter of all the expenditures of the national administration in the same time.

It would also happen in the course of trade, that an American vessel in a foreign port would find a profitable voyage to some other port, without returning home. Freedom from danger of capture was, of course, an immense premium in favor of the charter of such vessels. Once in the foreign trade, — or the “carrying trade,” as it came to be called, — an American vessel might not return to the United States for many years. From a stimulus so remarkable, ship-building and maritime commerce increased in a ratio larger than that of the population, while the national prosperity was in every way quickened by such enlargement of the means for obtaining wealth. The earliest statistics are of the years when the Constitution went into operation, and even then the maritime activity of the new nation was considerable. From that time, in seventeen years ending with 1810, the increase of tonnage owned by citizens of the United States was nearly threefold. The amount increased from four hundred and eighty-nine thousand tons to one million three hundred and ninety thousand. It will be observed that while the population of the country doubled in twenty-two years, the tonnage, the best index of its maritime success, was almost trebled in seventeen. It was observed with pride that, in commercial rivalry with Great Britain, the new nation already almost equalled the old in her shipping on the seas.²

It was a matter of course that a trade so lucrative, which fell into the hands of the American merchants merely from the folly that kept the European sovereigns and states in constant war, should be looked on with jealousy by all nations. The great law insisted on

¹ In 1810, the production of Louisiana was about ten million pounds. The production of maple sugar in the Northern States was nine and a half million pounds.

² In 1807, the tonnage of American vessels engaged in foreign trade, which entered the ports of the United States, was one million one hundred thousand tons. That of Great Britain, which entered her ports, was one million five hundred thousand tons. In each case the repeated voyages were counted. But no estimate appeared of the large American commerce which did not return in the year to American ports.

by Catherine and the other neutral powers in the war of the Revolution, that neutral ships should make neutral goods, was hardly yet accepted as a part of the international code of the world. Even had it been accepted, its interpretation in practice was not left to jurists, but to the commanders of cruisers eager to make prizes, and often indifferent to the questions of national or personal privilege involved in the particular case in hand. In many instances, indeed, the seizure of a merchantman, followed by a reference to a prize court of the questions regarding her voyage, was in itself an injury hardly less than her confiscation. Her cargo might be perishable, or its value might depend on the rapidity of her voyage.

For such reasons, and a hundred others, it happened, with every day of this lucrative commerce of the Americans, that some indignity was committed by some commander of a blockading cruiser, which was fairly accounted an insult to the flag of the new nation, and involved serious loss to those engaged in the carrying trade. In such indignities and insults, as well as in the enforcement of real blockades, every belligerent nation that had a gun afloat participated. But of course it happened that England was the greatest offender, because her navy was the largest; and eventually, as the victories of Nelson and others of her admirals captured or swept out of existence the war-ships of other nations, she became indeed the monarch of the seas. In her relations with the United States, there were also other causes of antagonism. The older officers and seamen remembered the time, not distant, when the two nations were at war. The very trade which was so lucrative to America was trade that had been carried on by English ships in days of peace. A matter that proved very difficult of adjustment, and a constant cause of ill-feeling, was the identity of the language, not to say the habits, of the sailors of the two nations. In the impressment of seamen, already alluded to, officers who were seeking deserters from the King's service felt at liberty to overhaul American vessels, and look for such deserters there. The indignity of a search was, of course, in itself, exasperating to a proud people. And when, as sometimes happened, seamen who declared they were born in America, were taken from American vessels, the outrage touched the national heart most sensitively.¹

Difficulties
of the carry-
ing trade.

¹ So indiscriminate were English officers in these outrages, that it sometimes happened that black men were seized as English seamen. At that time, the public opinion of the world was such that few statesmen troubled themselves much about the rights of negroes. But, in another generation, when it proved convenient in the United States to argue that free negroes had never been citizens, it was remembered that the cabinets of Jefferson and Madison, in their diplomatic discussions with Great Britain, had been willing to argue that the impressment of a free negro was the seizure of an American citizen.

Difficult of settlement as these various questions were, the fact should not be lost sight of that their discussion was governed by recognized principles of international law at that time, and the tremendous strain to which England was subjected by her wars with Napoleon and his rapid progress in the subjugation of all Europe. The natural right of the subject to change his national allegiance was not then acknowledged, and once an Englishman always an Englishman, was held to be a legal axiom. That England, however, was not disposed to push this to extremity, cannot be doubted in the light of the diplomatic correspondence of the time. She was not only willing, but anxious, that the question of the assumed right of impressment, and the assumption of sovereignty over her citizens who had repudiated their allegiance, should be reconciled, if possible, to the American demand of the inviolability of the American flag. In 1806, Monroe and William Pinkney concluded a treaty with Great Britain which, had it been ratified, would have essentially changed the relations of the two powers, and would, perhaps, have prevented a recourse to war and the calamitous measures which preceded it. In transmitting the treaty to the President, the ministers wrote on the subject of impressment: "That, although this Government did not feel itself at liberty to relinquish, formally, by treaty, its claim to search our merchant vessels for British seamen, its practice would, nevertheless, be essentially if not completely abandoned. That opinion has been since confirmed by frequent conferences on the subject with the British commissioners, who have repeatedly assured us that, in their judgment, we were made as sure against the exercise of their pretension by the policy which their Government had adopted in regard to that very delicate and important question, as we could have been made by treaty." But a treaty with England would have placed America in an inimical, if not hostile, attitude toward France, and it was Jefferson's policy, so far as he had any, that this should not be done. He quietly, therefore, put the treaty into a pigeon-hole and said nothing about it to the United States Senate.

All these restrictions on American commerce, vexatious enough before, culminated in the proclamations, which were so fruitful a source of controversy and disaster, known in history as the "decrees of Berlin and Milan" and the "Orders in Council." By the Berlin and Milan decrees, Napoleon, in the pride of his power, declared the English islands to be in a state of blockade, and claimed the right to seize all vessels trading with England or her dependencies.¹ To the Berlin Decree the English

The Orders in Council, and the Berlin and Milan decrees.

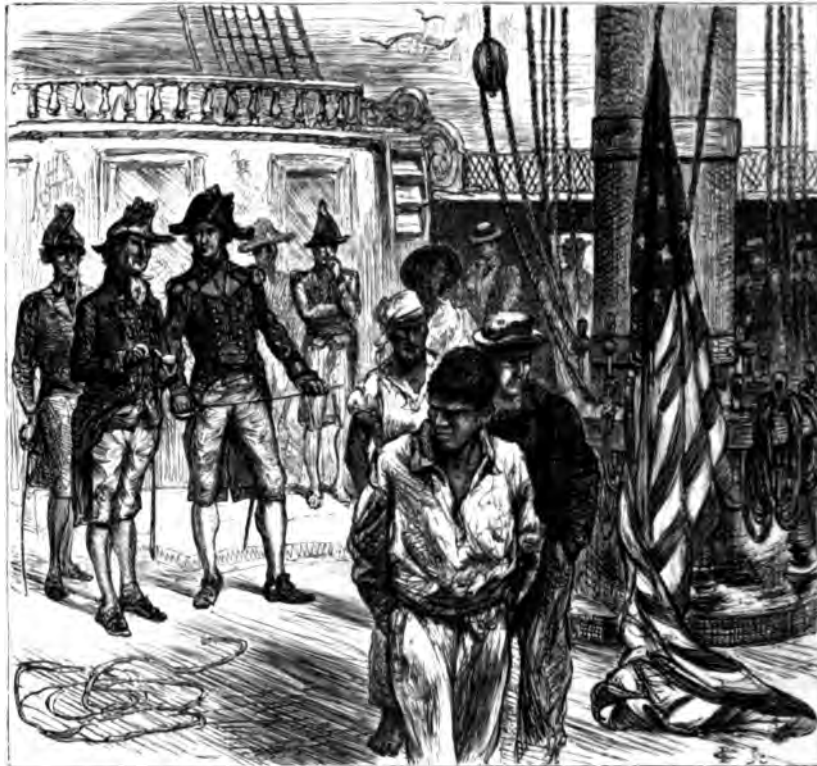
¹ The date of the Berlin Decree is November 20, 1806; that of the Milan Decree, December 17, 1807. The Orders in Council were dated November 11, 1807.

Government replied by the King's "Orders in Council," prohibiting all commerce with those ports of the Continent of Europe which were under the dominion of France or her allies. This meant, in substance, all Europe except Russia. By these decrees, American merchant ships were subject to seizure wherever they might be. If a naval commander of England suspected that a merchantman which he overhauled was on her way to a European port, he captured the vessel and sent her into an English port for trial. Or, if a French cruiser overhauled a merchantman, and suspected she was going to an English harbor, he arrested the voyage and sent her to France. Against these paper blockades the United States, now the chief neutral power, protested, as Russia and the neutral states had successfully protested in the war of independence. In its diplomacy, the United States maintained the position which is now accepted as fundamental in the public law of the world, that the blockade of a port must be maintained by a competent force upon the spot.

Unfortunately, the United States was in no position to give dignity to its diplomacy by a naval force of its own. The administration of Adams had made the beginning of a navy, Condition of the navy. and the Navy Department was separated from the Department of War as early as 1798. But one of the charges of extravagance made against the Federalists was connected with their building a few frigates, and preparing to build a few more. So soon as Jefferson's administration came in, the timber in the dock-yards was sold, with a certain affectation of economy. Thus it happened, that at a time when a proud government would have been glad to convoy its fleets of merchantmen with a protection competent against insolent cruisers, the Government of the United States, though the proudest of all, had almost no vessels of war for such a purpose. This Government was obliged, therefore, to see the carrying trade, which was really so profitable to all parties, bullied almost out of existence, and could only make its protests in well-argued and bitter despatches.

Jefferson had more than parsimonious reasons for avoiding the building of a fleet. One of the theories on which he most valued himself involved the idea that war was unnecessary. He supposed, and he taught, that nations could be conquered by letting them alone. Like other patriots who remembered the beginning of the Revolution, he supposed, falsely in fact, that the non-intercourse acts of the colonies had largely affected public opinion in England. All Americans thought too largely of the place of their country in the councils of the world. The Virginians had more of this conceit than other Americans; and, of all Virginians, whether as an individual or as an American, Jefferson was the most conceited. His philanthropy, his

American pride, and this profound self-conceit, all united in directing a series of measures by which he hoped to gain the advantages of war without its disasters. In place of a navy fit to go to sea, The gun-boat system. he proposed, and Congress adopted, that system of gunboats for harbor defence already mentioned. Each vessel was to carry one heavy gun. Two hundred and fifty were to be built in ten years. They were to be kept under sheds in time of peace, and in war to be manned by the seamen or militia of the town attacked. No fortifications were to be required for harbors, which were to be protected by



Taking Deserters from the Chesapeake

cannon on wheels, kept in readiness to be dragged from place to place when needed.

The affair of the Chesapeake. At the moment when the annoyances to merchants reached their height from the proclamation of the Berlin Decree, the insults offered by English naval officers to the American marine culminated. Berkeley, the English Admiral on the North American station, issued an order to his captains (June 1, 1807), re-

quiring them, in case they met the United States frigate *Chesapeake* at sea, to search her for some deserters from the English navy who were on board. The men's names were given, and it was said to be matter of notoriety that they were on board the *Chesapeake*. As the result of this order, when the *Chesapeake*, after six months of preparation, went to sea from Norfolk, Virginia, whence she was ordered to the Mediterranean, the English ship *Leopard* accompanied her from that port. As soon as both vessels were well at sea, the captain of the *Leopard* hailed the *Chesapeake*, asking leave to send despatches on board. James Barron, commander of the *Chesapeake*, not having the slightest suspicion of violence, received the boat. It brought to him Admiral Berkeley's letter and a demand for the deserters, which demand, after half an hour's reflection, he refused. So soon as his note was received on the *Leopard*, her commander hailed; and, saying that Admiral Berkeley's orders must be complied with, fired several broadsides into the *Chesapeake*. Such was the encumbered condition of the American vessel, which had gone to sea without any expectation of war, that her officers were not able to fire a gun. No match could be found, even, when guns were loaded. At last Barron struck his flag, — at which moment one gun on the American ship was fired by a hot coal from the galley. Several English officers then boarded the ship, mustered her crew, and carried off four deserters. That they were deserters, there was no doubt; but they said they had been impressed from American ships. Three of them were black men, whose nation was the United States. Two of them were born in Maryland, and one had been brought up in Massachusetts, though born in South America.

An outrage like this, inflicted not by accident or the brutality of a separate commander, naturally excited the whole nation to the utmost. Jefferson interdicted American harbors and waters to all vessels of the English navy, and forbade intercourse with them. He sent a vessel of war with a special minister to London to demand satisfaction. On the other hand, the English Admiral hanged the deserter and dismissed the three black men with a reprimand, blaming them for disturbing the peace of two nations. So soon as his account of the affair reached England, George Canning, as foreign secretary, disallowed it, and offered reparation, recalling Berkeley from his command. But at the same time a royal proclamation was issued, directing commanders to make a "demand" for all English seamen serving on foreign ships of war, and, in case of refusal, to report such refusal. That the outrage did not end in immediate war, was due partly to Canning's concessions, and partly to the fact that the Americans had no navy to fight with. After the attack on the *Chesapeake*, the English fleet

anchored outside the capes of James River, brought to every vessel by firing, and even threatened to cut out the French frigate *Sybil*, which lay in Norfolk harbor. The whole transaction was one of the incidents most efficient in producing the situation that led to war.

In the midst of such irritation Congress met in the autumn of 1807. The Milan Decree had not yet arrived in America; but so soon as the Orders in Council were made certain, the President sent to Congress a message pointing out the results of the Berlin Decree, and other papers that showed the "dangers with which our vessels, our seamen, and our merchandise are threatened on the high seas and elsewhere from the belligerent powers of Europe." Jefferson asked Congress for an "inhibition of the departure



THOMAS JEFFERSON

of our vessels from the ports of the United States," on the ground that it was desirable to keep in safety our maritime resources. Congress immediately passed the act proposed, after short debate in secret session, by a strong party vote, — nearly two to one in the House of Representatives. It prohibited the departure from American ports of all American vessels, and of all foreign vessels except those in ballast. No merchandise whatever was to be exported. The act, therefore, was not, in fact, merely a law for saving American ships from

danger, as the message suggested; it was a measure of aggression against England. It was a measure unpopular, of course, in proportion as men were or were not engaged in commerce. The men of New England and New York, whose ships and seamen were exposed, did not thank the philanthropy that kept them in port. But the planters and farmers of the South and West were pleased with the thought that they were making war against England without firing a gun or taxing themselves a dollar. The maritime States thought the agricultural States took a special satisfaction in a quasi war, of which all the burden fell at first upon commerce.

But it proved, of course, as a wiser political economy knows, that the burden at length became universal. True, the foreign powers, at whom this pacific war was aimed, were hardly ^{its effect.} aware of its pressure. It furnished one of the stimulants much needed for the manufacture of beet sugar in France; ¹ England cared little for the loss of American products, which she could easily supply from other places; and in the immense convulsions of European politics, it commanded little notice. At home the men whose tobacco and cotton and corn could not be sent to market, soon learned that they also, as well as the carriers of those products, were paying a heavy tax by this interdiction of commerce. In the seaboard cities it was said, without a metaphor, that grass was growing in the streets and on the piers. What followed at once, to Jefferson's undying mortification, was rebellion from their allegiance to him of his partisans in the maritime States, and the disloyalty of many of those most relied upon in other quarters. A presidential election came on at this crisis. With the customary Virginian conceit, two Virginians, Madison and Monroe, offered themselves as candidates. To New York, Jefferson had owed his election, and George Clinton, of New York, appeared as a Republican candidate against the Virginians. Jefferson determined that Madison should succeed him. The election showed, however, that the Democratic party was everywhere losing the triumphant majority which had returned Jefferson for a second time, and in his last message to Congress he wrote with the knowledge that his favorite policy of war without fighting had not been approved by the country. The message stated briefly the failure abroad of that "candid and liberal experiment," to end the embargo by a proposition to Great Britain and France that they should first recall their orders and decrees against neutral commerce, and left to the "wisdom of Congress" a decision as to its continuance. Congress took the matter immediately in hand, and, in entire subservience to the President, passed resolutions for enforcing the act, by majorities even stronger than those by which it was passed.

This enforcing act proved the last straw on the patience of the maritime States. The vehemence of the protest of their towns showed itself in every form, not always pacific. The partisan majority vote, which was as strong as eighty-four to thirty on the 7th of

¹ An American epigram of the time is worth preserving.

"I've a substitute found," says Boney: "No more
Of your sugar will I taste the sweet."

"Very well," says John Bull, "while I hold the cane,
You 're welcome, indeed, to get beet."

December, 1808, vanished under the pressure of public opinion, and so sudden was the change that on the 2d of February the ^{its repeal.} embargo was repealed. The Administration tried to stem the torrent so far as to fix the 1st of June as the day for reopening commerce, but its followers followed no longer, and on the 3d of February the 1st of March was agreed upon. This curious and immediate change of opinion was ascribed by Jefferson to a kind of panic among the New England and New York members. Joseph Story, afterwards Judge Story, had come on as a new member of Congress, and to his influence in the House Jefferson imputed the revolution. Jefferson left office with the mortification of seeing his favorite scheme of peaceful war abandoned, and with the additional mortification of seeing Congress reject the policy and plan of Madison, whom he had named as his successor.

In the accession of Madison, the country had the advantage of ^{President Madison.} choosing a magistrate who, if not endowed with genius, had still the temperate or judicial habit which a great statesman or legislator needs. The duties of the Executive, however, as many nations have learned to their cost, are not simply those of a legislator or of a constitution-maker. For an executive office, experience in action seems necessary, and of this, Madison's careful training at the bar and in diplomacy had given him little. There are, therefore, elements of pathos almost dramatic in his life. In the first half of it he was overshadowed by his great leader, Jefferson. After work of the first ability in making the Constitution and securing its adoption, he was forced for twenty years to work in public life as the subordinate of one who was absent in Europe when the Constitution was made, and who was always proud to say that he was not responsible for its details. At last, Madison was emancipated from such control. His master condescended to name him as his successor, and bade his junior, Monroe, wait his turn.

But at this moment a new generation was stepping upon the stage: the counsels and plans of that older generation, to which Madison belonged, were now to be pushed by as old-fashioned. And, through his administration, Madison, who had served so patiently under his master of the generation that was gone, was obliged to serve for eight years more under the young masters of the generation that was to come. Decrees of destiny, less bitter, have been chosen subjects with tragic poets. For this is not the world's accustomed lesson, in which a weak man is moulded by circumstances. This is the picture of a strong man, who seems fitted for better things, but who cannot avoid what the Greeks would have called his destiny.

The new President had been Secretary of State under the late ad-

ministration. But he and his friends found themselves powerless to direct the panic-stricken Congress, which went out of power at the same time with Jefferson. The best that could be done was, to accompany the repeal of the embargo by a provision which forbade imports from Europe. This partial continuance of the non-intercourse system diminished, of course, the joy with which the maritime towns received the news of their victory.

From this policy of non-intercourse, and from the other difficulties which, in a state of war, hindered importations from Europe, was unexpectedly born that gigantic system under which the United States has become a great manufacturing nation. An interesting symbol of the new industry is observed in the fact that the new President, at his inauguration, was dressed in a suit of cloth of American manufacture, which had been presented by Chancellor Livingston for this use. Early in May, Madison met his new Congress. The Democratic majority in name was diminished; but that deceptive good fortune, which had always seemed to wait on him through life, did not yet fail him. Conciliatory despatches came from Canning. The younger Erskine, a gentleman of honor and liberal views, came over as English Minister. From a real and sensible hope for accommodation on both sides, such arrangements were made that restrictions on English commerce were removed. The maritime States were rejoiced. Again "men were all Federalists, and all Republicans." A fleet of more than a thousand merchantmen rushed across the ocean to take advantage of the conciliation. Everything seemed to become new.

Effect of the
non-inter-
course pol-
icy.

Beginning
of Madison's
administra-
tion.

But all parties reckoned without their host. So soon as this news arrived in England, the Tory Ministry of the Duke of Portland rejected Erskine's treaty. He had exceeded his authority, and Madison was accused of having persuaded him to do so in the hope that the ministry would take the course they did. Mr. Jackson, known as "Copenhagen Jackson," was sent out as Erskine's successor — an appointment not agreeable in America, and probably not meant to be. The Government finally refused to deal with him, and when Congress met, at the close of 1809, it sustained the refusal. Madison's friends now brought forward an American Navigation Act. It excluded all French and English vessels from American harbors. It placed its restrictions on the Europeans, and not on the Americans. But to this bill the Senate could not be made to agree. The President could not control his own party. Commerce was thus finally left to take care of itself. Meanwhile the revenue from customs was diminishing. Seventeen millions of surplus with which the Administration had proudly gone into the embargo policy, was

absorbed. The English Government appointed no successor to Mr. Jackson. Everything drifted, in the relations between America and England, as might have been expected, when the Cabinet of one country disavowed the acts of its own Minister, and the President of the other could not direct the policy of Congress. That Congress went out of service amid the general contempt which attaches to bodies that have done nothing.

At about the same time it happened that the American frigate *President* had a collision at sea with the English sloop-of-war *Little Belt*. Following the presumptuous example of the *Leopard*, the *Little Belt* had thrown a shot into the *President*, which she answered by a series of broadsides that badly crippled her assailant. There was also a little war-cloud on the fron-



William Henry Harrison.

tier. The Indian chief Tecumseh and his brother "the Prophet" had been for some time endeavoring to induce the western tribes to abstain from whiskey and return to the customs and weapons of their ancestors, — with no better success than attended the similar efforts of Pontiac, half a century before, — when they found a grievance in the treaty made in 1809 by William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, with several of these tribes. For presents to the value of eight thousand dollars, and stipulated annuities, a tract on the Wabash, above Terre Haute, was ceded to the Government.

Tecumseh held that all the lands belonged to all the tribes, and none could be sold without the consent of all. Harrison invited the warrior and his brother to a friendly conference, which just escaped ending in a massacre. Depredations on the frontier suggested the propriety of a post on the upper waters of the Wabash, and in 1811 Harrison, with two thousand men, ascended that stream and established one at Terre Haute. An attempt to open friendly communications with the Prophet was repelled, and Harrison then marched against his town, encamping within ten miles of it, on the Tippecanoe. Before daybreak, on the morning of November

Battle of
Tippecanoe.

7, the savages burst upon his camp with a terrific whoop. The soldiers put out their camp-fires, and stood their ground manfully in the darkness, while the Indians tried in vain to break the square in which they were formed. At sunrise the mounted men made a gallant charge, and the enemy withdrew, carrying off their wounded. The next day, Harrison found the Prophet's town deserted, and burned it.

Everything in the foreign relations tended to irritation; and the elections of 1811 showed the determination of the country to adopt a national policy, if anybody were wise enough to say what that policy should be. The President, in his message, proposed an "armor and attitude corresponding with the national spirit." If this had meant preparations for defence,—the assertion of the right to trade any-



Battle-field of Tippecanoe.

where, of any American to go where he pleased with arms in his hands to protect himself and his commerce,—the country to a man would have rallied at his call. But already, with the first two years of his administration, the control of affairs had passed from his hands. A party had come into power who meant to have war, but with England only. It was, moreover, a Southern, sectional party, ambitious of power, and believing that the surest way to attain to it was to "stand by their order" as slaveholders, against the intelligence and the free labor of the North. The leaders of this party who have since been best remembered, were Henry Clay, of Ken-

tucky, and John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina. These two men, afterward such bitter rivals, stood together in the outset as the most eager advocates of war. By an error, which they long regretted, these young Hotspurs, as they have since been called, and the men who followed them, distrusted the power at sea of the young nation. Vainly did the New England speakers plead for a fleet, if it were only of thirty frigates. The West and the South would not trust New England, even when she offered to fight for them. Their plans were made for invading Canada, by the enlargement of the regular army and the help of the militia. A new embargo was ordered. New regiments were added to the army. The President was authorized to call out a hundred thousand militia, to invade Canada for the protection of sailors' rights and free trade at sea. Still Madison wavered. He still hoped for peace. But a committee, headed by Clay, waited upon him, and told him that if he did not declare for war, he should not be re-nominated as the candidate for the Presidency.¹ Both Monroe and Clinton were quite willing to accept the nomination as war candidates. The threat was sufficient; the President yielded, and war against England was declared on the 18th of June, 1812.

¹ It was denied that any such bargain was made, but there can be no doubt that such was the understanding enforced by Clay's committee.



The Tomb of Washington



Detroit in 1815.

CHAPTER VIII.

WAR WITH ENGLAND.

MESSAGE AND REPORT ON WAR WITH ENGLAND. — DIVISION OF PARTIES ON THE WAR. — RIOT IN BALTIMORE. — HULL'S SURRENDER OF THE NORTHWEST. — FIRST CAMPAIGN ON THE NIAGARA. — NAVAL BATTLES OF THE FIRST YEAR. — WAR ON THE LAKES. — DESTRUCTION OF YORK. — PERRY'S VICTORY. — HARRISON'S INVASION OF CANADA. — TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN RECOVERED. — WILKINSON'S DISASTERS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE. — SECOND CAMPAIGN ON THE NIAGARA. — INDIAN WAR IN THE SOUTH, JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN. — NAVAL BATTLES OF THE SECOND YEAR.

THE confidential message of President Madison on the 1st of June, and the report thereon of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, through its chairman, Mr. Calhoun, set forth at length the reasons for a declaration of war against England, with great force and distinctness. The modern reader of those documents, however, will look in vain in either of them for any evidence of unselfish patriotism, or of the grasp of the statesman ; but he will be amazed at the boldness of the political partisan. There had been reasons enough, for more than fifteen years, for going to war with more than one nation, provided war was the only way in which the United States could protect her rights and her interests. In the mighty struggle of the great powers of Europe, the little power in America had been in danger of being crushed out of existence. It

The declaration of war.

was certainly true that the upper and the nether millstones of that terrible mill ground hard, but it was no less true that they ground alike; and the victim of their weight had persisted in the most fatuous way in remaining under their pressure, and, while groaning at its cruelty, had declared with obstinate persistence that it was only the upper stone that hurt. Whatever justification there was for war, applied equally to France and to England; whether the party trained by Jefferson—who so loved the doctrines and the action of the French Revolutionists—meant or did not mean to aid France at first, and then Napoleon, every step they took was in favor of France; but whether war was justifiable for any reason, with any power, it was plainly evident that Jefferson's naval policy—of gunboats under sheds, and a system of movable fortification by cannon on wheels—had put the nation in a condition as unfit for war as if the discipline and doctrine of the Society of Friends had been adopted as an amendment to the Constitution.

The decree, however, had gone forth, and the war of a faction, which was the price of Madison's nomination for reflection, was to be declared. Mr. Madison in his message and Mr. Calhoun in his report, when both papers were stripped of specious argument, really presented the determination of a war with England as a party measure. The President acknowledged that the very outrages which called for that war "have been practised on our vessels and our citizens," and that quite recently, by France; but he added, "I abstain, at this time, from recommending to the consideration of Congress defensive measures with respect to that nation," because there might be further negotiation: implying that the possibility of negotiation with England was closed; though if it were, it had only become so by Jefferson's contemptuous rejection of the Monroe-Pinckney treaty. And Mr. Calhoun in his report, with equal obliviousness to the force of his acknowledgment, said "The committee do not hesitate to declare that France has equally injured the United States, and that satisfactory reparation has not been made for many of these injuries. But that is a concern which the United States will look to and settle for themselves:"—by which he meant, if he meant anything, that the United States would not be dictated to by Great Britain as to her policy toward France: forgetting, or not choosing to remember, that in their policy towards Great Britain they had submitted to the dictation of France.

Congress sat with closed doors to consider the confidential message.

But even the Democrats were not of one mind. There were opposition to the war peace-democrats then, as in later years and more perilous times there were "war-democrats." In a full house the Democratic

THE LIFE OF THE LATE LORD ALBERT



majority was seventy ; the bill for the declaration of war was carried by a majority of thirty only. In the Senate the vote was seventeen to thirteen, six Democrats voting with the minority to the end, and even then, Senator Bayard said, it would not have been carried but for a difference of opinion in the Senate on other proposed measures. A protest against the war, in the form of an address to their constituents, was drawn up by Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, and signed by thirty-eight members of the House. They complained of the tyranny of the majority in passing in secret session a bill of so much importance, without permitting it to be debated ; they denounced the war as a pretext to give aid to Napoleon against England ; they showed how unprepared the nation was, without either army or navy, to begin a contest with the strongest nation in the world ; and they warned their countrymen of the madness of that party policy which disregarded the danger of the dissolution of the Union, when the government was still "in no small degree experimental, composed of powerful and independent sovereignties associated in relations, some of which are critical as well as novel."

Intense opposition to the war, which showed itself in mass-meetings, in pulpits, in newspapers, and in pamphlets, was met, on the other hand, by support not less earnest. The first blood was drawn, not in military movements, but in domestic violence, and, as in a later and greater war, in the streets of Baltimore. In the night of June 22d a mob sacked the office of the "Federal Republican," edited by Alexander Hanson, and extended the outrage to dwellings of Federalists and vessels in the harbor. A month later the paper was reissued, and Hanson, aided by numerous friends, was prepared to defend his property. Again the office was attacked, but the defenders fired upon the mob, killing one and wounding others. The militia, tardily called out, arrested, not the rioters, but Hanson and his party, and lodged them in jail, where they were again attacked by the mob, who killed General Langan in the most cruel and cowardly manner, lamed General Henry Lee for life, and assaulted others. The ringleaders were tried and acquitted.

The regular army numbered six thousand men, but the enlistment of twenty-five thousand had been authorized, and now by another act the President was empowered to accept fifty thousand volunteers and call out a hundred thousand militiamen. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed to the chief command.

General William Hull, the Governor of Michigan, was appointed commander in the west, and was ordered to be in readiness to invade Canada in the event of war. He seems to have understood clearly enough the preparations and resources needed to

Riot in Baltimore.

The forces.

The opening movement.

give to such a project any promise of success; but, unfortunately for himself, accepted his appointment without waiting for the assurance of the Government that his counsel should be heeded and his necessities provided for. He marched from Ohio with about two thousand men, chiefly militia, more uncontrollable and insubordinate, even, than troops of that class usually are. When the declaration of war reached him he crossed the Detroit River, a few miles below Detroit, with the avowed purpose of taking Fort Malden, and issued a proclamation assuring the inhabitants of protection, but declaring that no quarter would be given to those who should be found fighting in company with the Indians. Had the Government taken the precaution to advise him of the declaration of war a few days earlier, and before the news of it could have reached Canada, Hull's first step might have had a different issue. But for the want of such advices the first step was the enemy's, not his; the fort at Michilimackinac was taken by surprise and compelled to surrender, and that first success decided the hesitating Indian tribes to join their large force to that side which promised to be the stronger. It was the fear of these savages that a few days later so influenced Hull and brought about the disastrous opening of the war.

A detachment sent out under Major Thomas B. Van Horne to guard a supply train was defeated by an overwhelming force of English and Indians at Brownstown. But another, under Lieutenant-colonel James Miller, sent to open communication with the base of supplies at Raisin River, found an ambuscade at Maguaga, and after a gallant fight of two hours routed the enemy, who took to their boats. Nearly a hundred Indians lay dead on the field, and the English lost about fifty men.

Captain Nathan Heald, in command of Fort Dearborn, where Chicago now stands, was ordered by Hull to abandon it and join him at Detroit. Heald promised the friendly Indians the property in the fort which he could not take away; but in the night he destroyed the fire-arms, gunpowder, and liquor, the articles they most wanted. On the morning of August 15th he set out, with fifty soldiers, accompanied by several families. As they moved down the shore of the lake they were suddenly attacked by a large band of Indians posted on a low range of sand-hills at a point now within the city limits. A battle ensued, in which the women fought as bravely as the men. After heavy losses, including a wagon-load of twelve children, who were all tomahawked by one Indian, the survivors surrendered, and of these all the wounded were scalped.¹

On the 16th, General Isaac Brock crossed Detroit River with over

¹ The British Colonel Proctor, at Malden, had offered a premium for American scalps.

two thousand regulars and Indians, and demanded the surrender of that city, to which Hull had retreated. Hull, who had ^{Surrender of Detroit.} about eight hundred and fifty men, half his force having been detached on distant expeditions, made admirable arrangements for a stubborn defence; but at the moment when the conflict was expected to begin he hung out a white flag, and surrendered.

Brock, in demanding surrender, had declared he could not restrain his allies, the Indians, from rapine and murder in case the place should be carried by assault. Hull did not believe he could depend upon the militia for any serious, much less for any desperate, fighting, and he knew that the officers had en-



Battle of Chicago.

tered into a conspiracy for his deposition from command. This mutual lack of confidence gave small promise of

successful defence, and, if unsuccessful, he dreaded the fate that might await the women and children of the town, among whom were a daughter of his own and her children. In this stern conflict between the sense of soldierly duty and the feelings of a humane man and a father, the soldier yielded. Whether right or wrong, the act of the soldier could not be forgiven, and the popular clamor demanded a victim for the loss, not only of Detroit, but of the whole Northwest territory, and the failure to invade Canada. Hull was tried by court-martial, and condemned to be shot. Though his crime was compared, in the heated temper of the time, to Arnold's treason, he was nevertheless pardoned by Madison, in consideration of his past

services.¹ The President could hardly do less than grant his life to a man left in so terrible a position by the neglect of the Government; their own fault was acknowledged in permitting the Secretary of War, Eustis, to resign his office.

The second attempt to invade Canada, more disastrous than Hull's surrender, — for more men were killed or wounded than Battle of Queens-
town. Hull had in his entire command, — was made on the Niagara frontier. General Stephen Van Rensselaer, in command there, resolved to capture the heights of Queenstown, and on the morning of October 13th sent two small columns across the river. Several of the boats lost their way; others succeeded in landing, under a fire from the vigilant enemy. The regulars, under Captain John E. Wool, charged up the hill, and took position on the plateau. Here the enemy attacked him, but after sharp fighting were driven back. The whole American force then retreated to the beach, where Wool was reënforced and ordered to scale the heights, which was immediately done, and a battery at the top of the slope was captured. General Brock, who had ridden at full speed from Fort George, organized a force to retake the battery, and, after some fighting, the Americans were driven to the very edge of the precipice. At this critical juncture, Wool, by exhortation and example, inspired his men with courage for a charge so furious that the British broke and fled down the slope. Brock led a fresh attack, in which he fell mortally wounded. Three other officers, on whom the command successively fell, were all either killed or desperately wounded, and the attempt was abandoned.

Lieutenant-colonel Winfield Scott now crossed the river with a small reënforcement, and assumed command on the heights. He expected to be followed by the militia; but the militia fell back upon their privilege, and stubbornly refused to be taken out of the State. While Scott was preparing the position for defence, he was attacked by a heavy force of British and savages. Twice he repelled them with the bayonet; but a fresh column approaching, the Americans were driven to retreat. Scrambling over the edge of the bank, they let themselves down from ledge to ledge and bush to bush, till they reached the water. But the boats were not there to receive them, and they were compelled to surrender. The entire American loss in this action was about one thousand.

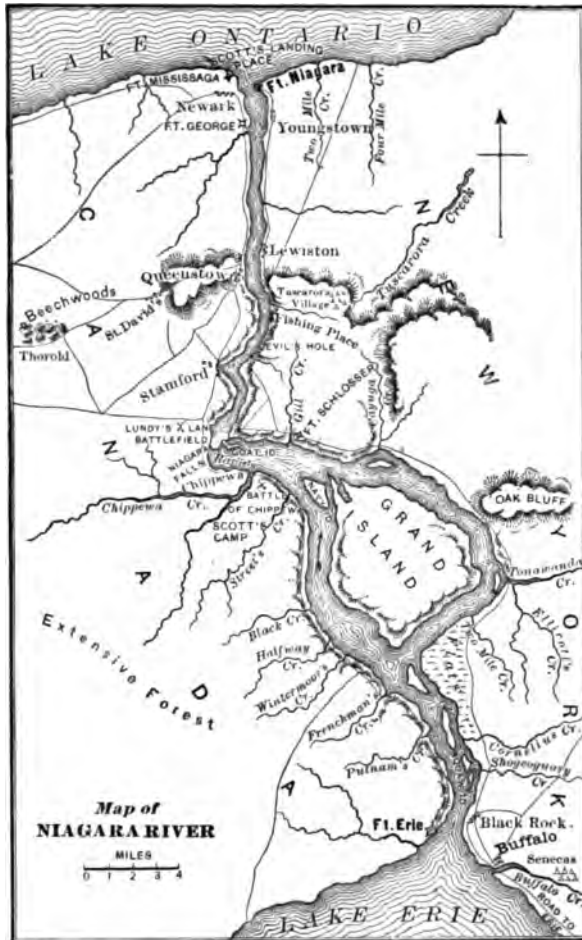
The British navy at this time comprised more than a thousand ves-

¹ He had served through the Revolution with distinction. Much of the obloquy which has been heaped upon him is probably due to Lewis Cass, who hastened to Washington with the first news, and gave it a coloring largely supplied by his imagination. Cass's letters, written before and after the surrender, flatly contradict each other as to the state of affairs at Detroit.

ls, manned by one hundred and forty-four thousand sailors. The United States had twenty large war vessels and a few gunboats, together carrying about three hundred guns. The navy. The war party, faithful to Jefferson's naval policy, and confident of the rejection of Great Britain by the easy conquest of Canada, rejected with scorn all suggestions of naval warfare. But in spite of this, and in spite of the advice of his cabinet, Madison yielded to the solicitations and earnest arguments of Captains Bainbridge and Stewart, and consented that the navy, small as it was, should not be allowed to remain idle.

Within one hour after he was notified of the declaration of war, Commodore John Rodgers put to sea in the *President*, — remembered for her encounter with the *Little Belt* in 1811, — and on the morning of June 23d gave chase to the frigate *Belvidere*, which escaped, with the loss of seven men. The *President* lost twenty-two, — sixteen by the bursting of a gun. Rodgers continued his cruise across the Atlantic, captured an English privateer and seven merchantmen, and re-took an American prize. At the same time, an English squadron captured, off New York, several merchantmen and the brig-of-war *Nautilus*.

The *Essex*, Captain David Porter, sailed from New York soon after



Map of Niagara River.

President
and Belvi-
dere.

the *President*, captured several prizes, and, on the 13th of August, fought the *Alert*, which struck her colors in eight minutes. Only a week later, the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, fought the British frigate *Guerriere*. After rapid broadside firing and skilful manœuvring at close range, the ships grappled, and both parties attempted to board; but the sea was so rough and the musketry fire so deadly that this was found to be impossible. The *Constitution* freed herself from her antagonist and shot ahead, just as the *Guerriere's* mainmast and foremast came down. Her mizzen mast had already gone by the board, and, as the *Constitution* was in a position to rake her fore and aft, she struck. The Americans had lost fourteen men, the British seventy-nine.¹ The next morning it was found necessary to blow up the *Guerriere*, as she was in danger of sinking. The admiration and enthusiasm of the Americans at the result of this battle were only equalled by the astonishment and anger of the English. It was true that the American vessel was slightly superior in men and metal, but the essential difference between the two ships was in seamanship and gun-practice. The fact remained that frigate had met frigate in a contest for which both were ready and willing, and in half an hour the one with all the prestige in her favor was reduced to a helpless wreck, while the other, whose defeat would have been confidently predicted, lost less than one fifth as many men as her antagonist, and only returned to port to dispose of her prisoners. When Captain Hull landed in Boston, the whole population turned out to welcome him; the streets were gay with bunting, triumphal arches were erected, and he and his officers were entertained at a public dinner. New York and Philadelphia paid him like honors; Congress voted him a gold medal, and his crew fifty thousand dollars.

In October the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jacob Jones, fought the brig *Frolic*. The firing was at close range, and the spars of the *Wasp* were soon shot away, while the *Frolic* was hulled at every discharge. When the vessels grappled, and the Americans sprang upon the deck of their antagonist, they found only the man at the wheel and two or three officers, who at once surrendered. The loss of the *Frolic* was frightful; fewer than twenty of the crew were unhurt. The *Wasp* had lost only ten men. But before night the British man-of-war *Poictiers* captured both vessels.

A week later (October 25th) Commodore Stephen Decatur, cruising in the frigate *United States*, after capturing a packet with a large amount of specie, fell in with and en-

¹ The Americans had placed sights upon large guns, which the English, as yet, had not adopted. Hence the greater accuracy of the American firing.

aged the frigate *Macedonian*. The fight lasted two hours, when the enemy struck. She had lost one hundred and four men; Decatur but twelve. The prize reached New York on New Year's Day, and Decatur met another such reception as had been given to Hull.

It was Bainbridge's turn next. He sailed from Boston, in the frigate *Constitution*, in October; but it was December before he fell in with the British frigate *Java*, off the coast of South America. After two hours of alternate firing and manœuvring, the *Java* struck. She was a complete wreck, every spar having been shot away, and she lost a hundred and twenty men, her captain being among the mortally wounded. The *Constitution* lost thirty-four men only. The wounded were transferred to the American ship, and the *Java* was blown up. This action gave the *Constitution* the title of "Old Ironsides,"¹ and Bainbridge was received on his return as enthusiastically as his brother captains had been.

Thus in the first six months of the war, that had brought only defeat to the land forces of the Americans, their little navy, which the Administration had proposed to lay up, which had no friends but the party out of power, for which Congress had done nothing, and of which nothing was expected, had six encounters with the enemy, and in every one came off victorious. England was astounded at the successful dispute of her supremacy on the sea, and her naval histories abound with ingenious excuses to explain away what their authors want the manliness to acknowledge.

Besides these victories, nearly three hundred British merchantmen had been captured and brought into American ports. The prisoners numbered over three thousand. In this service the navy had been largely aided by privateers, which not only seized merchantmen, but sometimes fought with armed cruisers. If the joy of the war-party at these brilliant achievements was tempered by their mortification at the repeated defeats on land, that of the opposition party was alloyed at successes obtained where, they had maintained, if war was justifiable at all, the provocation for it had been given.

Early in the winter of 1812 a new army, of about ten thousand, enlisted almost entirely from the Western States, was put under command of General William Henry Harrison, whose military reputation had been gained by his victory at Tippecanoe. His immediate object was to concentrate the militia of the Western States for an expedition against Detroit and Malden, for the recovery of the territory lost by Hull's surrender. An advance detachment, occupying Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan), was, on January

¹ English journals, in ridiculing the American navy, had described this vessel as "a ranch of pine boards under a bit of striped bunting."

22, 1813, attacked by fifteen hundred British and savages, under Colonel Henry Proctor. The Americans were partially sheltered behind the "puncheon" fences that inclosed the village gardens, but the enemy had the advantage of six pieces of artillery. The American right wing was soon broken, and General Winchester became a prisoner. The left was more stubborn, and inflicted heavy loss upon the English. Of sixteen men in charge of one howitzer, thirteen were killed by the Kentucky sharpshooters. Proctor, seeing little opportunity of success, so wrought upon the fears of his prisoner by threats of wholesale slaughter that Winchester sent word to Colonel Madison, his successor in command, to surrender, which Madison did, under Proctor's solemn promise of protection against the Indians. The pledge was broken, and, although the fact has been disputed on English authority, the evidence is beyond question that the British commander left the wounded to the mercy of his savage allies, who not only killed all the prisoners, but subjected them in many instances to cruel torture. "The Indians are excellent surgeons," said a half-breed chief, named Elliot, who was in Proctor's army, when an appeal was made, before the massacre, that surgical aid be sent to the wounded Americans.

In consequence of this disaster Harrison built Fort Meigs, at the rapids of the Maumee, on the right bank. Proctor laid siege to this work in April, with his usual threat of massacre in case of resistance. Harrison sent back a defiant reply, and hurried forward reënforcements, under General Green Clay. Clay's detachment came down the river in two bodies, one on either bank. Those on the left carried the batteries gallantly, and spiked the guns, but were drawn into a fight in the woods with the Indians, and were finally dispersed or captured. Those on the right fought their way through to the fort, and at the same time a strong sallying party carried and spiked the enemy's lower battery. With his means of offence so crippled, and the fort made stronger by the reënforcement, Proctor was compelled to raise the siege.

Three months later, Proctor and Tecumseh, with five thousand English and savages, attacked Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky, where Fremont now stands. The garrison, commanded by Major George Croghan, numbered but one hundred and sixty men, and had but a single gun. To the summons to surrender and threat of massacre, Croghan replied that when the fort should be taken there would be none left to be killed. After a long bombardment from gunboats and field artillery, the British advanced to the attack on two sides simultaneously. Croghan had placed his single gun where it would enfilade the north ditch, loaded

Siege of Fort
Meigs.

Attack on
Fort
Stephenson.

; to the muzzle, and masked it. The attacking party leapt into the ditch, led by a lieutenant, who shouted, "Show the damned Yankees o' quarter!" The next moment the discharge of the gun swept down nearly every man, including the lieutenant, who at once raised his handkerchief on the point of his sword to ask for quarter. Another column entered the ditch and met the same fate; and the remainder of the storming party retreated in confusion before a sharp fire of musketry. A single volley repelled the attack on the other side. The battle was ended, and Proctor retired at night.

Neither belligerent could suffer the other to attain supremacy on the lakes, if it could be prevented, for on that must depend largely the successful invasion or defence of Canada. Had Hull's advice been



Battle of Fort Stephenson.

listened to in season on this point, his disgrace and the loss of his army might have been avoided; but measures to remedy the blunder were not long delayed. Neither energy nor money was spared on either side to occupy the lakes with formidable fleets by the spring of 1813, and on these all movements by land were to depend. Isaac Chauncey was the American commodore and Sir James Yeo the British admiral.

Late in April, 1813, Commodore Chauncey's fleet carried General Dearborn and fifteen hundred men from Sackett's Harbor, and landed them two miles west of York (now Toronto), at the other end of the lake, which was then the capital of Upper Canada. Ostensibly

this was the first movement of a new campaign for the invasion of Canada; in reality it was an expedition for the capture of a large ship then building at York, the possession of which Capture and destruction of York. Chauncey thought would give him command of the lakes. It was the plan of the Secretary of War, Armstrong, to open the campaign by an attack upon Kingston, the headquarters of both the army and navy of the enemy, where even partial success would have been a telling blow, and complete success would have secured the command of the St. Lawrence. Excepting that some stores were captured, — to be lost again before the month was over, — the expedition against York was not merely a mistake as the first step of invasion, but a waste of time, by which nothing was gained. The ship which Chauncey coveted had sailed before his fleet arrived there.

When the landing was made, under the protection of a schooner commanded by Captain Elliot, the body of English and Indians under General Sheaffe, who had disputed it, fell back behind fortifications near the town, closely followed by the Americans, led by General Zebulon M. Pike. Here a halt was called to wait for the artillery to come up and aid in the assault, when suddenly a magazine near the works, containing a hundred barrels of powder, exploded, killing or wounding two hundred of Pike's men — he himself among the fatally injured — and a few also of the enemy.¹ The check, however, was only for the moment, as the Americans quickly rallied, and pressed forward into the town. After holding the place four days, they fired the government buildings and departed.²

With the spoils of York, Chauncey returned to Sackett's Harbor, on his way, however, landing Dearborn and his force near the mouth of Niagara River. At this point they remained nearly a month awaiting Chauncey's return with an additional force. Capture of Fort George. when Fort George was taken.

While this was going on at the west end of the lake, Yeo, with General Prevost, at the east end was on his way to Sackett's Harbor, which Dearborn left almost defenceless. When Colonel Electus Backus, in command of the post, heard of Yeo's approach he sent for General Jacob Brown, a militia officer of the neighborhood, who in a few hours gathered the militia from the surrounding country, to be

¹ It has been affirmed and denied that the magazine was fired by the defenders. Except as a question of accuracy, there is no reason why, according to the usual English method of conducting war, there should be any denial.

² It is a disputed question whether this was done under orders. A human scalp was found hanging as a trophy on the wall of the legislative chamber; and it has been suggested that the sight of this ghastly reminder of a merciless warfare prompted the destruction of the buildings. The scalp, together with the Speaker's mace and a British standard, was sent to Washington, where the English soldiers found them when they in turn destroyed the American Capitol a year later.

ded to the small force of regulars and volunteers. A body of Indians was put ashore in the night from the British vessels to attack the Americans in the rear, and on the morning of the 29th landing and advance was made in front under fire. The militia broke and fled at once; but the regulars and volunteers, with a few pieces of artillery, stood till pressed back by sheer sight of numbers, when they took refuge in the log barracks. As the English advanced, General Brown, who had rallied a few of the militia, made a feint of marching for the boats; and General Prevost, fearing that his escape would be cut off, ordered a retreat. It was made in great disorder, two hundred and sixty dead and wounded being left behind. The loss on the other side was hardly less severe; though the colonels, Mills and Backus, were killed, and a hundred and

Sackett's
Harbor
attacked.



Sackett's Harbor, 1814.

thirty others either killed or wounded; the stores, worth half a million dollars, were destroyed, set on fire by a frightened lieutenant.

As Dearborn did not land in person till the day after the fall of Fort George, General Vincent, its commander, had ample time to put himself in a defensive position at Burlington Bay. There he was overtaken by two brigades sent in pursuit under General Chandler. The Americans took a strong position on the stern bank of Stony Creek where it crosses the great highway that skirts the lake shore, and posting a guard at a little chapel a quarter of a mile in advance, one regiment encamped in the meadows on the west bank of the creek, but withdrew after night-fall to the heights above, leaving their camp-fires burning. This final movement Vincent had not observed, and he believed, therefore, that he

Battle of
Stony Creek.

could surprise and destroy the camp by a stealthy attack at night. At midnight his men advanced without firing, and dispatched the guard at the chapel. When the deserted camp-ground was reached, they rushed upon it with a shout, expecting to arouse the bewildered soldiers from their sleep to become an easy prey. But they came only upon the deserted camp-fires, and as they halted in their waning light they suddenly found themselves a target for artillery and musketry from along the whole American line. But they soon rallied and pressed on, broke over the intrenchments, captured several guns, and became intermingled with their foes. A few shots in the rear alarmed General Chandler, who faced about a portion of his line to meet an expected attack from that quarter, and the confusion was hopelessly confounded. In the darkness and tumult, Generals Chandler and Winder became prisoners; and as the British retreated bearing them off, they left behind their own commander, General Vincent, who lost his way in the woods and was found next day in a pitiful plight. The Americans returned to Fort George, Colonel Burn, on whom the command devolved, hesitating, unfortunately, to follow the advantage which his troops had manifestly gained.

One more mishap remained to finish the campaign for that season on the Niagara frontier. Colonel Charles Boerstler was sent at the head of his regiment of six hundred men to take a British post seventeen miles distant from Fort George, commanded by Colonel Bishopp. When about to attack the stone house in which Bishopp was intrenched, Boerstler's force was suddenly surrounded by a body of Indians and English, and compelled to surrender. Three weeks afterward Bishopp made a similar attempt on the American post at Black Rock, on the Niagara River, but was intercepted, as he was about to retire with his booty, by a small force from Buffalo, and he and many of his men were killed. On the 15th of July Dearborn retired, by permission of the Secretary of War, and the army under General Boyd remained shut up in Fort George, constantly threatened by General Vincent till late in October.

But, inglorious as the summer's work was on the shores of Lake Ontario, Lake Erie was the scene of an exploit as brilliant as it was decisive. Early in June a squadron at Presq' Isle (now Erie) was placed under command of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry. By August he was afloat with ten vessels, carrying fifty-five guns, and went in search of the British squadron of six vessels, armed with sixty-five guns and commanded by Captain Barclay.

On the 10th of September, while at anchor in Put-in Bay, the enemy was seen approaching, and Perry made ready for battle. The British line was drawn up with a small vessel in advance, and the

flag-ship *Detroit* next. Perry placed two of his small vessels in a similar position, the flag-ship *Lawrence* following. The American line was somewhat straggling, and several of the enemy concentrated their fire on the *Lawrence*. They used long guns, and before the flag-ship could get near enough for effective fire she suffered terribly. In two hours she was reduced to a wreck, and dropped out of the action, and Perry, taking a boat, made his way amid a shower of balls to the *Niagara*. By great effort his line was closed up and brought to close quarters, and the fortune of the day presently turned. In attempting to form a new line of battle, the British squadron was thrown into some confusion, and the *Niagara*, favored by a sudden breeze, sailed through it, delivering broadsides right and left; then luffing across their bows, she raked two or three of them, while the small vessels came up and poured in grape and canister. Twenty minutes of this work decided the contest, and the whole British fleet surrendered. Perry announced his victory in a despatch to General Harrison which has become famous: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."



Commodore O. H. Perry.

Harrison, meanwhile, had prepared to invade Canada at the west, by collecting his forces on the peninsula near Sandusky. A mounted regiment, commanded by Colonel Richard M. Johnson, was sent to Detroit by land; the remainder, transported by Perry's fleet, were landed on the Canada shore of Detroit River. As these advanced on Malden, the English General, Proctor, set fire to that place, and retreated rapidly, intending to make his way to the Niagara. Johnson's regiment having rejoined him, Harrison started in pursuit, Perry carrying his baggage and supplies through Lake St. Clair and fifteen miles up the Thames. Sixty of Proctor's Indians deserted him in a body, and offered themselves to Harrison, who declined their services.¹ On the 5th of October Proctor faced his pursuers, and re-

¹ Not solely because they were Indians; for two hundred friendly red men accompanied Harrison.

solved to give battle at a point about forty miles up the Thames, near Moravian Town.

The road from Detroit here skirted the river on the right or north-
 Battle of the
 Thames. ern bank. The edge of a marsh, five hundred yards distant, ran parallel with it for two miles, and midway between this and the road was a smaller marsh. Proctor planted his guns in the highway, deployed his regulars between that and the little marsh, placed a body of British and Indians, under Tecumseh,



Tecumseh.

between the two marshes, and threw forward the remainder of the Indians in the edge of the larger. The ground was nearly covered by an open growth of trees, without underbrush. Harrison placed his mounted infantry in front, behind them two thirds of his remaining troops, and the rest on the left flank, turned at a right angle to face the Indians in the marsh. At the sound of the bugle the horsemen advanced. Moving slowly at first, though under fire, they increased their pace, till with irresistible force they rode through the enemy, killing, capturing, or scattering the

regulars in a few minutes. Proctor — fearful of being called to account for his cold-blooded massacres — drove away in his carriage; but, being hotly pursued by a dozen well-mounted men, abandoned the carriage, took to the woods, and escaped. Between the marshes the fighting was more protracted. Tecumseh's Indians stood their ground till their chief was killed, and then, at the advance of three or four fresh regiments, they broke and fled. The savages posted in the marsh escaped into the woods.¹ This battle restored to the Americans what Hull had surrendered, the Territory of Michigan. Three weeks later, Harrison and his troops returned to Buffalo.

General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, chagrined at the failure of the summer campaign on Lake Ontario, and attributing it to the neglect of his own plan for the invasion of Canada, arrived about this

¹ Whether Tecumseh was shot by Colonel Johnson, who was wounded in this charge, is one of those unimportant questions that have been made interesting merely by being disputed.

time at Sackett's Harbor, determined that the attempt should be renewed under his immediate direction. Dearborn had retired, with his high military reputation, gained in the Revolution, almost as completely shattered as Hull's had been the year before. Wilkinson, Dearborn's successor, was soon to meet a similar fate. Wilkinson had been called from the south to take command of this Northern army, consisting of Harrison's force at Buffalo, Boyd's at Fort George, Lewis's at Sackett's Harbor, and the right wing on the Vermont frontier, under the command of Wade Hampton, numbering altogether about twelve thousand men. With the exception of detachments left behind to garrison two or three posts, Wilkinson was to move down the St. Lawrence with the left wing in boats, while Hampton was to advance overland to some point on the river, where a junction was to be made, and the whole army to move on Montreal.

Expedition
down the St.
Lawrence.



Signature of Richard M. Johnson

It was not till late in October that Wilkinson had gathered his forces together at Sackett's Harbor, and some days later before they were fairly embarked on three hundred boats. Chauncey cleared the way by driving Yeo into port and keeping him there, and it was not apprehended that the British could muster men enough on shore to impede the progress of the expedition. Disaster, nevertheless, attended it from the start. The weather was unpropitious, the lake and river rough; many of the boats were unfit for service; some were driven ashore, and some went to the bottom, to the inevitable delay of the whole flotilla to supply their places. Every mile of the way was disputed by the enemy, in front and in rear, sometimes on the river and sometimes from its banks; the general-in-chief was always ill and frequently drunk, and with such a head the body was generally discouraged and often inefficient. At Prescott the whole army was debarked to march around that fortified post, while General Brown undertook to take the flotilla through the river at night, — which he did with great coolness, losing only a single man, and not one of his three hundred boats receiving a shot from the constant fire through which they passed.

At Williamsburg, dangers thickened. Troops were brought up from Kingston and other places to the number of from fifteen hundred to two thousand, and farther progress was stayed unless these could be dispersed. General Boyd was ordered out with fifteen hundred men, — at a place known as Chrystler's, — and for two hours the

ground was contested with great spirit. It was so far a drawn battle that both parties retired from the field in good order, with a loss of about a hundred killed and two hundred and forty wounded on each side, — among the Americans General Covington. It would have been probably anything but a drawn battle, had not Brown been detached, and he and Boyd parted at this critical moment by a fifteen miles' march. A victory at this point would have secured the way to Montreal, almost without further opposition. But Wilkinson was neither in a mental nor physical condition to conduct such an expedition, and when, the day after the fight at Williamsburg, word was received from the other imbecile General on the right wing, Wade Hampton, that he would not make the junction agreed upon, Wilkinson eagerly seized upon that pretext to go into winter-quarters. Hampton had started from Lake Champlain with nearly or quite five thousand men to march on Montreal at the same time that Wilkinson's flotilla had left Grenadier Island. Lieutenant-colonel de Salaberry, with a force of four or five hundred men, — hundreds to Hampton's thousands, — had successfully baffled his advance.

With the main army thus disposed of, the commander-in-chief in Canada was at liberty to turn his attention to other points on the border. General Drummond appeared, in December, on the peninsula west of the Niagara River, between Lakes Ontario and Erie. At his approach the costly acquisition of the preceding summer, Fort George, was abandoned, the garrison ruthlessly burning the village of Newark as they fled to Fort Niagara for refuge. This the enemy captured at night, a week later, without resistance, killing eighty of the garrison, even those in the hospital, without mercy. Lewiston, Youngstown, Tuscarora, and Manchester — now Niagara Falls Village — were destroyed, and all the farms of that region laid waste by the invaders. At Buffalo and Black Rock a militia force made some resistance; but this was soon dispersed, and Riall's regulars and savages sacked the two villages and laid them in ashes, putting to death most of the few inhabitants who had not fled.

While the campaign, on the whole so disastrous, was going on along the northern border, there was more successful fighting elsewhere, though only of local importance, except that it was the beginning of the career of Andrew Jackson. Wilkinson, before removing from the Southern Department, had taken Mobile from the Spaniards without resistance. This was in accordance with the claim which the United States maintained and Spain denied, that the eastern boundary of Louisiana was the Perdido River. The seizure of Mobile was resented, and, though Spain professed to be neutral, the powerful tribe of the Creeks were aroused to hostilities by supplies

Fort George
abandoned.

The Creek
war.

of arms and ammunition distributed at Pensacola. Whether this was instigated by England or not, it is at least probable that Tecumseh was encouraged to go, if he was not directly sent, from Canada to inflame the Southern Indians against the Americans by his influence and eloquence. Though the Creeks had attained to some degree of civilization, and their old men were averse to war, the young men listened eagerly to the persuasions of the powerful Northern chief and to temptations held out to them by the Spaniards.

The militia of the Southwestern States were called out to meet this emergency, and at the first encounter, at Burnt Corn Creek, a body of them were defeated. At Fort Mimms, on Lake Tensas, a stockade erected by a farmer of that name to protect his buildings and cattle, a large number of the inhabitants of that neighborhood took refuge, and Governor Claiborne sent for its defence a garrison of a hundred and seventy-five volunteers. This place was surprised on the 30th of August by a band of a thousand Creeks, under the command of a noted half-breed, William Weathersford. The garrison had been repeatedly warned, but when the savages appeared before the fort there were no sentinels, the arms of the men were stacked, and the outer gate stood wide open. The defence, nevertheless, was obstinate and prolonged for hours, for men were fighting, not merely for their own lives, but that their wives and children might escape death by torture. Large numbers of the Indians were killed, but when they succeeded in setting the buildings on fire it was no longer a fight, but a massacre. Twelve only of the garrison escaped across the lake, and of the rest they were fortunate who had fallen early in the day in fair fight.

Massacre at
Fort Mimms.

For these atrocities the Creeks suffered a severe and speedy retribution. The Legislature of Tennessee appropriated three hundred thousand dollars for the campaign, and placed five thousand men under command of General Andrew Jackson. For the work in hand, no better material could have been asked than these Western pioneers; many were mounted, and all were skilled in forest-fighting. Among them were Sam Houston and Davy Crockett, afterward so noted. The most serious trouble was in forwarding supplies, and to secure these Jackson built Fort Deposit, on the Tennessee. He foraged on all sides, and burned every Indian village in his path.

Jackson's
campaign.

The enemy were first found at Talluschathees (now Jacksonville, Alabama), where Colonel John Coffee, with a thousand mounted men, attacked them. No quarter was asked, and none was given, and not an Indian was left alive, except the squaws and children, who were taken prisoners. At Fort Talladega Jackson killed three hundred out of a thousand who had surrounded a body of friendly Indians.

At the same time General John Floyd moved from Georgia with a force of four hundred Indians and a thousand whites. The Creeks were between two fires, and Floyd was as relentless as Jackson, and not much less successful. From the West also came an avenging force, under General F. L. Claiborne. He discovered a town of refuge, called Econochaca, on the Alabama. It was built on holy ground, and no path led to it. Here the women and children had been sent for safety, and here, in a little square, the prophets performed their religious rites. Captives of both sexes were standing bound to stakes,



The Canoe Fight.

ready to be burned, when Claiborne's columns appeared. The Indians fought desperately for a while, and then scattered in every direction, while Claiborne sacked and burned the town. It was now late in December; the forces were melting away by the expiration of enlistments, and operations for that season were closed.

Among the many episodes of the campaign, and characteristic of this frontier fighting, is the story of Captain Sam Dale's canoe fight. He saw floating down the Alabama a large canoe containing eleven Indians. Five of these were shot from the shore, and Dale then pushed off in a small boat, with three men, to finish the work. Or-

dering one of his companions to hold the boats together, Dale attacked the Indians, with a foot on each canoe, till the current drifted them asunder, leaving him on the larger, confronting four of the enemy. One was shot from the other boat; two Dale killed; the only one then left alive was a famous Indian wrestler, Tar-cha-cha. "Big Sam!" he shouted, "I am a man — I am coming — come on!" Clubbing his rifle, he dealt Dale a blow that dislocated his shoulder, and at the same moment he received Dale's bayonet through his body.

The brilliant naval achievements of the year 1812, — which had aroused the enthusiasm of both parties, and had almost reconciled many to the war who had hitherto opposed it, — ^{The coast blockaded.} were wanting in 1813, and there was nothing, therefore, to compensate for the continued disasters on the Northern frontier. In March, a blockade, previously declared, was extended from Montauk Point, on the eastern extremity of Long Island, to the mouth of the Mississippi. A British squadron, under Admiral Warren, of six seventy-fours, thirteen frigates, and eighteen sloops-of-war, was, of course, altogether inadequate to guard so extensive a coast, but was quite sufficient for serious interference with commerce and the distress of unprotected maritime towns. Admiral Cockburn, Warren's second in command, was the terror and scourge of the people along the shores of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. He waged a predatory warfare upon an almost defenceless people, letting his sailors loose upon little villages and farms, who robbed, and burned, and harried, often, apparently, for no other reason than mere wanton barbarity, without restraint from their officers. In some places, where there were the means of defence, as at Lewes, on Delaware Bay, and Craney Island, near Norfolk, they were repulsed; but where this was impossible, their depredations lost the character of war, and became simply those of freebooters. They enticed away the slaves, not to emancipate, but to sell them in the West Indies. They were accused of atrocities of which even savages are seldom guilty, and though, perhaps, the charges were exaggerated, there is evidence enough to prove that Englishmen showed themselves here, as they have often done elsewhere, to be in war the most brutal and merciless of civilized nations. In July, the squadron threatened Washington, and but for the want of energy in Admiral Warren it could have been taken as easily then as it was a year later by Ross and Cockburn.

Congress authorized, in the course of the year, the building of four ships of the line, six frigates, six sloops-of-war, and as many vessels on the lakes as the operations there might require. A large number of privateers were commissioned, and these vessels sometimes did more honorable service than the capture of unarmed merchantmen.

The privateer *Decatur* captured the war schooner *Dominica* in an action in which both vessels fought with great spirit. A still more signal adventure was achieved on the 5th of July off Sandy Hook by a fishing-smack, named the *Yankee*. With forty well-armed men concealed below, but showing on deck only three men, a calf, a sheep, and a goose, she sailed out of New York, and soon met with the British sloop-of-war *Eagle*, in want of fresh provisions. When the *Yankee* was safely along-side, her forty men sprang on board the sloop-of-war, and, by a well-directed fire, killed several of her men, drove the rest below, and took possession. They sailed up the bay with their prize, and were welcomed by the cheers of thousands on the Battery, who were celebrating the anniversary of American independence.

There were other naval engagements, watched by spectators on shore with the intensest interest. The brig *Enterprise*, on a cruise along the coast of Maine in search of privateers, fell in with the English brig *Boxer*, and the fight between them, which lasted three quarters of an hour, was within sight of Portland, Maine. The *Boxer's* colors were nailed to the mast, and when she surrendered that explanation was given for not hauling them down sooner. Both Lieutenant Burrows, commander of the *Enterprise*, and Captain Blythe, of the *Boxer*, were killed, and buried side by side in Portland. The American brig *Argus* was less fortunate. She cruised off the coast of England, taking many merchantmen, till at last she captured one laden with wine. In transferring the cargo, the crew were allowed to help themselves, till all were drunk. The prize was set on fire, and the light was seen by the English brig *Pelican*, who bore down upon the *Argus* and captured her; not, however, till after a gallant resistance and the killing of the English captain.

The assumed blockade of the coast was soon practically extended to all New England, and in June several ships were cruising in Massachusetts Bay. The *Chesapeake* was getting ready in Boston harbor to go to sea, under the command of James Lawrence, who had won fame when, as Captain of the *Hornet*, he sunk the English sloop-of-war *Peacock* off the coast of British Guiana. One of the English fleet, the *Shannon*, stood off and on at the entrance of Boston harbor for days, challenging Captain Lawrence to come out and fight him. The written challenge, offering the choice of time and latitude, unfortunately did not reach Boston till after the *Chesapeake* had put to sea; for, had Lawrence felt at liberty to postpone the encounter till his ship and crew were in a condition to meet it, whatever might have been the result, there would have been, at least, some equality between the antagonists. As it was, the

Chesapeake
and *Shan-*
non.

fight was between ships, one of which was in perfect sea-going condition, in thorough fighting trim, her officers and crew, familiar with and confident in each other and their ship, under admirable discipline; the other, not ready for sea, with a new crew, many of whom were discontented and almost mutinous for want of prize-money already due, with officers wanting experience and unknown to each other and to the men, and all without the discipline so absolutely essential for a naval battle. If unwritten tradition may be trusted, both the officers and men of the *Chesapeake* were seen about the streets of Boston on the morning of the day she sailed, in a condition that rendered it easy to foresee the result of the impending battle. The popular excitement and enthusiasm, however, hardly left to Lawrence any alternative but to accept Broke's evident defiance. As the *Chesapeake* got under way, on the morning of the 1st of June, multitudes watched her from the high hills along the coast, saw both ships enveloped in the smoke of battle, and knew the result when the smoke cleared away and both stood out to sea.

The *Shannon* opened fire as soon as her guns could be brought to bear upon her opponent, but the *Chesapeake* was silent till a broadside could be effective, and then for about eight minutes the roar was continuous. By this exchange the British frigate appears to have been the greater sufferer in men, but the American was so injured that she became unmanageable; her mizzen-rigging fouled with the *Shannon's* forechains, and she was open to a raking fire. The boarders were called; but at this moment Lawrence was shot through the body, and, as he was carried below, his last commands, it is said, were: "Tell the men to fire faster, and not give up the ship. Fight her till she sinks!" The order was given, "Boarders away!" — but in the absence of all discipline, before the boarders could be brought to quarters, the enemy had swarmed over the decks, and were pouring a destructive fire down the hatchways. The ship was theirs after an engagement that lasted only fifteen minutes. For so short a battle, the loss of life was unusually large, as the *Chesapeake* had forty-eight killed and nearly a hundred wounded; the *Shannon*, twenty-three killed, and over fifty wounded. Broke was badly wounded, and Lawrence died in a few days.

On the same day with this unfortunate encounter in Massachusetts Bay, which aroused more despondency on one side and more exultation on the other than such a catastrophe warranted, Decatur was chased into New London with the *Macedonian*, the *United States*, and the *Hornet*, by a larger force of the blockading squadron. Nor did any of the ships get to sea again while the war continued. They were not in danger of capture, for the militia of Connecticut

rallied to the defence of the harbor in such numbers as to render any attack upon the ships hopeless ; but the naval commanders chafed under their enforced idleness, and made more than one attempt to evade the ships of the enemy. Decatur complained that all these attempts were defeated by traitors on shore, who warned the ships outside of his proposed movements by burning blue-lights. He and his brother officers unquestionably believed that this was done, though it was as emphatically denied by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the town that any such signals were given. It was probably true, though less frequently, perhaps, than was asserted. But if true, it is far more likely that the treachery was confined to some very few persons, if more than one was engaged in it, than that it was the act of many. Nevertheless, so violent, bitter, and unreasoning was the partisan rancor of the time that the whole Federal party was held responsible for this aid given to the enemy, and all Federalists stigmatized henceforth, so long as the party had a name to live by, as "Blue Lights." That Decatur's ships remained safely at anchor till the end of the war, protected from a powerful British squadron by the Federal State of Connecticut, was lost sight of in the determination to make those obnoxious who believed the war was unwise, that nothing would be gained by it, and who gave to it, therefore, no voluntary support.



The Graves of the Captains, Portland, Maine.

CHAPTER IX.

WAR WITH ENGLAND.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. — JACKSON'S MOVEMENTS AT THE SOUTH. — THIRD CAMPAIGN ON THE NIAGARA. — BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE. — BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG. — CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON. — EXPEDITION AGAINST BALTIMORE. — NAVAL BATTLES OF THE THIRD YEAR. — BITTERNESS OF PARTY FEELING. — THE REMEDY OF DISUNION. — THE HENRY CONSPIRACY. — THE HARTFORD CONVENTION. — DEFENCE OF NEW ORLEANS. — THE TREATY OF GHENT.

AT the opening of the year 1814 the prospects of the war were gloomy in the extreme. The power of Napoleon had been broken at Leipsic, the British armament in American waters was gradually increasing, and there seemed to be no reason — unless she was tired of war — why England might not, with unlimited reënforcements of veteran troops, speedily overwhelm the Americans. It was only after much debate that an act was passed to increase the regular army to sixty-six thousand men, enlisted for five years, with a bounty of a hundred and twenty-four dollars to every recruit. That this increased army should not be used for purposes of invasion, but should be confined to defensive measures for the establishment of rights infringed upon by Great Britain, was voted down by a strictly party vote. Congress also authorized a new loan of twenty-five million, and a re-issue of ten million in treasury notes.

Condition of
affairs in
1814.

Three times during the war, the Russian Government had offered its services as mediator for peace, which had been declined by England. But now a proposition was offered for direct negotiations, either at London or at Gottenburg. This was accepted at once; Gottenburg was chosen as the place, and John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell were appointed commissioners, to whom Albert Gallatin, then in Europe, was afterward added. Their instructions were at first to insist upon an absolute discontinuance of search and impressment, and to repeat the offer, made at the beginning of the war, to exclude British seamen from American vessels and to surrender deserters, — a compromise which, had it been offered any time during the ten previous years, would have made war almost impossible.

Negotiations
for peace.

Active preparations were made, meanwhile, for the campaigns of the new year. At the South, Jackson, who had been com-
Jackson's campaign. missioned a major-general, was left at Fort Strother in January with nine hundred raw recruits, his late army having gone home at the expiration of their term of service, in spite of all entreaties. With his fresh recruits and two hundred Indians he marched into the country of the Creeks, fought two battles, and lost about a hundred men. In February his army was increased by fresh enlistments to five thousand men, including a regiment of regulars.

At Horseshoe Bend, in the Tallapoosa, where a peninsula of a hundred acres, with a neck not more than five hundred feet wide, is enclosed by the stream, a thousand Creek warriors had encamped and thrown up a rude breastwork across the neck. While Jackson marched directly against this with nearly three thousand men, he sent General Coffee, with the mounted men and friendly Indians, to gain the enemy's rear. A two hours' cannonade had no effect on the breastwork; but when a cloud of smoke showed that Coffee had crossed the river and set fire to the village, Jackson's men stormed the work, fought hand to hand through the loop-holes for a while, and then, leaping the defences, charged with the bayonet, and the Indians broke and fled. They neither asked for quarter nor received it. Whether attempting to hide themselves in the thickets, or to swim the stream, they were hotly pursued, and if overtaken were mercilessly shot.

The opening movements at the North were discouraging, and seemed to promise a repetition of the failures of the two preceding years. An attempt was made to recover Michilimackinac, which ended in the repulse of the force landed on the island, and the capture afterward by the English of the two schooners sent upon the expedition. Wilkinson ended as he had begun, in imbecile efforts
Canada again invaded. which accomplished nothing. Advancing from his winter-quarters on Salmon River to Lake Champlain, he planned an expedition into Canada which should cut off the upper from the lower province. As the first step he proposed to take La Colle Mill. A considerable force was sent from Champlain Village over a difficult road when the whole country was buried in a foot of snow, and though the assault was made with much spirit it was easily repulsed. The act was the last of Wilkinson's military career. A spring
Wilkinson tried by court-martial. freshet forbade farther advance movements, and he withdrew his army within the boundaries of the United States. He was called to answer for his many mishaps and want of generalship before a court-martial, and though he was acquitted by the court he was condemned at the bar of public opinion.



PORT OF BUFFALO IN 1815.

The Secretary of War, General Armstrong, still adhered to his plan for the invasion of Canada by the river St. Lawrence, and, as a necessary preliminary step, the taking of Kingston. To mask this movement, and that he might leave no enemy in his rear, General Brown, who had been made a major-general, commenced operations on the peninsula between Erie and Ontario. On the evening of the 2d of July he crossed the river from Buffalo, invested Fort Erie, and compelled its surrender. Following up this advantage, he pursued a British corps of observation down the river, till it crossed ^{Battle of Chippewa.} Chippewa Creek and united with the main force under Riall. The American advance fell back across Street's Creek, where it was joined by the main body on the morning of the 5th. In the afternoon Scott ordered out his brigade for a dress parade in the little plain beyond the creek. As he approached the bridge, General Brown, riding in from the front, exclaimed, "You will have a battle!" and galloped past to bring up Ripley's brigade. The head of the column was scarcely on the bridge when the British, concealed by the woods that fringed the creek, opened fire. "Nothing but Buffalo militia!" said Riall, as the Americans came into view; but when he saw them pass the bridge without wavering, and deploy under fire, "Why, these are regulars!" he exclaimed, with profane emphasis. General Peter B. Porter, with a force of militia and Indians, pressing forward on Scott's left, attacked the British right. Porter's men fought well till a heavy column charged them with the bayonet, when they gave way. But Major Jesup moved up and covered the exposed flank, and the fighting became furious along the whole front. When Scott observed that the British right wing had separated from the line to engage Jesup, he put himself at the head of a regiment and charged obliquely against the exposed flank, while at the same time, and in the same manner, Leavenworth's regiment charged the left. Through the gap between these charging columns, Towson's battery poured in canister with rapidity and effect. The British line first crumbled, and then retreated in great disorder. Jesup at the same time defeated the detached wing, and the rout was complete. Riall sent a portion of his troops to the forts at the mouth of the Niagara, and with the remainder retreated to Burlington Heights. His Indians, disgusted at the defeat, all deserted him.

With this well-fought battle the invasion of Canada seemed more promising. Brown determined to move upon Kingston along the lake shore, trusting to the coöperation of Chauncey's fleet. "For God's sake, let me see you," he wrote to Chauncey. "All accounts agree that the force at Kingston is very light. . . . We can threaten Forts George and Niagara, carry Burlington Heights and York, and

proceed direct to Kingston and carry that. We have between us sufficient means to conquer Canada in two months, if there is prompt and zealous coöperation, before the enemy can be greatly reënforced." But no coöperation came ; Chauncey was ill in body, — still more ill in mind. He had something better to do, he thought, than carry provisions and stores for the troops on shore, — and did nothing.

To move down the lake without the aid of the fleet, was manifestly impracticable, and Brown was compelled to turn back upon learning that Riall was at Queenstown, and had been reënforced by General Drummond from York. Scott — now a brigadier-general — was sent forward with a corps of observation.

Battle of
Lundy's
Lane.



Mier's Charge at Lundy's Lane.

As his troops emerged into a cleared space, bounded on the north by Lundy's Lane, — a road that runs at right angles to the river, nearly opposite the Falls, — they were confronted by the entire British force, drawn up in the lane. The Americans deployed in line of battle, and Scott at once engaged the right wing, sending Jesup's battalion to

turn the left. Both movements were successful, Jesup taking between two and three hundred prisoners, among them General Riall and some other officers, though most of the men soon afterward escaped. The fight had continued for an hour before reënforcements reached the ground, General Brown leading the way. But notwithstanding the discomfiture of the enemy, the General saw, on a survey of the field, that no permanent impression could be made upon their position while their centre held an eminence on which they had planted seven guns. Colonel James Miller, being ordered to take this battery, answered briefly, "I'll try, sir," and put his men in motion. It was now dusk, and their approach was hidden by a fence. The gunners were standing with lighted matches in their hands, when Miller's men, in obedience to whispered orders, crept silently up to the fence, thrust their muskets through it, shot down every man at the guns, rushed forward in the face of a sharp infantry fire, and captured them. The American line was re-formed, at right angles to its first position, facing west. The British also re-formed, and made desperate but vain attempts to retake the battery. Generals Brown and Scott were wounded, and the command devolved upon Ripley, who, after waiting half an hour in expectation of a fresh attack, withdrew from the field, carrying off his wounded. The enemy returned, and encamped on the deserted ground. The battle of Lundy's Lane — or Bridgewater, or Niagara, as it is variously called — was one of the hardest ever fought, considering its numbers. Of the two thousand Americans engaged, seven hundred and forty-three were killed or wounded; of the four thousand British, eight hundred and seventy-eight. Brown, Scott, and Jesup were all seriously wounded, — Scott so severely as to withdraw him from active service for the rest of the war.

The army was compelled to fall back upon the camp on the Chippewa, for want of food and water, and the enemy claimed the victory of the latest occupants of the field. Ripley, who wanted energy and perseverance, but not courage, left the guns captured by Miller upon the hill, and the enemy recovered them. For this negligence, and for an unnecessary hasty retreat to Fort Erie, when he should have held the banks of the Chippewa, Ripley's command was given to General Edmund P. Gaines, till the Major-general's wounds should permit him again to take the field. Drummond followed up the army to Fort Erie, where a midnight assault on the 14th of August cost him nearly a thousand men, and proved an utter failure. In the regular siege that followed, Drummond brought his works so close that shells and hot shot were thrown daily Siege of Fort Erie. into the fort. One of these disabled General Gaines, and General

Brown resumed the immediate command. The enemy's camp was two miles in the rear, and one third of his force was thrown forward each day to work on the parallels. On the 17th of September a sudden sortie with two thousand men overwhelmed the working party, dismounted the guns, and destroyed the works. But this was not done without hard fighting, in which the Americans lost nearly five hundred men, and the British nine hundred. Four days later, Drummond abandoned the siege, and in October the Americans destroyed Fort Erie, and returned to their own shore. This campaign on the Niagara had indeed no practical result, except the destruction of a village or two and the digging of a thousand graves; but it served to dispel the despondency to which even the war party had yielded under the reverses of the two previous years, and aroused a hope in those who opposed the war that, though it might be unwise, it was not to be dishonorable.

But the summer passed away, and both armies — the British being now much the larger — still stood on the defensive on their own side of the border. Sir George Prevost proposed, or was ordered by the Home Government, to invade New York as far as Crown Point, at least, by the pathway contended for so often in previous wars. Chance favored him early in September, for General Izard, who had succeeded Hampton in the command of the right wing of the American army, was ordered, late in August, to relieve General Brown, beleaguered at that time in Fort Erie by General Drummond. Izard moved reluctantly — indeed he never moved in any other way — from Plattsburg, leaving General Alexander Macomb behind him in command of a small force, with the cheerful and encouraging prediction that it and the commander would soon be in the hands of the enemy. Before advancing to Crown Point, Prevost believed it to be absolutely necessary to reduce Plattsburg, and Macomb — not in the least influenced by Izard's prophecy, unless it were that he was stimulated to prove it false — prepared with great skill and energy to give the enemy a warm reception. In all that he did he was ably sustained by Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough, with a fleet of ten barges or gunboats and four larger vessels on the lake. Izard had left not more than about twenty-five hundred effective men at Plattsburg, and to these Macomb added three thousand more of volunteer militia by appeals to New York and Vermont. Prevost advanced with fourteen thousand men along the shores of the lake, accompanied by four ships and twelve barges, under the command of Captain Downie.

At Plattsburg the Saranac runs nearly parallel with the lake shore for a short distance, and then turning sharply flows into the Bay. On

the little peninsula the Americans had constructed three redoubts and two block houses, and these the British proposed to carry by an approach from the rear, while Downie should engage Macdonough on the lake, and fleet and town be taken together. ^{Battle of Plattsburg.} In accordance with this plan, when, on the 11th of September, the British flotilla rounded Cumberland Head and the naval fight was begun, the troops on shore, under a heavy artillery fire, attempted to cross the Saranac at several points, at all of which they were either speedily driven back, or soon recalled by intelligence of Downie's utter defeat.

When the British Admiral advanced to the attack he found Macdonough's four vessels drawn up in line nearly across the mouth of



Plattsburg.

the harbor, with his ten galleys inside and opposite the intervals between the larger vessels, calmly awaiting his opponent.¹ The English bore down steadily, firing as they advanced. The first American gun, pointed by Macdonough himself, raked the deck of the English flag-ship *Confiance*; then the whole line opened, and for an hour everything was ablaze, and the fire only slackened as gun after gun was disabled. The first broadside from the *Confiance* struck down forty men on the flag-ship *Saratoga*, and ultimately every gun of her

¹ Macdonough had eighty-six guns and eight hundred and fifty men; Downie ninety-five guns and a thousand men, and two more barges than Macdonough.

starboard battery was disabled. But Macdonough had laid a kedge broad off each bow, by means of which she was now swung completely round, and the larboard battery brought to bear upon her antagonist. The same manœuvre was attempted on board the *Confiance*, but unsuccessfully, and she was soon compelled to strike her colors. Those that had not already surrendered followed her example, though most of the galleys drifted out into the lake, before they could be taken possession of, and escaped. The victory was complete both on the water and on shore. Prevost immediately recalled his troops and abandoned his plan of invading New York.

As the British army in Canada had been largely reënfined by troops released by the close of the war in Europe, the result of the attack on Plattsburg, where many of these veterans were so signally defeated, renewed the spirits of the war party; and it was sadly in need of encouragement, for along the sea-coast the summer was one of disaster. Ships, as well as land forces, were released by peace abroad; the blockading squadron was increased; the whole coast was kept in a state of perpetual alarm at every appearance of a sail in the offing. Sir Thomas Hardy ran into Eastport in July, captured that place without resistance, and declared by proclamation that the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay were restored to the Crown. The frigate *Adams*, which had gone into the Penobscot to refit, was destroyed at the village of Hampden, and *Castine*, a few miles below, was taken by General Gosselyn, after the small garrison at that post had blown up the fort and retreated. At *Machias* the fort was abandoned, and the place taken without much resistance by General Pilkington. There was no force in that part of the country to resist so formidable an invasion, except the militia, not half armed, and without discipline, and the valley of the Penobscot was seized as a conquered province.

In August, Hardy appeared off Stonington, Connecticut, but met there with another kind of reception. He gave the inhabitants one hour to remove the women and children, and then bombarded the little town steadily for three days, throwing into it fifty tons of iron in solid shot, bomb-shells, carcasses, and stink-pots. The defence was gallantly conducted by about a score of men, who handled two or three old guns so well, particularly an eighteen-pounder at the point of the peninsula, as not only to prevent the enemy from landing, but to inflict upon him a loss of seventy men, killed or wounded. Of the defendants seven only were wounded.

But an event more disastrous than the loss of the villages and a portion of the domain at the eastern extremity of the country, and in striking contrast with the stubborn defence of Stonington, occurred

in the capture of Washington. On the eastern coast the enemy appeared suddenly when he appeared at all, would make, or threaten to make, a landing as he found the militia more or less ready as their towns were likely, for any reason, to be attacked. In all cases the attacks were surprises. But at Washington, in all the complication of miserable circumstances, there was no element of suddenness, no palliation possible for want of warning, no excuse for want of time. The capture of the city was an absolute and unmitigated disgrace, involving in dishonor every member of the Gov-

Ross's
march to
Washington.



Stonington Bombarded.

ernment, and inflicting upon the people a humiliation which no other nation, in the loss of its capital under like circumstances, was ever called upon to bear.

In August, General Ross, with thirty-five hundred men, the finest regiments from Wellington's army, arrived in the Chesapeake, where he was reinforced by a thousand marines from Cockburn's blockading squadron. The whole force was landed at Benedict, on the Patuxent, about forty miles below Washington. There was nothing surprising in this approach of a formidable force. Cockburn's fleet for more than a year had commanded and harassed the coast of the Middle States, expeditions from it continuing to descend at will upon defenceless villages, plundering without mercy and destroying with-

out reason, with small regard to the ordinary laws of war, the farms and plantations near the shore. The year before, as has been already related, this fleet had moved up the Chesapeake, and so infatuated was party feeling that a proposition in Congress to adopt some measures to avert a threatened danger was denounced as an attack upon the Administration. It was better to suffer from fear of the enemy than to owe safety to the suggestion of the opposition. Even two months before Ross landed at Benedict, the Government had been warned by Mr. Gallatin in London of the object of the reinforcements sent to Chesapeake Bay, and, though the subject was brought before a cabinet meeting by the President, no efficient steps were taken. There needed to be still more "braying in a mortar" before the driving out of foolishness. Madison consented to be alarmed, but would not condescend to take advice from Armstrong, the Secretary of War, whom he personally disliked. The Secretary of State, Monroe, was too wise to accept warning from either circumstances or persons.

But when Ross had actually landed at the head of forty-five hundred veteran troops, with the evident purpose of marching either upon Annapolis, Alexandria, or Washington, there was a sudden awakening to the necessity of defence. Brigadier-general William H. Winder had, indeed, been placed in command, a few weeks before, of a district where, at most, there were only five hundred regulars and two thousand militia to respond to his orders. No effective preparations, however, were made to put even this small force in a condition to take the field, and no requisitions were made, till too late, for forces from the neighboring States.

Ross advanced up the peninsula with great caution, and even hesitation. He could not believe that the path was open before him to go where he pleased without let or hindrance, and the concurrent testimony of all English narratives of that march is, that it could have been turned back any day had a few determined persons obstructed the road by felled trees.¹ It was not till Cockburn joined Ross that

¹ The late Judge William Cranch, of Washington, an eye-witness of the invasion, wrote on the 11th of September, 1814, to his sister in Massachusetts: "On Thursday, August 18, information was received that the Enemy was ascending the Patuxent in large force, and the militia of the District and adjacent parts of Maryland and Virginia were called upon to turn [out] *en masse*. The requisition was obeyed slowly. The Fairfax militia, being that nearest to Alexandria, was not ordered to muster untill the Tuesday following (the 23d). On Saturday, the 20th, information was received that the enemy was disembarking, and had landed a large force. Reports varied as to their number from 3,000 to 17,000, and what is astounding is that General Winder had no correct information on that subject." Further on, in the same letter, he says: "The number of the British forces which were in the expedition to Washington is not yet satisfactorily ascertained. I am inclined to believe from all I hear that the number did not exceed 4,000. Winder had

some energy and determination was put into the General's movements by the Admiral's advice to push on to Washington. It is by no means certain that Ross had proposed at first to do anything more than to destroy Admiral Barney's flotilla of gunboats, which had been a constant annoyance to the British in Chesapeake Bay, but had now been compelled to withdraw for safety up the Patuxent as far as Marlborough. Instead of protecting these boats by troops and staying Ross's progress at that point, the Secretary of the Navy, Jones, saved the British General the trouble of removing this impediment out of his way, by ordering the fleet to be burned, and Barney and his men to retreat toward Washington. It was only that frenzy of terror which had seized all official persons that could have prompted an act depriving the Americans of their best arm of defence, and giving the invaders an advantage which alone would have been worth the risk of the expedition.

Barney's flotilla burned.

Inspired by this success thrown at their heads, Ross and Cockburn pushed on to Bladensburg, where Winder had formed his line of battle in a commanding position. The General had no confidence in his troops, and little in himself, and listened to conflicting advice on all sides, when he should have turned a deaf ear to everybody; permitted Monroe to change his disposition of troops, almost at the last moment, without remonstrance; more anxious that his officers should understand which way they should take in retreat than zealous in urging them not to retreat, but to fight, and fearful, apparently, lest somebody should be hurt. Madison and his cabinet were on the field, all anxious to instruct the unfortunate and perplexed General, except the President, who occupied himself with pencilled bulletins to his wife at Washington, urging her to flight, and who said, — as Wilkinson asserts, — “Come, General Armstrong, come, Colonel Monroe, let us go, and leave it to the commanding General.” In truth, it mattered but little to whom it was left, for Winder was quite right in assuming that no dependence could be placed on the crowd of men gathered upon the hills with arms in their hands, but utterly without military discipline and confronted by veteran soldiers.

They fled as the Congreve rockets of the enemy burst in their faces, and the real fighting was left for Commodore Barney and Captain Miller of the marines, with six hundred men, who rushed for-

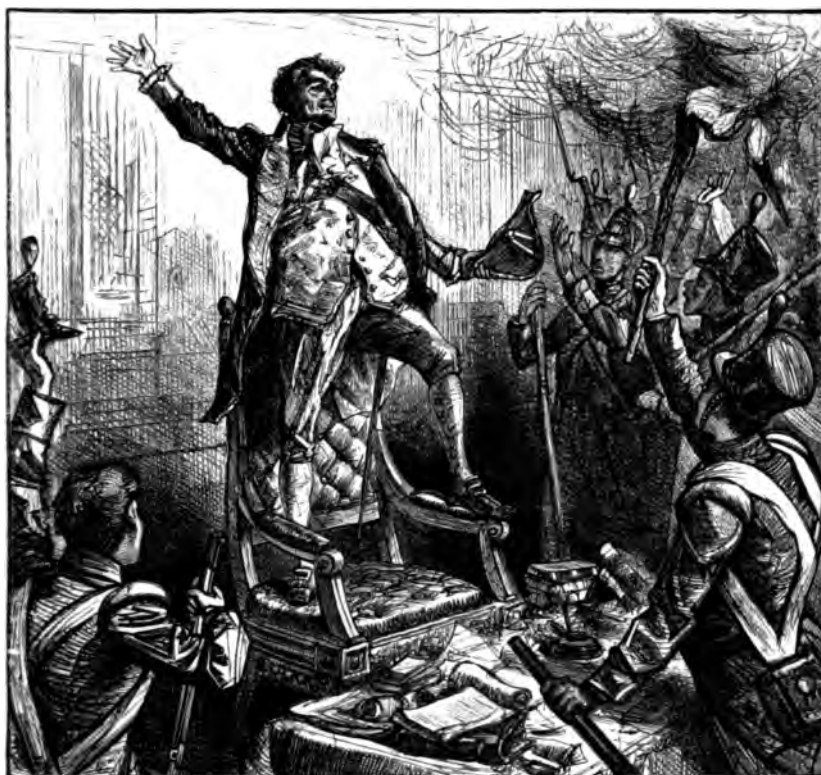
5,000, but they were principally raw militia huddled together not an hour before the battle, without any confidence in each other. Yet, I believe the fault was in the officers. But the great fault was in the Administration in taking no measures of defence after the repeated menaces and warnings they have had. There has been a wanton sacrifice of the public property and the national pride. A wound is inflicted which ages will not cure, and a scar will be left which time will scarcely efface.” — *MS. papers in the possession of Judge Cranch's daughter, Mrs. Erastus Brooks.*

ward to dispute the passage of a bridge. The artillery they served swept down the advancing British column, and compelled it to give way. For more than an hour this small band of seamen and marines held the enemy, outnumbering them three or four to one, at bay, returned charge for charge, and again and again broke into their serried ranks. Had the least support been given them, the fortune of the day might have been turned; but the only body of militia which covered their flank, and had not already run away, broke and fled at the first charge. Barney's men, thus exposed, were surrounded; he and Miller were both shot down and severely wounded, and were compelled at last to surrender. Around them lay as many dead of the enemy as the sailors and marines numbered at the beginning of the fight.

The Americans fell back upon Washington, if that can be said of a precipitate flight, when many were seeking for safety, no matter where, like the President and other official gentlemen, many making their way to their homes. When Washington was reached, however, — and the British followed close that evening upon their footsteps, — Winder, still true to his one comprehensive rule of military tactics and the art of war, ordered farther retreat, and the city was abandoned to the destroyers, — the destroyers that came, as well as those who remained, the chief difference between them being that one side destroyed what was their own, the other the property of an enemy. The worst the British could have done to the navy yard below the city, if they could have taken a place so easily defended, would have been to destroy it; and in anticipation of that possibility the Secretary of the Navy ordered that it should be given to the flames. The loss in provisions, in marine stores, in guns, in munitions of war, in ships on the stocks or afloat, in buildings, in arms, was enormous; but it did not seem to occur to President, generals, or cabinet officers that even if this great accumulation of property was not saved by defence, there was at least the chance of its being spared by accident. But in the frenzy of a popular panic like this, men take leave of their reason.

The spirit of wanton destruction seemed to be aroused by the craze of wild affright. The lurid glare of the burning of the largest navy yard in the country by those who should have protected it at all hazards, was responded to by the glow of the lesser fires kindled in the city by the enemy. There were orders to spare, and some attempt to save, private property, and the Post-office building was permitted to remain unharmed because it contained the Patent Office, which was of value to civilization. But the President's mansion and the unfinished Capitol were burned, — one of the stories of the time

being that Cockburn leaped into the Speaker's chair, as his followers filled the halls of Congress, and shouted, "Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy be burned? All for it will say Aye!" The public libraries and such of the public archives as had not previously been removed to a place of safety were burned. Nothing was spared, except the Patent Office and jail, that could be considered public



Cockburn in the Chair.

property, or that could be put to public use.¹ The next night the invaders retired with the utmost caution and without beat of drum, leaving their camp-fires burning brightly, lest they should be pursued by the force which Ross believed the destruction of the capital must needs arouse to overwhelm him. But he regained his ships without molestation, except some annoyance from the country people.

¹ "They destroyed everything public except the Patent Office and the jail. The Patent Office was spared at the intercession of Doctor Thornton who superintends it, and who assured the officer that it contained nothing but private property and models of the arts of the utmost use to the world." — *Letter of Judge Cranch.*

It was a natural, almost inevitable, consequence that this exploit should be followed by some other of a similar character.

Expedition
against Bal-
timore.

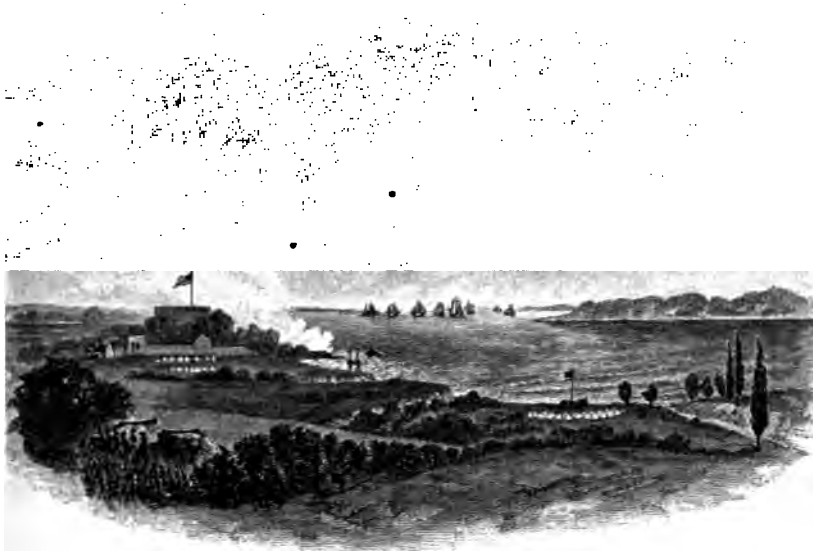
On the 6th of September Cochrane's fleet moved up the Chesapeake; on the 11th entered the Patapsco, and landed nine thousand men at North Point, a dozen miles below Baltimore. They were not unexpected. Sir Peter Parker, some days before, had landed a force on the eastern shore of Maryland, and in a skirmish with militia was killed. The citizens of Baltimore, warned in time, had put up fortifications, and Major-general Samuel Smith, in command, called out the available troops to repel invasion. Ross, on landing at the head of his advance, was picked off by a sharp-shooter, and, mortally wounded, carried to his boats, where he died in a few minutes. There was to be no repetition here of the experiences below Washington. For three hours the three thousand vol-
 Battle of
North Point.unteers, from Maryland and Pennsylvania, led by General John Stricker, withstood the enemy, till the right wing was turned, when they fell back upon the intrenchments. The British did not follow till next day, but finding their opponents reënforced and strongly placed, retired in the darkness of the ensuing night.

Meanwhile sixteen vessels moved up the bay, and opened fire upon the immediate defences of Baltimore. For twenty-four hours they poured an uninterrupted stream of rockets and shells into Fort McHenry, Fort Covington, and the connecting intrenchments. Fort McHenry was compelled to bear this bombardment almost in silence, as its largest guns could not reach the enemy's vessels, anchored at a safe distance.¹ At night a strong force was landed to attack the forts in the rear; but, being discovered, it was subjected to a fire of red-hot shot, that inflicted severe loss and thwarted the project. The enterprise was then abandoned, and Cochrane retired with his fleet.

Of the four notable battles this year on the ocean, all but the first resulted in victory for the Americans. Captain David Porter, in the frigate *Essex*, had made a long cruise round
 Naval en-
gagements
of 1814. Cape Horn, creating terrible havoc with British commerce in the Pacific, and securing many rich prizes, one of which he converted into a war-ship, and named her the *Essex Junior*. But the English Admiralty sent out the frigates *Phæbe* and *Cherub*, under Captain James Hillyar, with orders to destroy or capture the *Essex* at all hazards, and by these two ships Porter was blockaded in the harbor of Valparaiso. On one occasion the hostile vessels almost fouled, and Porter called away his boarders, and in a moment more would have been on the Englishman's deck; but Hillyar so earnestly pro-

¹ While watching the flag on this fort, Francis S. Key, who had gone to the British fleet to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, wrote the first draft of the *Star-Spangled Banner*.

ested he had no intention of attacking in a neutral port, that he was
 ermitted to withdraw his ship from her suspicious position. At
 length, on the 28th of March, Porter attempted to put to sea; but
 he *Essex* was suddenly disabled by a heavy squall, and being pur-
 sued, he tacked about and reëntered the harbor. The enemy fol-
 lowed, and, regardless of the neutrality of the port, took ^{Essex and}
 position under the stern of the *Essex*, and opened fire. The ^{Phoebe.}
 American ran out three long guns at the stern ports, and in half an
 hour compelled both of his antagonists to draw off for repairs. On
 returning to the attack, they took position on Porter's starboard quar-



Fort McHenry.

er, out of reach of carronades, and with their long guns fired at the
Essex as at a target. Porter then ran down upon the *Cherub*, and
 after a short but lively action at close range, she was driven off. But
 the *Phoebe* edged away, and kept up a steady fire; at one gun on
 board the *Essex* three whole crews were swept away in succession.
 Porter tried to run her ashore; but the wind suddenly shifted, the
 prings on his cables were repeatedly shot away, and, to complete his
 misfortunes, the ship took fire. As the flames burst up the hatch-
 ways, he ordered all who could swim to jump overboard and make
 for the shore. The helpless wreck was easily raked, three fifths of
 her men were killed or wounded, and at last Porter struck his colors.

The sloop-of-war *Peacock*, Captain Warrington, captured the British brig *Epervier*, on the 29th of April, after an action of forty minutes; and her sister ship, the *Wasp*, Captain Blakeley, captured the brig *Reindeer*, after a hot battle, in June, and in September so badly injured the brig *Avon* that she sank. Within twenty days the *Wasp* took three more prizes, and she was never heard from afterward. The American privateer, *General Armstrong*, Captain Samuel C. Reid, had put into the port of Fayal, Azores, in



The *Armstrong* at Fayal.

September, when three British cruisers entered the harbor, and sent four boats to cut her out. But they were driven off with heavy loss. The Governor remonstrated with the English commander against this flagrant violation of neutrality, but was answered that the privateer must be destroyed, and if she were protected he would bombard the town. At midnight, fourteen launches, each containing fifty men, were sent against her. She opened on them with murderous effect, and when two or three of them succeeded in getting alongside, a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, which left scarcely a man in them alive.

next morning, one of the cruisers engaged the privateer, but was soon obliged to haul off for repairs. Captain Reid, seeing that the ultimate destruction of his vessel was certain, destroyed her himself, and went ashore with his men. Only two of his crew had been killed, and seven wounded, while the ascertained loss of the British was a hundred and twenty killed, and ninety wounded. The English commander had the effrontery to demand that the authorities deliver to him as prisoners the gallant crew whom he had failed to capture. This, of course, was refused, and Captain Reid and his men took possession of an old convent, declaring they would defend themselves to the last. An apology was made to Portugal for the violation of neutrality, but the owners of the *Armstrong* never obtained any indemnity.

Destruction
of the
General
Armstrong.

There were other actions at sea in the course of the next few months, which added new laurels to the American navy. Decatur, in the *President*, fought the *Endymion*, and reduced her to a wreck, when, three other ships coming to her aid, he was compelled to surrender to this overwhelming force. Stewart, in the *Constitution*, was more fortunate, as he captured the *Cyane* and the *Levant*. Biddle, in the brig *Hornet*, fought one of the most brilliant naval battles of the war with the *Penguin*, and took her. All these actions, however, in the winter or spring of 1815, were after peace was declared in December.

But naval exploits, however brilliant, only served to convince those who from the beginning had opposed the war, that its conduct on shore was unwise and its aim misdirected. Henry Clay at the outset had declared that with volunteers from Kentucky alone he could in a short time overrun Canada; but Canada, at the opening of the winter of 1814, was as far from being a conquest of the United States as when, in the summer of 1812, Hull had been driven out of it and compelled to surrender. The disasters of two years on the northern frontier had been atoned for in some degree by the later battles on the Niagara peninsula and before Plattsburg. But these comparatively small successes — which only showed that Americans had not yet lost the faculty of fighting — did not seem to the opponents of the war to justify so enormous an expenditure of means and of men for a purpose that not only had failed utterly, but, they believed, should never have been attempted; and much less did such successes reconcile the maritime and commercial people, especially of New England, to a policy which was proving their ruin. To the want of any better result on the northern borders, was added, moreover, the loss to Massachusetts of a considerable portion of her western territory, which the Administration had neglected to defend;

Opposition
to the war.

the humiliating reflection that the whole country had been outraged by the capture and destruction of its capital, the mortifying spectacle of a fugitive government, too imbecile to take proper measures for defence, and too destitute of spirit to atone for its blunders by some show of courage. Those who had opposed the war were not only more than ever persuaded that it was conceived for a sinister purpose, but that the result showed how incompetent the Administration was to carry it on, — equally incompetent either to continue it with success or to end it with honor.

The feeling on the other side was not less bitter. The Federalists were denounced as the British party. The accusation told with terrible force upon the minds of ignorant and unreflecting Democrats, and was used, therefore, without scruple for years by those who knew that sympathy with Great Britain, at that period, only meant abhorrence of that monstrous military despotism with which England was in deadly encounter. The charge of British sympathy and of a wish to be reannexed to the Crown, carried with it, of course, a charge of a purpose to dissolve the Union. And enmity to the Union was now, for the first time, looked upon as a crime, because of this supposed ulterior object.

A separation of the States, up to the time of the immediate events which led to the War of 1812, was the familiar remedy suggested for all differences between the States. It originated in the fruitful brain of Jefferson, who, notwithstanding his abstract love of peace, declared that the tree of liberty must be watered with the blood of patriots and tyrants once in twenty years.¹ — who was opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, who meant by the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 to provide for its nullification, and to secure the right of a dissolution of the Union whenever it should seem good to any single State. It was a threat always on the lips of Democratic orators, whenever any new step was proposed, or any new measure carried by the Federalists, to consolidate and strengthen the Government of the Union; and the menace was as promptly resorted to by the Federalists when they in their turn saw, or thought they saw, a determination on the part of one portion of the States to encroach upon another. The suggestion, made indifferently by either party, was more or less serious, according to the seriousness of the occasion that called it forth; but that it was a perfectly proper and legitimate one to make, was never questioned till party cunning

¹ "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a [Shays] rebellion. . . . What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure." — *Jefferson's Works*, vol. ii., p. 267.

managed to confuse a proposition of disunion with a design to betray popular government by the restoration of colonial dependence upon England. That there was never the slightest truth in this accusation, may be asserted with entire confidence.

It should be remembered that the serious question in the minds of the wisest of American statesmen, at the end of the last century, was, whether a popular government was not a chimera. When, after a few years' trial, it was concluded that such a government might be possible under favorable circumstances, it was next doubted whether a republic resting upon a union between the slave and free States could be permanent, — if, indeed, such a government could be called a republic. Very few years passed away before such men as Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, Timothy Pickering, Rufus King, Josiah Quincy, George Cabot, and other distinguished statesmen of the time, earnestly and frankly discussed the character of such a union, and its evident failure as a just and rational form of government. Some of them were eager to abandon the attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable; others, with that timidity and hesitation which have been so marked a characteristic of American politics from the beginning, preferred rather to temporize, and postpone, and compromise, — to do anything rather than face an evil to-day, if it could be put off till to-morrow. Naturally, this want of boldness provoked and invited aggression from those with whom audacity had to do service for right and justice. Merely to denounce the Federalists as disunionists was, by itself, a feeble accusation; for, if they were disunionists simply because it was plain to their minds that there could be no just and equal commingling between mediæval and modern civilization, so their accusers were equally disunionists when they feared that the supremacy which the slaveholding representation in the Government gave them was threatened by the progress and the power of a free people. But when disunion was made to seem a crime against republicanism, by the charge that it was only the first step to a restoration of monarchy, an appeal was made to the passions of the people, which was overwhelming. Monarchy was known and hated; slaveholding despotism was an abstract dread, which faded away in the presence of a possible, immediate, and known evil.

The formation of a Northern Confederacy was undoubtedly considered by some of the wisest and the best of the Federal leaders as not merely possible, but desirable. But, it should not be lost sight of, this was only as a means to an end; it was disunion for the sake of a more perfect union; the creation of an independent Northern Confederacy, which the weaker Southern States, in self-defence, would be compelled to join on terms of reconstruction which would secure

equality of representation, and give the greater weight to liberty, and not to slavery. It was the misfortune of the Federal party that unscrupulous opponents had the opportunity to invent evidence to show that the desire to create such a Confederacy covered a design to make it a part of the British Empire. Mr. Madison eagerly seized upon a pretext of this sort not long before the declaration of war in 1812, partly to strengthen his own party, but mainly to heap obloquy upon the opponents of this war.

An adventurer of the name of John Henry appeared at Washington, with a marvellous tale of a conspiracy by which New England was to be detached from the United States and restored to the British Crown. This man — an Englishman by birth, but married to a respectable American lady, and familiar with American affairs — had persuaded the Governor of Canada, in 1809, to send him as a political spy to Boston, believing that he would find there the materials for organizing a plot — if it did not already exist — for a revolution in favor of England. The papers laid by him, three years later, before the President, by the President laid before Congress, and afterward published, proved conclusively that the man was of that vulgar class of knaves, known in the detective slang of our day as “confidence-men.” He was not the accredited agent of the British Government; he had discovered nothing; he had nothing to relate but what he might have heard at any time in the common talk of men in the streets of New York, or Philadelphia, or Boston, or even Washington, or might have read in any Federal newspaper; nothing to reveal that was not quite as well known to Mr. Madison as to himself, of common Federal opinion; not a single item of evidence, whether hearsay or confidential, to bring against any individual of any complicity in any plot; nor any shadow of proof that any plot existed either in England or America.

In the interval between his visit to Boston and his appearance at Washington, Henry had been to England, and presented a claim for services. It may be that he originally proposed only to persuade the Ministry that he had acquired some valuable and important information in New England, for which he deserved a large reward; and his want of success there may have suggested the more promising scheme of pandering to the party purposes of Mr. Madison and his friends. At any rate, the English Ministry repudiated him and his pretended revelations; and when it was clear that nothing was to be gained in that quarter, the adventurer appeared in Washington, where he was eagerly welcomed by the President and his Secretary of State, Monroe, who imposed him upon the American people, — as he would have imposed himself upon the English Ministry, — as one charged with

marvellous tale of conspiracies, plots, and treasons. The tale itself would have been laughed at by all right-minded men for its evident and absolute failure to fulfil its promise, but for the pretence that it covered a design of Great Britain to recover some of her lost colonies. Partisan passion and credulity, however, were large enough for the deglutition of anything on that subject. The Federalists, of course, made no reply, for the case was beyond the reach of any appeal to argument, common sense, or common justice. The story was told, not because he who invented it, or they who promulgated it, could have maintained before any justice of the peace that there was any truth in it, but because the one had hit upon an ingenious plan to raise fifty thousand dollars, and the others were ready to pay fifty thousand dollars for anything, true or false, that would bring odium on the opposition party. To propagate this purely partisan calumny, Mr. Madison paid one sixth as much as the House of Representatives appropriated for the support of the navy at the outbreak of a war with the strongest naval power in the world.

The influential men among the Federalists, who sincerely questioned whether the Union had not proved a failure, and whether ^{Question of a new Union.} the only remedy was not a reconstruction of States on a new basis, were not likely to be reconciled to the existing condition of things by an attempt to prove that because they held to this belief they were therefore disloyal to a republican form of government. Their hostility to the war and to the war-party was intensified by antagonism so unscrupulous, and, because it was an appeal to prejudice and passion so hard to meet. Massachusetts refused to respond to the call for troops at the outset, on the ground that it was for the Governor of a State, and not for the President, to decide whether in any given case there was good and sufficient reason for calling upon the militia; and Connecticut, as well as Massachusetts, refused to put the State troops under the command of United States officers. On the second point both States were only maintaining a right reserved to the States under the Federal Constitution; but on the first point Massachusetts simply took her stand upon the unalienable right of revolution, asserted in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798; for her act was clearly one of nullification.

It was a natural and easy step to the Hartford Convention, two years afterward. The war, which had proved disastrous, and till recently — except on the sea — uniformly disgraceful to the American arms, had fallen with peculiar severity upon New England. Most of her people believed that, bad as the war was, it was still more badly conducted — that the Administration was as imbecile as it was unprincipled. The ruin of the country, they thought and said, could

only be averted first by the overthrow of such an Administration as an immediate measure of relief, and then by such radical changes in the terms of union between the States as should secure at least the chance of a free and virtuous government in the future.

The Convention was called by a resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature, passed in October, 1814. Twelve delegates were appointed "to meet and confer with delegates from the other New England States, or any other, upon the subject of their public grievances and concerns . . . of defence against the enemy ; . . . and also to take measures, if they shall think it proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States,



Old State House — Hartford.

in order to revise the Constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of all the people, by placing all upon the basis of fair representation."

It was ordered that the resolution, of which this is the essential substance, should be sent to the Governors of all the States. In the letter written in obedience to that order

der, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives were careful to say that "the general objects of the proposed conference are, first, to deliberate upon the dangers to which the eastern section of the Union is exposed by the course of the war, which there is too much reason to believe will thicken round them in its progress; and to devise, if practicable, means of security and defence, which may be consistent with the preservation of their resources from total ruin, and adapted to their local situation, mutual relations, and habits, and not repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union." This was the immediate object of the Convention; but the ulterior object — that which went beyond relief from the temporary evils of a disastrous war — was to inquire "whether

the interests of these States demand that persevering endeavors be used by each of them to procure such amendments to be effected in the national Constitution, as may secure to them equal advantage, and whether, if in their judgment this shall be deemed impracticable under the existing provisions for amending that instrument, an experiment may be made without disadvantage to the nation, for obtaining a convention from all the States in the Union, or such of them as approve of the measure, with a view to obtain such amendment." This only meant — put in briefer words — a proposition to amend the Constitution, if possible, with the assent of all the States; but if that was not possible, then the formation and adoption of a new Constitution by so many of the States as agreed upon the necessity. In the last analysis, this was disunion, as the corollary of reconstruction, — but disunion that a free and equable republican government, a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

This, it should not be lost sight of, was peaceful disunion for the sake of union. For it was never doubted that a slaveholding oligarchy, strong only by an alliance with a weak minority at the North, would assent, by the necessity of the case, to the just demands of a Northern majority when a refusal involved the creation of an independent Northern confederacy. In the relative conditions of the free and slave States, and in the clean-cut line between geographical parties at that period, this calculation upon speedy Southern submission was probably well founded. Nearly half a century was to pass away before the slaveholding oligarchy was strong enough to take the bold ground that the extension and perpetuation of human slavery was the price of union. The new Union, which the Hartford conventionists aimed at only as a political policy, was then achieved with a broader and higher purpose, but at enormous cost. Not, however, that the North of 1814 was less in earnest than the North of 1860; had the war with England continued a year or two longer to widen the breach between the North and the South, the War of Rebellion, perhaps, would never have been fought. The new Union was delayed by the peace for half a century.

The Convention met on the 15th of December, and remained in session for three weeks.¹ It sat with closed doors — an unfortunate

¹ The delegates were: From Massachusetts — George Cabot, William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Stephen Longfellow, Jr., Daniel Waldo, George Bliss, Nathan Dane, Hodijah Baylies, Joshua Thomas, Joseph Lyman, Samuel S. Wilde. From Rhode Island — Daniel Lyman, Samuel Ward, Benjamin Hazard, Edward Manton. From Connecticut — Chauncey Goodrich, James Hillhouse, John Treadwell, Zephaniah Swift, Calvin Goddard, Nathaniel Smith, Roger Minot Sherman. From New Hampshire — Benjamin West, Mills Olcott. From Vermont — William Hall, Jr. The last three were not appointed by their State governments, but by committees of certain towns.

necessity, if a necessity at all. It was watched with great interest,—on one side with hope, on the other with anxiety and apprehension. Madison, always more than half doubtful of the policy of his own party, was in trepidation, and Major Jesup was sent to Hartford, ostensibly to fill up his regiment by recruiting, but in fact to watch the Convention and send bulletins of all he could gather to the Secretary of State. But in truth there was nothing to fear, if any overt act was looked for to justify the interference of either civil or military authority. In revolutions, discussion must precede action; this Convention was not only met for deliberation and counsel; it was probably meant in some degree to stave off rash and hasty action.

There was material enough in the report which the members of the Convention made to their constituents to serve as a basis for future revolutionary action, should future events call for it. For abuses, it said, “reduced to a system, and accumulated through a course of years,” clothed in “the forms of law,” enforced by an executive, and spreading corruption everywhere, there was no “summary means of relief” but “direct and open resistance.” But only necessity could sanction such resistance when, after full deliberation, the people were “determined to change the Constitution.” Though many believed that “the time for a change is at hand,” there were considerations which still held out a “hope of reconciling all to a course of moderation and firmness which might avert the evil, or at least insure consolation and success in the last resort.” There might yet be “a reformation of public opinion, resulting from dear-bought experience, in the southern Atlantic States. . . . They may discard the influence of visionary theorists, and recognize the benefits of a practical policy.” But “events may prove that the causes of our calamities are deep and permanent;” and when that shall appear, “a separation by equitable arrangement will be preferable to an alliance by constraint among nominal friends, but real enemies, inflamed by mutual hatred and jealousy, and inviting, by intestine divisions, contempt and aggression from abroad.” A separation, then, was to be the ultimate remedy, unless dangers and grievances could be averted by measures which the report discussed at length and embodied finally in a series of resolutions, proposing: That unconstitutional drafts of militia should be prevented; that the States should be empowered to defend their own territory; that only the free inhabitants of a State should be counted in the apportionment of representatives and direct taxes; that a two-thirds vote should be required to admit a new State, to interdict commercial intercourse, or to declare offensive war; that embargoes for more than sixty days should be forbidden; that naturalized citizens should not be eligible to federal

fices : that the President should be ineligible for a second term, and should not be chosen from any State twice in succession ; and finally, that if these ends were not attained, and peace not concluded, another convention should be held in Boston in June.

But that convention never met. Some of the immediate causes of discontent were removed by the sudden termination of the war, which soon followed ; and in the universal rejoicing at the return of peace the radical evil which threatened the permanence of the Union was for a little while lost sight of, and left to be dealt with by another generation in another way.

The British forces, meanwhile, had taken virtual possession of the Spanish town of Pensacola, and used it as a station to fit out expeditions against Mobile and New Orleans. To this place they invited their savage allies, equipped them for war, and attempted to drill them in military organization. The commander also offered Lafitte, the so-called pirate of Baratavia Bay, a captain's commission and liberal grants of land from the territory to be conquered, together with the less substantial boon of "the blessings of the British Constitution," if he would assist with his fleet in the capture of Mobile and New Orleans.¹

Operations
on the Gulf
coast.

With new levies of troops, raised principally in Tennessee and Kentucky, Jackson marched southward to meet this new invasion. In September an attack on Fort Bowyer, at Mobile, by the British, was repulsed, with a loss to the enemy of one ship and many men. At Pensacola they blew up and abandoned Fort Barrancas at Jackson's approach in November, and he took possession of the city. The next month he was at New Orleans, where he made vigorous preparations to defend that port, which, if taken, would give to Great Britain possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, and, it was hoped, the command of the western territory of the United States.²

Jackson was not in the least appalled at the magnitude and importance of the work before him. He called out the militia ; he appealed to the free negroes, who enlisted in considerable numbers ; he enrolled the convicts ; he accepted the services of Lafitte and his followers ; he hurried Coffee with two thousand men

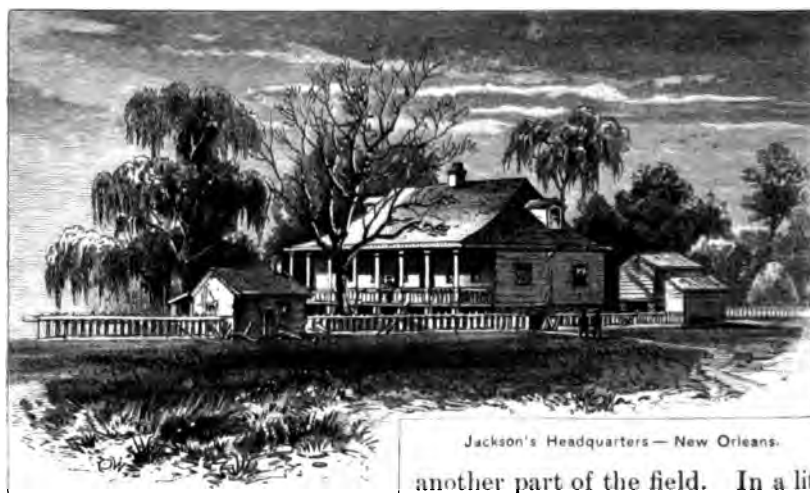
Jackson at
New Or-
leans.

¹ Lafitte was not strictly a pirate, but a receiver of goods captured by half-piratical privateers. When he had obtained from the British commander a full committal in black and white, he sent the letters to Governor Claiborne, and offered his services in defending the coast, on condition of an act of oblivion as to his past offences. A council of military and naval officers decided that the letters were forged, and an expedition under Commodore Patterson broke up his establishment.

² An officer in the expedition, after describing the Mississippi and its tributaries, wrote : "Whatever nation, therefore, chances to possess this place, possesses in reality the command of a greater extent of country than is included within the boundary-line of the whole United States."—Gleig's *Campaigns at Washington and New Orleans*. The London

from Mobile to New Orleans; he inspected every rood of ground about the city; he made intrenchments, proclaimed martial law, inspired the people with his own confidence, and animated them with his own energy.

The British had captured the American gunboats in Lake Borgne, and landed twenty-four hundred men nine miles below the city. With about two thousand, Jackson went down to meet them. It was late in the day — December 23 — when he reached his enemy, and the attack was made after dark. The schooner *Carolina*, lying in the Mississippi, discharged a broadside which enfiladed the British left wing, and this was the signal for the onset. There was almost absolute darkness, except as the flashes of the guns lighted up one and



another part of the field. In a little while the two armies became largely intermingled, and, as a participant wrote, "no man could tell what was going forward in any quarter, except where he himself chanced immediately to stand." After two or three hours of fighting, the Americans withdrew to their fortifications four miles from the city. Each side had lost more than two hundred men.¹

Hardly was this action over, when heavy reinforcements of British troops arrived, and with them Generals Sir Edward Pakenham and Samuel Gibbs. Pakenham was a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, and had won distinction in the Peninsular war. He found the army he had come to command encamped on a narrow strip of low and level land; on one side was a broad river where it had no

Times announced that "most active measures are pursuing for detaching from the dominion of the enemy an important part of his territory."

¹ Unofficial reports by British officers made their loss over five hundred.

shipping, on the other a morass ; in front were fortifications, manned by an enemy of unknown strength ; two vessels in the river annoyed the camp day and night, and frequent frost and rain filled up the catalogue of miseries.

Pakenham brought a few heavy guns across the Peninsula, and with hot shot destroyed one vessel and drove the other up stream. After a costly reconnoissance, he determined upon siege operations, and in a single night erected bastions of hogsheads of sugar, and mounted thirty guns. On the morning of the new year fire was opened upon these bastions ; sugar offered small resistance to cannon-balls, and in a little while the whole treacherous rampart crumbled away. Jackson had used cotton bales, which, though impenetrable by shot, were knocked out of place and set on fire. But they answered a temporary purpose till he could construct earthworks a mile and a half in the rear.

In the week that followed, both sides were reënforced. The British dug a canal across the isthmus, and dragged boats through from the lakes to send a force against the batteries on the west bank of the river. On Saturday, January 7, Pakenham climbed a tall pine tree and surveyed the American lines, while at the same time Jackson, standing on a high building, with an imperfect spy-glass in his hand, was watching the operations of the enemy, whom he saw making ladders and binding up sugar-cane into fascines.

Pakenham intended to attack on both sides of the river, before dawn of the 8th. But there was delay in the passage of the river ; the sun rose ; the fog began to roll away, and he impatiently sent up the signal rocket and ordered his men forward long before those on the west side were ready. The Americans, as well as their enemy, understood the signal, and as many fire-arms as could be laid across the parapet were pointed down the Peninsula, while a thirty-two pounder was loaded to the muzzle with musket-balls. The enemy advanced in two columns, each preceded by a regiment bearing ladders and fascines, while midway between were placed a thousand Highlanders ready to support an attack on both wings of the Americans ; and in the rear was a strong reserve. Jackson's men were unerring with the rifle, and the artillery was served with coolness and precision. When the thirty-two pounder discharged its bushel of musket-balls, the entire van of one column melted away. Both of the pioneer regiments wavered, and there was no means of crossing the ditch till the men could be rallied and the lines re-formed. In the attempt to do this under a withering fire, Pakenham was killed. General Gibbs was wounded mortally, General Keene seriously, and Colonel Dale fell at the head of his Highland regiment. Three offi-

cers who reached the breastwork were instantly shot, and fell into the ditch together; of three others who reached it at another point, two were riddled as they mounted it, and when the third demanded the swords of two Americans who confronted him, he was smilingly told to look behind him. He turned, and found that the men he supposed to be following him had utterly vanished away. In twenty-five minutes the action was over, and the British had lost seven hundred killed, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred prisoners, while the American loss was but seventeen. The force on the right bank of the river had carried the American works, and were pursuing the militia, when they were ordered to return. The British fleet, ascending the river, failed to pass Fort St. Philip, and General Lambert, on whom the command had devolved, disheartened at the disasters which had befallen the enterprise, abandoned it and retreated to his shipping.

So brilliant a campaign, with the successes at the North, under General Brown, would certainly have given a more hopeful start to a third year of war, had the war been continued. But peace was concluded at Ghent on the 24th of December, a fortnight before the battle of New Orleans. The glory of the battle was the glory of the skilful, successful defence of raw militia against the best veteran troops of Europe, and from that there can be no deduction. But it had no influence, either upon continuing the war or upon ending it.

Two incidents, occurring toward the close of this campaign, illustrated Jackson's despotic and violent temper as well as his stern, though often narrow, sense of duty. Both became formidable weapons in the hands of partisan opponents when, in later years, he became the head of a political party. After the unofficial news of peace had reached New Orleans, and when the official announcement was daily expected, six militia-men, sentenced by court-martial to be shot for desertion, four months before, were executed near Mobile, with Jackson's approbation. These men — one of them a simple-minded, conscientious Baptist preacher, who had enlisted that he might be near a son of sixteen who was also in the army — had gone home after the expiration of their three months' service, believing that to be the full time for which they could be legally held. One of them — a captain — was not even guilty of this crime, if it was a crime, but was condemned on some very doubtful evidence of having incited others to desertion. Three months' service had been up to that time both the law and the custom, and these men were clearly ignorant of any law that could hold them longer, though there was a recent six months' enlistment act of Congress

Execution
of six
militia-men.

under which, it was assumed, they had been enlisted on proclamation of the Governor of the State. The question involved — an honest misunderstanding of the terms of enlistment — was essentially the same as that which led to the revolt of the whole Pennsylvania line in the War of the Revolution, which Washington settled by conciliatory measures. But Jackson was not Washington. The stern sense of justice in Jackson was not mollified by mercy. He saw only disobedience to military law, and was unmoved by the consideration that the war was probably over, and that the service would not be harmed by the pardon of men who had erred through ignorance. They were all shot.

In New Orleans the General came into conflict with the civil authorities. The citizens were impatient of the continuance of martial law, when there was little doubt that peace had been concluded, though the authoritative announcement had not yet been received. The newspapers were forbidden to publish any statement upon the subject until authorized to do so by orders from headquarters. French citizens, who had not been backward in the presence of real danger, sought to escape military service when they thought it no longer necessary, by asking the protection of the French Consul. He, and all who had taken certificates from him, were ordered to leave the town as if they were public enemies. A Mr. Louaillier, a member of the Legislature, distinguished for his zeal and activity in the presence of the enemy, was arrested and imprisoned for protesting, through the columns of a newspaper, against the arbitrary proceedings of the commanding General. Judge Hall, who issued a writ of *habeas corpus* in Louaillier's favor, was also arrested on a charge "of abetting and exciting mutiny," imprisoned, and then banished beyond the city limits. He, however, was of a no less determined temper than Jackson himself; when, a few days after, peace was officially declared, he summoned the General before him for contempt of court, and fined him a thousand dollars, which Jackson had the good sense to pay without resistance, even refusing to avail himself of some popular tumult that was raised on his behalf. The country learned from these early incidents in his career the character of the man, and they were not forgotten. Four years afterward President Monroe thought of appointing him minister to Russia, and asked Mr. Jefferson's advice. Jefferson's answer was — "Why, good God! he would breed you a quarrel before he had been there a month!"¹

Contest with
the civil
authorities.

¹ Diary, when Secretary of State, in *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*.



Washington, from a Sketch made about 1820.

CHAPTER X.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE NEW AGE OF PEACE. — ITS EFFECT UPON THE HARTFORD MOVEMENT. — CHARACTER OF THE TREATY OF GENT. — RESULTS OF THE WAR. — THE ALGERINE WAR. — CREATION OF THE UNITED STATES. — FINANCIAL QUESTIONS. — EFFECT OF THE TARIFF. — NEW ENGLAND CRIES. — CHARACTER OF MADISON. — ELECTION OF MONROE. — THE FIRST SEMINOLE WAR. — REASONS FOR ANNEXING FLORIDA. — THE ACQUISITION OF AMERICA ISLAND. — JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN. — HIS EXECUTION OF THE TARIFF. — HIS DISCUSS WITH MONROE. — CESSION OF FLORIDA.

The enthusiasm and joy at the news of peace were absolutely hilarious among all classes of the people. There was no waiting to know the terms on which it had been concluded; it was enough to know that, honorable or dishonorable, advantageous or disadvantageous, it was a peace, and that the war was over. In truth, it was better to expect peace and realize it afterwards. Federalists and Democrats could find that there was war no more, and middle-aged gentlemen of both parties could meet to prove dignity and quiet respectability of their behavior and conduct. The ladies would be dinners and dance together in which they had been invited to, and thus, in token of amity and fraternity. There was time enough for sober after-thought when the

Government should see fit to give more definite intelligence. In the mean while both parties had reason enough for rejoicing: one, that it was extricated from a war which had proved to be as unwise and as useless as its opponents had declared at the outset it would be; the other, that their wisdom was justified, and the prophet's reward was theirs; and both were glad to agree to disagree no longer. The news from Ghent met the delegates from the Hartford Convention at Washington. It was not a time to present their report of grievances, and they made no sign. It was thoroughly American to seize the opportune moment to silence the solemn appeal to reason by an appeal to the national love of humor and the national love of forgetting anything serious. Otis and his companions were advertised by the Democrats as strayed or stolen,¹ and a suitable reward offered for their return to their anxious friends in Boston. The men who could have bravely faced a gibbet, trembled and fled before a joke.

Effect upon
the Hartford
movement.

The real absurdity of the situation, nevertheless, attaches to their opponents. The war had been carried on upon a single issue. The Orders in Council had been revoked almost at the outbreak of hostilities, and Dearborn and Admiral Warren had even agreed upon a temporary armistice in the summer of 1812, which the Administration had overruled mainly on grounds of diplomatic technicalities. This left the impressment of seamen the sole cause of quarrel. The Committee of Foreign Relations in Congress, in a report upon the war, in January, 1813, said: "The impressment of our seamen being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until the cause was removed," notwithstanding the repeal of the Orders in Council. When, early the same year, commissioners were appointed to negotiate a peace on the proposed mediation of Russia, if England should accept it, Secretary Monroe said in his instructions to the Commissioners: "If this encroachment [impressment] of Great Britain is not provided against, the United States have appealed to arms in vain. If your efforts to accomplish it should fail,

¹ ADVERTISEMENT. — MISSING. — Three well-looking, responsible men, who appeared to be travelling towards Washington, disappeared suddenly from Gadsby's Hotel in Baltimore on Monday evening last, and have not since been heard of. They were observed to be very melancholick on hearing the news of peace, and one of them was heard to say, with a great sigh, "Poor Caleb Strong!" [Federal Governor of Massachusetts.] They took with them their saddlebags, so that no apprehension is entertained of their having any intention to make away with themselves. Whoever will give any information to the Hartford Convention of the fate of these unfortunate and trifling gentlemen by letter (post-paid) will confer a favor upon humanity. The newspapers, particularly the Federal newspapers, are requested to publish this advertisement in a conspicuous place, and send in their bills to the Hartford Convention. — P. S. One of the gentlemen was called *Titus Oates* [Harrison Gray Otis] or some such name. — *National Advocate*, February, 1815.

... you will return home immediately." It was next proposed to open negotiations at Gottenburg, and the Secretary wrote again in the same tone: "This degrading practice must cease: our flag must protect the crew, or the United States cannot consider themselves an independent nation." The changed accent of the same voice, a few months later, is in ludicrous contrast with the eagle-scream of these war-cries. Early the next year — in February — Monroe wrote to the same Commissioners that "should peace be made in Europe, as the practical evil of which we complain in regard to impressment would cease, it is presumed the British Government would have less objection to a stipulation to forbear that practice for a specified term, than it would have, should the war continue. In concluding a peace . . . it is important to the United States to obtain such a stipulation." The mind of the Secretary changed like the colors of the chameleon. Three months later he wrote to the Commissioners: "You may concur in an article stipulating that the subject of impressment . . . be referred to separate negotiation." And two days after ordering that concession the still more significant instructions were sent, to "omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment, if found indispensably necessary to terminate it" [the war]. Thus, "the principal cause of the war," as the Democratic Congressional committee declared it to be in 1813, — the grievance which by war alone could be settled, if the United States, as Secretary Monroe said in 1814, were to "consider themselves an independent nation," — was deliberately abandoned.

The American Commissioners at Ghent¹ implicitly, in the letter and in the spirit, obeyed their instructions. In the course of the negotiations with the English Commissioners they declared that "the causes of the war having disappeared by the maritime pacification of Europe, the Government of the United States does not desire to continue it in defence of abstract principles" — meaning by abstract principles the impressment of American seamen — "which have, for the present, ceased to have any practical effect." Accordingly, in the treaty then and there made, the subject of impressment was not even alluded to. The cost of the war in human life was thirty thousand men; in money expended, and represented by a national debt, one hundred million dollars; the loss in public and private wealth, in the paralysis of industry and prosperity, was beyond any estimate. In the official volume of *Treaties and Conventions*, published by the United States, the subject of the Treaty of

¹ The American Commissioners were: John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin.

Done in triplicate at Ghent the
twenty-fourth day of December a
thousand eight hundred and forty

Dumbrer.

Henry Louburn

William Adams

John Quincy Adams

L. A. Bayard

H. Clay

Wm. C. Cress

Albert Gallatin

Ghent is indexed as "Peace, Boundary, Slave-trade." Peace it certainly secured; the question of boundaries was left to be further considered by commissioners to be subsequently appointed, and to vex both governments for another thirty years; on the abolition of the slave-trade, by an empty generality it was agreed that "both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object." The treaty in fact was not so good as that concluded by Jay in 1794, for negotiating which he was burned in effigy in the streets of New York; nor was it so favorable to the United States as that sent home in 1806 by Monroe and Pinckney, which Jefferson refused to submit to the Senate. It concluded peace, and concluded nothing else.

The negotiations were prolonged for five months. Mr. Adams in his diary frequently alludes to the insolent and supercilious tone assumed by the English towards the American Commissioners, and often predicts, in the earlier stages of the discussions, that they could last only a few days longer, and must end in disagreement. But both parties were sincerely desirous of peace, and it was easy to agree upon what at last it was determined that all questions between the two nations should be left essentially where they were when the war began.¹ Six months afterwards, however, a commercial convention was entered into, which provided for reciprocity of trade between the two countries, but otherwise was, for the most part, a repetition of the Jay Treaty. In one essential particular, however, it differed from the Jay Treaty. One strong, if not the strongest, objection urged against the treaty was, that it failed to settle the question of the payment for slaves who had escaped to the British at the time of the Revolution. Now Mr. Monroe, though he could abandon the rights of Northern masters, on whose behalf, it was pretended, the war was begun, did not yet get the interests of the slaveholders. "The negroes taken from the Southern States," — he instructed the Commissioners at Ghent, — "should be returned to their owners, or paid for at their full value." This was insisted upon by the Commissioners, and, it was thought, cured. The English commanders of vessels, however, when the rendition of the slaves was demanded, would only return those who had been taken prisoners, refusing to surrender those who had sought protection on board their ships. On such a point the Government was yielding. The demand was insisted upon for a dozen years with unbending pertinacity, till at length, Russia construing the treaty in favor of the United States, England paid about twelve hundred thou-

¹ Mr. Clay said, in a conference of the American Commissioners the day before the final agreement, that "We should make a damned bad Treaty, and he did not know whether we would sign it or not." — Diary in the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*.

sand dollars to remunerate the slaveholders, principal and interest, for their loss in slaves.

The end of the war was as inconclusive as the beginning was un-
Effect of
the war. wise, and its conduct imbecile. To all this it is both an inefficient and illogical answer that nevertheless out of so much that was evil there came some good. Whatever there was of good, it had been the policy of the Federalists to strive for, as it had been the policy of the other party to oppose, through the sixteen years of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. The two parties had not changed places: but the Federal party — partly through their own mismanagement, partly through the essential unity of a "solid South," with a Northern minority — was overcome; while the Democratic party was forced by the progress of events, and their irresistible pressure — the war among them — first, to succumb to, and then to accept and maintain as their own, the political ideas and principles they had so long resisted. From the close of the war of the Revolution to the close of the second war with England, the Federalists maintained that the United States, to be respectable and respected, must be a strong government, literally one and indivisible, not merely a confederation of thirteen independent States: — a nation free from the entanglement of European politics, with a navy strong enough to maintain its neutrality, to protect its foreign commerce, and defend its rights upon the sea. Great revolutions have not been often successful without a second struggle; and it was, perhaps, absolutely inevitable that there should be a second war with England, not merely to wipe out old grudges, but that the people of the United States should be brought to understand that their independence was not achieved till they were united as one nation.

It did not hurt England so far as her desperate struggle with Napoleon was concerned, but the war, nevertheless, had its lesson for her also as well as for her opponent. Her supremacy as a naval power was no longer unquestioned. Though her navy was the largest in the world, she could boast no longer that she ruled the seas, when a young nation, that three years before was almost without any navy at all, could meet her on equal terms, and beat her in better seamanship and in the better fighting qualities of captains and men. It was a humiliation to all England, — not to be rejoiced in on that account, though even in that not altogether unpleasing to the unregenerate mind, — and a thing to be proud of, inasmuch as it secured to the United States that respect which is always accorded to the strong. The Democrats exulted that this was the result of their war: the Federalists — while not reluctant to remind their opponents

that they for years had done their best to make that impossible of which they now boasted — rejoiced in that naval prowess the possibility of which they had never doubted. Though no acknowledgment was asked for, and none given, that the visitation of American ships and the impressment of American seamen were national outrages; and though no stipulation was required, nor any offered, that henceforth they should cease forever, they were not likely to occur again, now it was seen with how much vigor they were sure to be resented.



Decatur and the Dey of Algiers.

Before the country could settle down into absolute quietude there was one other question of foreign hostilities to be disposed of, which related, in some degree, to the late war. The Dey of Algiers, dissatisfied with the measure of the usual tribute, had declared war against the United States, and renewed his depredations upon American commerce. In the spring of 1815, Decatur was sent with a squadron of nine vessels to the Mediterranean. In June he fell in with an Algerine frigate and a brig of twenty-two guns, and

War with
Algiers.

captured both within a day or two of each other. A few days afterward his whole squadron anchored in the harbor of Algiers, and Decatur demanded the immediate negotiation of a treaty. This was acceded to, and the negotiation was carried on on the quarter-deck of his own ship. The Dey begged hard that there might be a continuation of tribute, if only a little powder, for form's sake; for the humiliating deference paid to these piratical principalities, he well knew, if boldly broken by one nation would no longer be submitted to by the rest. "If you insist upon receiving powder as tribute," Decatur replied to the Dey's demand, "you must expect to receive balls with it," — a threat to do that which, fourteen years before, Bainbridge wished might be done, — the payment of tribute from the mouths of cannon. The threat was enough, and a treaty was concluded with Algiers, to be followed by others with Tunis and Tripoli: and these put an end to that remarkable submission of civilized nations to semi-barbarous states, which had existed so long and with so little reason.

The country was left in a deplorable financial condition as a result of the war, and to provide some remedy for this was the first work of the Administration. The banks, excepting those in Boston, had suspended specie payments; the paper currency was at a large discount, with the consequent derangement of the business of the country; foreign commerce had been almost suspended, and the people were burdened with taxation. A. J. Dallas, the Secretary of the Treasury, proposed as a measure of relief for the universal distress, that a new national bank should be chartered, with a larger capital and enlarged powers, and that the tariff should be readjusted. This plan was adopted; a bank was chartered for one and twenty years, with a capital of \$35,000,000, a portion of the stock to be owned by the Government, and to be represented in the management by five government directors in a board of twenty-five. By the tariff he recommended, the average duties on imports amounted almost to a prohibition, and were avowedly intended as an encouragement and protection to American manufactures.

This policy was sustained by the Democratic, or Southern, party, and opposed by the Federalists, especially of New England. It was not so much a question of abstract political economy that divided the parties, as one of sectional interest. The capital of New England was invested in commerce, and she deprecated the adoption of a policy which in repulsing articles of foreign production would ruin the carrying trade and compel those engaged in it to find a new use for their capital. The South, on the other hand, were

anxious to create a home market for their great staple, cotton, — **against** which there was a discriminating duty in England, — and to **encourage** the domestic manufacture of those coarse fabrics indispensable in a cotton-growing and slave-holding region, which were now imported and made of India cotton. The question really was one of **slave labor** against free labor, though it was wrapped up in the euphemism of protection to American industry — the free trade party being led by Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, and the tariff party by John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. So immediate was the effect of this policy, that the value of the imports fell off the first year about thirty-two per cent, although the increase the first year of peace, — by which the renewed prosperity of the



The Old United States Bank, Philadelphia.

country was measured, — had been about nine hundred per cent. Nor was this the whole of the price which Northern commerce had to pay, that cotton might have a wider market at home by the increase of domestic manufactures. In the adjustment of capital and trade to an enforced industrial policy, the country was compelled to pass through a commercial crisis of great severity, and a paralysis fell upon the flourishing seaports of New England, from Portsmouth to Long Island Sound, from which they never recovered. Newburyport, Salem, Plymouth, New London, Newport, and other places which had been centres of an important and lucrative foreign commerce, sank into insignificance, or, if they recovered some measure of prosperity, acquired it in other ways. It is true, Manchester, Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, Pawtucket, Waterbury, and many other places became, in the course of years, the seats of great manufacturing enterprise and wealth, but they owe their existence to the indomitable energy and industry of a people

Effect upon
New Eng-
land cities.

which no legislative interference with the natural laws could suppress.

The ensuing Presidential contest was decided by the result of the war. Not only was the anti-war party annihilated, but power remained in the almost undisputed possession of that faction which had taken it from the Federalists sixteen years before, and had held it ever since. As Madison had succeeded Jefferson, so it was determined that Monroe should succeed Madison. The sovereignty of the Union was in the South, and the South was Virginia. The Northern wing of the party was strong enough as an ally to make it all-powerful; it was not strong enough to assert any ascendancy of its own. It would have made a Northern man President if it could, and its choice would have fallen upon Daniel D. Tompkins of New York. Tompkins was the "war-Governor" of that period. By his energy, executive ability, and personal pecuniary sacrifices, he had done as much, perhaps more, than the Administration itself, in conducting the war on the borders of Canada. His qualifications for the chief magistracy were far superior to those of Monroe, who, though an amiable man, had little strength of character, and little aptitude for affairs of moment; was more anxious for personal popularity than the independence and dignity of his administration; tenacious upon petty questions of Presidential etiquette, which he was more fitted by nature to control than affairs of state. But Monroe was a Virginian, devoted to the slave-power, while Tompkins, the war-Governor of New York, was disqualified by Northern birth.

Nominations for the Presidency and Vice-presidency were at that time made in a Congressional caucus, and, — as under the Election of Monroe. equally pernicious system of national conventions now in use, — the only share the people had in filling those high offices was in going through the formality of voting for the choice of the party leaders. The vote in the Electoral College for Monroe as President, and for Tompkins as Vice-president, — for the Northern Democrats were permitted to have that honorary, but otherwise insignificant and powerless office, — was one hundred and eighty-three, while only thirty-four were given to the opposing Federal candidate, Rufus King.

The tranquillity of Monroe's administration was soon seriously threatened by the renewal of trouble with the Southern Indians; or, rather, such measures were taken by General Jackson in dealing with the hostile movements of a handful of savages, that grave and well-founded apprehensions were felt that the country was about to be forced into a war with both Spain and England. The origin of the difficulty was twofold: first, the injustice which has always marked the treatment of Indian tribes whose lands

The first Seminole war.

were coveted by the whites; and secondly, the revival of the old grievance, that Florida was a refuge for the fugitive slaves of Georgia and South Carolina. The treaty made at Fort Jackson at the end of the campaign of 1814, by which the Creeks were compelled to surrender a large portion of their territory in Georgia and Alabama, was repudiated by many of them. They resented any encroachment upon those lands, and it was easy to kindle that resentment into open hostility. Naturally they made common cause with the Seminoles of Florida; and they, ever since their expulsion from Georgia in the colonial wars of the previous century, had been objects of hostility to the planters of that State. The greed of land and the greed of slaves combined were the most powerful incentives to an Indian war.

The Seminoles had never withheld a welcome to the Georgia negro who preferred their wild freedom to the lash of an overseer on a cotton or rice plantation. The Georgians could never forget that the grandchildren of their grandfathers' fugitive slaves were roaming about the Everglades of Florida, mere unproductive capital, and that to these there were constant additions of other ignorant creatures who stupidly abandoned the lovely and ameliorating influences of the Christianity and civilization of the plantation, for life among the Seminoles. The American Revolution was a mockery, and republicanism a snare, if this state of things was to continue. The first duty of the Federal Government, the Georgians thought, was to catch all these runaway negroes; and the Federal Government only needed to be reminded of its duty. The first treaty made by the United States, in 1790, after the adoption of the Constitution, was one with the Creeks for the return of fugitive slaves; and to give the form of legality to any steps that might be taken for their reclamation, it was assumed that the Seminoles were a party to the treaty, though not a man of that tribe had anything to do with the negotiation. But the Government of the United States has always been remarkable for the ingenuous simplicity of its devices to accomplish its ends where slavery was concerned. So long as there were Seminoles in Florida, and so long as Florida belonged to Spain, just so long would the negroes of Georgia find an asylum in Florida with



Daniel D. Tompkins

the Seminoles. If at any time it should be desirable to declare war against these Indians, and prudent to invade the Spanish province in pursuit of them, what could be more convenient than to have somewhere about the Secretary of State's office a violated Seminole treaty?

A war with the Indians of Florida, therefore, was always literally and emphatically a slave-hunt. A reclamation for fugitives was always repulsed by the Seminoles and the Spaniards, and, as they could be redeemed in no other way, Georgia was always urging the Federal Government to war. It was, of course, desirable for other reasons, that Florida should become a part of the United States; but the paramount reason for all movements against either the Seminoles or Florida, was the determination to capture negroes who had been running away, for several generations, and to deprive others, who might escape in future, of a place of refuge. This was, of course, perfectly natural on the part of the Georgia slaveholders; the point to be observed is, the recognition, almost unquestioned, of the assumption that the protection of slavery was the great duty of the Federal Government, and that it was never to be permitted to fall into the hands of those who did not believe this to be its chief end and aim.

In 1811 a secret act was passed, authorizing the seizure of Florida, and a General Mathews of Georgia took possession of Amelia Island. Spain remonstrated, and Madison disavowed the act of Mathews, and recalled him, probably because the foreign relations of the Government were too critical at that moment to admit of any other course. But the project was only postponed, not abandoned.

After the departure of the British army, in 1814, Colonel Nichols remained in Florida, induced to do so, apparently, from sympathy with the Indians. He built a fort for them on the Appalachicola, not far above its mouth, and within the boundaries of Florida, supplying it with large quantities of arms and ammunition. On his return to England, — taking with him some of the chiefs with whom he had pretended to negotiate a treaty on behalf of the English Government, but without the slightest authority, — he left the fort in the hands of the Seminoles. From their possession it soon passed into that of the negro refugees, and for a year or more General Edmund P. Gaines, who was in command on that frontier, was unwearied in his complaints to the Government at Washington of the dangerous character of this "Negro Fort." It is quite likely that the complaint was well founded; for such a post outside of the boundaries of the United States was so convenient, and apparently so safe a refuge for fugitive slaves as to be a serious threat to the quiet possession of

Seizure of
Amelia
Island.

"Negro
Fort"

slave property. Gaines's complaints were listened to by the Administration, and the subject was referred to General Jackson. There was no doubt on his part as to what should be done. He wrote with entire frankness to Gaines, that the fort "ought to be blown up, regardless of the ground on which it stands," — in the territory of a friendly power, — and "the stolen negroes and property returned to their rightful owners."

This was the real reason for an advance upon the fort by a detachment under Colonel Duncan L. Clinch, in July, 1816. The pretext was, that a fleet of boats, then coming up the river from New Orleans with supplies for the American Fort Scott, might be interrupted in its progress. Clinch's advance, with an evidently hostile purpose, would, of course, provoke such an interruption, whether it had been previously intended or not. A boat's crew was fired upon as the fleet approached.

The gunboats, under Sailing-master Loomis, then warped up stream and made an attack. It did not last long. A red-hot shot from the fleet entered the magazine of the fort, where were stored nearly eight hundred barrels of gunpowder. The explosion that instantly followed laid the fort in ruins, killed immediately two hundred and seventy of the three hundred and thirty-four inmates, — negroes and Indians, men, women, and children; and of the sixty-four left alive, all were so grievously wounded that most of them soon died. Of the few survivors, an Indian chief, and Garçon the negro commander, were given to some friendly Seminoles in Clinch's detachment, to be put to death after the Indian manner. This was in retaliation of the death by torture of one of Loomis's men, who had been taken prisoner a few days before.

Neither Seminoles nor negroes needed other warning or other incentive to the most desperate hostility than this signal chastisement. A year passed, however, before Gaines found another pretext for attack. Now and then settlers were murdered and settlements robbed by the Indians; but, said King Hatchy, "while one American has been justly killed, while in the act of stealing cattle, more than four Indians have been murdered, while hunting, by these lawless freebooters." He probably spoke the truth. Gaines accused him of receiving "a great many of my black people among you." "I harbor no negroes," answered the King; and, he added, "I shall use force to stop any armed Americans from passing my lands or my towns."

At Fowltown, on Flint River, the Indians erected the war-pole, and danced the war-dance around it. The chief warned Colonel Twiggs, in command at Fort Scott, not to cross the Flint River. "That land is mine," he said. "I am directed by the pow-

Fowltown
destroyed

ers above and the powers below to protect it. I shall do so." Gaines arrived at Fort Scott with a reinforcement of regular troops, and summoned the chief before him. He refused to obey. Twigg marched upon the town, and killed some of the people. Gaines, soon after, burned the village to the ground.

For this act there came swift vengeance. A few days later the Seminoles lay in ambush on the river near Fort Scott, surprised a passing boat containing forty soldiers under Lieutenant Scott, besides some women and children, and — except four of the men, who swam



Indians in Ambush.

to the opposite bank, and one of the women, who was held as a prisoner by a chief — killed them all.

Affairs were now ripe for the appointment of Jackson to bring this border war to a conclusion. Not that there was any want of soldierly ability in Gaines, nor any lack of earnestness in driving Indians from the lands they claimed as their own, or in running down the slaves who had escaped from their masters. But he was ordered upon another service.

Amelia Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's River, on the coast of Florida, had long been the resort of lawless men, whence goods were smuggled to the mainland, where fugitive slaves were supposed to find a refuge, and slaves imported from Africa were landed. As the foreign slave-trade was prohibited by law, its exist-

ence — if it did exist to any extent — on Amelia Island was a specious ground of complaint against its people. But it was only a hollow pretence of national virtue ; for negroes were imported from Africa at the rate of from ten to twenty thousand a year long after that trade was declared illegal ; no serious effort was ever made by the Federal Government to put a stop to it, and Southern members of Congress openly defied any attempt to enforce the law. If the island, therefore, was of any essential aid to that traffic, Georgia and South Carolina would have insisted that it be let alone. There were other and more imperative reasons for its seizure.

It was probable that Florida might soon be transferred by Spain to the United States, provided the spirit of revolution and independence,



Amelia Island.

which was rapidly stripping Spain of all her American possessions, should leave her Florida to transfer. It was for the interest, therefore, of the United States to permit no outrages but her own to be visited upon Florida. The South American revolutions had attracted thither European adventurers of various nationalities, and some of them at length, when the revolutionary business was dull in other places, found their way to Amelia Island. Some of them bore South American and Mexican commissions, and, with that island as a fulcrum, Florida was to be shot, as a star of lesser magnitude, into the constellation of new republics. Sir Gregor McGregor, a Scotchman, whose lieutenant was one Woodbine, an English officer, declared that he meant to hand over the province, when its independence should be achieved, to the United States. Nobody seems to have believed him ; but his intentions were of small consequence, for he was driven

off by an Englishman named Hubbard. But next came a Commodore Aury, an associate of McGregor, and he drove off Hubbard. The Administration at Washington now thought it time to interfere; for these adventurers were too strong for the Spanish authorities of Florida to cope with, and if the province was to be acquired by treaty, its safety must be insured against the designs of the South American revolutionists. To aid in carrying out this policy, Gaines was sent to the coast, though, before he arrived, Aury had surrendered to Commodore Henley.

A few days before Jackson received orders from the Secretary of War, Calhoun, to take command of the expedition against the Seminoles, the General wrote a private letter to the President, in which he plainly set forth the plan which he thought should be adopted in conducting the campaign. The letter was written as a commentary upon the orders sent to Gaines, — which Jackson had read, — authorizing him to cross the frontier in pursuit of the Indians, “but to halt and report to the department in case the Indians should shelter themselves under a Spanish fort.” “Permit me to suggest,” wrote Jackson, “the catastrophe that might arise by General Gaines’s compliance with the last clause of your order.” Should Gaines, he said, defeat the Indians, and they should take refuge with the Spaniards at Pensacola or St. Augustine, and he should then halt there for further orders from Washington, the discontented militia would desert him, leaving him only the regulars with which to defend his position. Then the Indians, reënforced by the Spaniards, perhaps by Woodbine’s partisans, or by Aury, with a force from Amelia Island, might attack Gaines, and the result would be probably “defeat and massacre.”

To guard against this possible catastrophe consequent upon certain improbable contingencies, — that is, the desertion of the militia, and Gaines’s neglect to retreat, as an act of common prudence, when thus abandoned; the renewal of hostilities by the beaten Indians; the initiation of war with the United States by the Spaniards; an alliance with Woodbine or Aury, who had invaded Florida that they might wrest it from Spain, — to guard against the “defeat and massacre” which was to follow this concatenation of events, Jackson declared that “the arms of the United States must be carried to any point within the limits of East Florida where an enemy is permitted and protected.” This would be to leave it to the discretion of a young general to involve the country in a war with Spain, perhaps with other powers, without waiting for consultation with the Government at Washington, without authority from the President, without regard to that provision of the Constitution which restricts the right to declare war to Congress alone.

Jackson's
opinions on
the war.

The great soldier was always more frank than clear-headed. All East Florida, he said, ought to be seized simultaneously with the seizure of Amelia Island, — forgetting, or, if not forgetting, indifferent to the fact that Amelia Island was to be taken, not because it was a part of East Florida, but because the authorities of that province were not strong enough to hold the island against the revolutionary adventurers, who were to be driven out of it by a friendly force, partly that it might be restored to Spain. But he was clear enough as to his own motives, declaring that the province should be “held as an indemnity for the outrages of Spain upon the property of our citizens.” And those outrages were — what? Solely that the fugitive slaves of Georgia were free when they crossed the border-line of Florida. He was clear, also, in this: that this act of war against Spain might involve us in “a war with Great Britain or some of the Continental powers combined with Spain.” His method of avoiding this difficulty was perfectly characteristic. “This [the seizure of Florida] can be done without implicating the Government. Let it be signified to me, through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea), that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished.” If, in other words, the Government wished to outrage and rob Spain, but wanted courage to assume the responsibility, with its probable consequences, he, Andrew Jackson, who was not responsible to other governments, was ready to help his own to commit an act of war without incurring the penalty, if the Government would only give him a private hint.

In this letter is the plan, baldly and frankly laid down, of his campaign against the Seminoles. When the order to assume command reached him, regardless of the direction to call upon the militia of the border States through their governors, he raised a volunteer force among his old companions in arms in Tennessee, who would follow him anywhere. With these and the troops left by Gaines, he marched into Florida. On the site of the Negro Fort he built and garrisoned another, which he called Fort Gadsden. From that point he advanced towards the Bay of St. Marks, almost without resistance, and easily dispersing the few Seminoles who ventured to impede his progress. The Spanish Governor of the fort at St. Marks was in no condition to make a defence, and Jackson, on the plea that some of the enemy were harbored there, marched in on the 7th of April, hauled down the Spanish flag, and raised the American in its place. An American armed vessel had arrived in the bay a day or two before, and, by displaying English colors, had enticed on board two well-known Seminole chiefs, the prophet Francis, and Himollemico, who was supposed to have been the leader in the mas-

His campaign in Florida.

sacre of Captain Scott's party on the Appalachicola. They were brought on shore, and immediately hanged by Jackson's orders.

After two or three days' delay the march was resumed, a strong garrison being left at St. Marks. The intention was to surprise and destroy the chief Billy Bow-legs and his band at the Indian town Suwannee, a place of resort for negro refugees. The town was a hundred miles distant, and Jackson was too late. Warning of his coming had been received from St. Marks; the women and children had



Capture of Indian Chiefs.

been sent to a place of safety across the river, and the men, after some slight resistance, followed.

At St. Marks Jackson had taken prisoner, as he was about to mount his horse to escape, one Alexander Arbutnot, a Scotchman and an Indian trader. He had a dépôt of goods near Suwannee, and had written his son to remove them to a place of safety. By this means the Indians were warned of the advance of the Americans. Jackson chose to look upon this man as an enemy, and he was kept in confinement till the army, on its return march, reached St. Marks. At Suwannee, an Englishman, Robert C. Ambriester, an officer of the British army who had been suspended from duty for a year for being engaged in a duel, blundered into the camp, intending to join the Indians, and was also detained as a prisoner. On his arrival at St. Marks, Jackson ordered both men to be tried by a court martial, over which Gaines presided.

Arbutnot
and Ambriester.

Both were found guilty. Arbuthnot was sentenced to be hanged, and Ambrister to be shot. The verdict in Ambrister's case, however, was reconsidered by the court, and a sentence for the infliction of fifty lashes and a year's imprisonment substituted for that of death. Jackson preferred the first sentence; or, rather, he chose to reject the final decision of the court, and the man was shot ^{Their execution.} by his orders. He approved the finding in the case of Arbuthnot, and he was immediately hanged.¹

Neither in the law of nations, the laws of war, the law of necessity, nor the laws of the United States, was there any justification for these executions. There was hardly even the respectability of a "Lynch" court attached to the court martial; for that wild form of justice sometimes has the excuse of the absence of any other law for the punishment of crime, or the aroused indignation of a community refuses to restrain itself and await the slower process of law. No such plea could be made in these cases. Neither Arbuthnot nor Ambrister was a dangerous criminal, if they were criminals at all. The offence of the latter was that in an idle mood he had come to Florida from New Providence, — his uncle was the Governor of the Bahamas, — and in the mere love of adventure had joined the Indians, whose wrongs aroused his sympathy. Taken in arms against the United States, though not within her territory, he was a prisoner of war, and the rights as well as the penalties of that condition were his. Arbuthnot's case was far stronger even than this. He was not a soldier, but a peaceful trader. His sympathies also were enlisted on behalf of the Indians; but, whatever influence he had gained over them was exercised always to restrain them from going to war. There was no evidence produced before the court to show that he had urged them to hostilities that was not either clearly false, — as the testimony of unscrupulous rivals in trade, — or absolutely inconclusive; and the proof was abundant and irrefragable of his earnest efforts to preserve the peace. But Jackson's mind was incapable of weighing evidence, and with him headlong credulity and headstrong passion usurped the seat of judgment.

¹ Jackson, who could shoot or hang prisoners of war without regard to the law of nations, the laws of his country, or the laws of humanity, when a negro was taken at Snwannee, whose acts were those of an open and dangerous enemy, could only see in him the chattel personal who had run away. The General took to himself great credit for having restored to a lady in Georgia her fugitive slave, whom, as an able military leader, he would have hanged without ceremony had the negro been either a white man or an Indian. That heroic impetuosity of character, that exalted sense of duty, which his worshippers delight in believing so completely governed all the actions of his life, at this time hid from his sight so momentous a possibility as involving nations in war; but these great qualities which, it is declared, always distinguished him, always palliated his errors of judgment or of passion, were under the calmest and most complete control in the mollifying presence of a thousand-dollar negro.

Jackson had reached Fort Gadsden, on his return march, when a protest against this invasion of Spanish territory was sent him by the Governor of Pensacola. He turned back on the instant, occupied Pensacola, and then took, with slight resistance, the fort of Carriros de Barrancas, to which the Governor had fled. He regretted afterward, in a letter to a friend, that he had not stormed the fortress, taken the Governor, and hanged him, for an alleged atrocity perpetrated by a band of Indians.¹

The execution of the Englishmen, the act of war against Spain by the invasion of Florida, the building of a fort within her boundaries, and the occupation of her own forts, were all subjects of warm and protracted debates in Congress. Jackson's defence was, that the Secretary of War had given to him full power to conduct the campaign as should seem best to himself. Spain, he said, had failed to fulfil that article of the treaty by which she was bound to restrain the Indians within her borders from hostilities against the United States; and assuming to himself the right to judge whether the treaty had been violated, and what should be the remedy in case it had, he determined that the punishment of the Seminoles should be used as an occasion for outraging Spain, though that act, if resented, might bring on war not only with her but with one or more of her European allies. The obvious and unanswerable reply was — that it was for the Government, not a general in the field, to decide whether a friendly power had disregarded a treaty; that the sovereign prerogative of deciding upon war or peace could not be usurped either by the President or the Secretary of War, much less by a major-general of the army; that the assumption of these rights, and the arbitrary hanging and shooting of prisoners, were acts of military despotism not to be tolerated by a free people under a constitutional government. Partisan feeling, nevertheless, was strong enough to permit Jackson to escape even a Congressional rebuke.

But it was not till thirty-five years afterward that Jackson's real defence was made known in an "Exposition" written by him, and published after his death.² The letter to Monroe — the substance of which we have given — and an answer to which Jackson declared he received, he fell back upon as the real justification of his conduct. As in that letter he had stated, in the most unequivocal terms, what he believed should be the conduct of a campaign against the Seminoles, so now he maintained that the Administration knew precisely what he would do when it gave him command; and that in the absence of an answer, he had the right to as-

Jackson's
"Exposition."
tion.

¹ See letter to G. W. Campbell, in Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*, vol. ii.

² In *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*, by Thomas H. Benton, vol. i.

me that silence was an implied assent to all that he proposed to . But he was not left even to draw an inference. "Let it be notified to me," he had written, "through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea), that the possession of the Florida would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty years it will be accomplished." And Mr. Rhea,—a member of Congress from Tennessee,—Jackson avers, did write him "a confidential letter," and, by direction of the President, assured him that "the [President] approved of his suggestions."



James Monroe.

If this were true, then it was Monroe who was responsible for the outrageous violation of the constitution perpetrated by Jackson, for his contempt of the faith of treaties, his disregard of the dangers of foreign wars, his relentless cruelty which trampled all law under foot. But fortunately the letter could not be produced. Rhea declared that he had written it; another person averred that he had read it; but it had been destroyed, Jackson says, at the President's request, in the spring of 1819, lest "it should fall into the hands of some one who would make an improper use of it." The gentle and commanding General, though at that moment his conduct was under debate in the United States Senate and before the whole country, though it was a question whether his utter ruin and utter dishonor were not impending, meekly burnt the letter which was his complete justification.

The question of responsibility.

The account which others gave of this correspondence is not less remarkable. Monroe acknowledged that he had received the General's letter, but that, being ill, he gave it to Calhoun, who read and

returned it, remarking that it was confidential, and that the President must answer it. The President declares that he did not answer, that he even forgot its existence, and did not read it till long afterward. The question is thus narrowed down to one of veracity, or accuracy of memory, between Monroe on one side, and Jackson, with his two friends, on the other. Perhaps the President forgot; perhaps he lied. He was not a very strong or a very wise man; but he was a weaker man than he has ever been accused of being, if, knowing Andrew Jackson as he must have known him, he threw aside and forgot a letter which his Secretary of State had read, and said was confidential, and "he must answer."

But whether Jackson's letter was answered or not, it was quite sufficient for his purpose that it should not be answered. When Calhoun read the bold proposition of this man to seize Florida on his own responsibility, if the Administration feared to have it done by their orders, he could hardly have failed to know what was about to happen unless hindered by prompt and energetic interference. But he did nothing; the President did nothing; and the moral responsibility for this was hardly less than if they had approved directly of all they knew Jackson would certainly do.

In this entanglement of assertion and contradiction, the truth will probably never be known. Either Jackson and his two friends asserted what they knew to be absolutely false, in regard to the letter, or Monroe failed to remember what it would seem impossible for him to forget, or else deliberately denied what he knew to be true. Even then, there remains the enigma of Calhoun's course, who, knowing precisely what Jackson proposed to do, did nothing to prevent it, and yet gave it afterward, in all the cabinet discussions, according to Mr. Adams's Diary, his unqualified disapprobation. Was he honest in this disapprobation? This at least is certain — that the acquisition of Florida was determined upon by the Administration. During all these months the Spanish Minister in Washington, Onís, and the Secretary of State, Adams, were in negotiation upon a treaty. An irresponsible seizure of the province might hasten Spain to come to terms lest there should be nothing left her to come to terms about. Should she refuse to come to any terms, and the Administration be determined to take Florida by force, it would be a good initiative war measure to have American garrisons in several of her important forts. If this was the policy of the Administration, no more effectual instrument to carry it out could be found, though he might be an unconscious one, than Andrew Jackson.

The Spanish Minister protested against the invasion of the territory of his sovereign, but he, nevertheless, hastened — whether it



was intended or not that he should be so influenced — the negotiations for a treaty. In February, 1819, it was concluded, though the ratification was delayed for two years by Spain. Cession of Florida to the United States. The Floridas were ceded to the United States, the latter agreeing to pay the claims of American citizens upon Spain to the amount of five million dollars. The Sabine, instead of the Rio Grande, was agreed upon as the dividing line between the territories of the two governments west of the Mississippi ; — that line to run from the mouth of the Sabine to the 32d parallel, thence north to the Red River and along it to the 100th meridian, thence north to the Arkansas and along it to its source on or near the 42d parallel and thence west to the Pacific.¹

¹ See page 146, *supra*.

CHAPTER XI.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE MISSOURI QUESTION. — EXTENSION OF SLAVERY. — DOMESTIC SLAVE-TRADE. — INCREASE OF THE SLAVE POWER. — THE COMPROMISE LINE OF 36° 30'. — A NORTHERN MEASURE. — CONGRESSIONAL STRATEGY. — NO ADMISSION OF FREE STATES WITHOUT SLAVE STATES. — RANDOLPH'S "DOUGH-FACES." — COMPROMISES IN CONGRESS AND CABINET. — LIMITED MEANING OF FOREVER. — CLOSING YEARS OF MONROE'S SECOND TERM. — THE TARIFF. — INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS. — STEAM ON THE LAKES. — FIRST OCEAN STEAMER. — THE "MONROE DOCTRINE." — ELECTION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO THE PRESIDENCY.

WHILE the Florida question was under consideration in Congress, there suddenly arose another, not less significant as to the actual character of the government, and far more momentous in its influence upon the welfare of the people and their future history. The two antagonistic elements struggling for mastery in the Union — the civilization of the North achieving results in intellectual, moral, political, and material happiness that only the labor of the heads and hands of free men can achieve; and that rude condition of society at the South where the laborer was little more than a beast of burden, existing for the convenience of a small privileged class which recognized neither the dignity, the beauty, nor the power of an equality of rights as the true order of human society — these two forces were brought for the first time fairly and squarely face to face. The compromise agreed upon in framing the Constitution, which unfortunately had acknowledged that slavery might have a legal existence, was about to do its perfect work. The permission to exist unmolested was thought, at first, all that the Constitution granted; but with toleration the system had grown strong enough to assert that it had, not merely the right to exist, but the power to govern.

"Let us alone," the slaveholders had cried out at the formation of the Constitution. Some of them really believed, as all the North was sincerely persuaded, that so unprofitable a system as that of slave-labor would soon be abandoned when the cheap supply from Africa ceased, and there were no longer any fresh and virgin lands to retreat

Slavery receives a new impetus.

from the worn-out fields of the Atlantic States. Whatever force there was, if there were any, in this view of the subject, was nullified at by Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin, and next by the acquisition of Louisiana. The demand for cotton for manufacture was enormously increased when the seed could be freed from two hundred pounds of the fibre in a single day by the gin, whereas only a single pound or two could be so cleansed in a day by hand. The value of free-labor rose in proportion, though this would have soon reached a limit had not the new lands on the lower Mississippi opened a vast field for the profitable employment of slaves in the production of sugar and tobacco, as well as of cotton.

In the eastern portion of the older States, where the soil was already exhausted, or was sure soon to be, slaves became a more valuable possession than ever. A market that it seemed almost impossible to over-stock, was opened for the surplus production of men and women on the worn-out lands where they soon would have been a burden. The extension of slavery saved it from gradual extinction, this opening of a new slave-trade which no foreign legislation could render precarious, and no domestic legislation would be permitted to touch. Its importance to eastern stock-breeders, The domestic slave-trade. when fully established, was shown in a report of a southern agricultural society, which avowed it to be a sound principle, in the management of a plantation, to work up a gang of negroes seven years, and supply its place by new purchases, rather than attempt to prolong the lives of a gang in hand by moderate labor. The demand for slaves, in a market so active as that, was as certain as the demand for bees in the shambles of a great city.

There was some avowed natural abhorrence, even among those who profited by it, to this inter-State traffic in the colored natives of the South. The leading men of that part of the country and their subservient followers of the North — remembered chiefly for that subserviency — maintained, indeed, with increasing zeal the comprehensive doctrine announced many years before by a Northern man, — Algwick, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, — who said, "to propose an abolition of slavery in this country would be the height of madness." But there were some among the slaveholders, as the eccentric John Randolph of Virginia, who, while upholding slavery, denounced, without restraint, the traffic carried on at the open-doors and in the huts of Southern plantations, regardless of any other consideration than the market price and the soundness in mind and limb of the young men and women torn from their homes at the allotted seven years of life and service in the southwest.

Thus in the progress of mechanical invention in the production

and manufacture of cotton, and by the acquisition of new territory, slavery had come to put on quite another aspect from that which it presented when Southern statesmen had wept over it as a burden imposed on the colonies by a tyrannical step-mother. They had, indeed, never taken any effectual steps to rid themselves of that burden, and if they were not quite frank enough to thank England for her share in the bestowal of what they now accepted as a blessing, there were many who were grateful for the foresight that had cherished it. It was for the children now to avail themselves of the wisdom of the fathers. Of what value would the compromises of the Constitution be to them if, by the admission of new free States, — while the number of the slave States remained unaltered or only slightly increased, — they should be shorn of political power? There must be new slave States in which five slaves should be counted as three Northern freemen in the representation of the South in the lower house of Congress — new slave States to keep the balance of State representation even in the Senate. As an industrial system, slavery would sting itself to death if not permitted to uncoil and expand; as a political system, it would be strangled in the hands of the young giant by its side, if checked in its growth for want of nutriment.

The South could not, therefore, afford to give up, without a valuable equivalent, a foot of territory whose soil was suitable for the products of slave-labor. By the Spanish treaty, at this time under discussion, the claim to all the region between the Sabine and the Rio Grande was abandoned; and, though Florida was to be gained for the occupation of slavery, and that safe refuge for self-emancipated slaves was to be broken up forever, yet the surrender of all claim to the southwestern region was looked upon as a great sacrifice. The possible area of the extension of slavery was by so much limited, and the South was all the more determined to defend the remaining territory, where slaves could be profitably used, against the encroachments of free men and free labor.

In March, 1818, the citizens of Missouri asked permission of Congress to form a State constitution, and to be admitted to the Union. It was too late for any action, beyond the report of a committee, at that session; but when action should be taken it would settle the question whether the fundamental principle of the Republic was liberty or slavery; whether the rights of free men and of free labor must yield to the privilege claimed by slaveholders for the exclusive — necessarily exclusive — occupation of the soil by their slaves whenever a conflict should arise between these two forces; and whether the government of the country should

Necessity
for extension
of slave
territory.

The Missouri
question.

be in the hands of the people or in the hands of a class who derived their power from their ownership of slaves. By the adoption of the Federal Constitution the people had consented to leave the responsibility for the continuance of slavery to those States where it then existed. It was maintained, as a just consequence of that agreement, that slavery might be carried into territory on the eastern side of the Mississippi, belonging originally to those States, and that new States created out of that territory should be admitted to the Union with the right to hold slaves unquestioned. But the purchased Territory of Louisiana, on the western side of the river, belonged to the United States, not to several States ; and the question now was,



Chateau's Pond, 1820. — now in St. Louis.

whether the Federal Government should deliberately establish slavery by law where hitherto it had existed, if it existed at all, by sufferance only.

The clumsy pretence had been, that the responsibility for slavery did not rest upon the whole country, in spite of the constitutional provisions — the toleration of the foreign slave-trade for twenty years ; the representation of property in slaves by the three-fifths rule ; and the rendition of fugitives, which made the law of slavery paramount to the natural law of freedom, to the remotest corner of the Union. This soothing figment, that the North had nothing to do with slavery, lulled the sluggish Northern conscience and befogged Northern intelligence ; and it was a convenient plea for the slave-

holders to assert, when it suited their purpose, that the Federal Government had nothing to do with the system. But to establish slavery *de novo* in territory belonging to the United States, by the action of Congress, would be to take away both pretence and plea. The purpose of the Constitution was primarily "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." The enslavement of a portion of the people was to violate justice, jeopard domestic tranquillity, interfere with the general welfare, and deny the blessings of liberty, either directly or indirectly, to all who were not slaveholders. The framers of the Constitution had weakly consented to let slavery alone; but neither in accordance with the principles of that instrument, nor by any rightful exercise of power pertaining to human governments, could such a system be created as a legal condition by act of Congress or by State legislation.

Nevertheless, the fathers had eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth were set on edge. The Constitution had put political power into the hands of the slaveholders as a class, and the alternative presented now, as when the Constitution was adopted, was submission, or a dissolution of the Union. The North, though in the majority in Congress, were defeated, after a long and anxious struggle, first, by superior organization, and secondly, by the adherence of a few Northern allies to the party determined upon the extension of slavery. "The slave-drivers, as usual," — wrote John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, in his Diary, — "whenever this topic is brought up, bluster and bully, talk of the white slaves of the Eastern States, and the dissolution of the Union, and oceans of blood; and the Northern men, as usual, pocket all this hectoring, sit down in quiet, and submit to the slave-scourging republicanism of the planters." They were not many who thus submitted, but they were enough.¹

¹ Mr. Adams doubted if, under the Constitution, Congress had the right to prohibit slavery in a territory where it already existed. But he did not shrink from a consideration of the question of dissolution. "If," he wrote, "the dissolution of the Union should result from the slave question, it is as obvious as anything that can be foreseen of futurity, that it must shortly afterwards be followed by the universal emancipation of the slaves. . . . A dissolution, at least temporary, of the Union as now constituted, would be certainly necessary [for emancipation], and the dissolution must be upon a point involving the question of slavery, and no other. The Union might then be reorganized on the principle of emancipation. This object is vast in its compass, awful in its prospects, sublime and beautiful in its issue. A life devoted to it would be nobly spent or sacrificed." He nevertheless approved of the Missouri Compromise, while foreseeing its consequences, believing it the only way then of meeting the difficulty. But after it was passed he said, "Perhaps it would have been a wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction upon Missouri, till it should have terminated in a Convention of the States to revise and amend the Constitution. This would have produced a new Union of thirteen or fourteen States, unpolled with slavery; with a great and glorious object to effect, namely, that of

In February, 1819, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives, for the admission of Missouri. James Tallmadge, Jr., of New York, proposed as a condition of admission, that from that moment there should be no personal servitude within the State, except of those already held as slaves, and that these should be manumitted within a certain period. This proposal he subsequently modified by moving as an amendment to the bill that the introduction of slavery into the State should be prohibited, but that those already slaves within the territory should remain so, and their children after them to the age of twenty-five years. Here at the outset was a weak concession, for instead of the absolute exclusion of slavery, it permitted the enslavement of a generation as yet unborn. The bill was passed with the amendment, however, by a small majority, and sent to the Senate, where it was rejected. As the two Houses could not agree, the question went over to another year.

The bill to admit Missouri.

The debate from the beginning had been, on the part of the North, an earnest appeal to reason, to patriotism, to humanity, and to fundamental law; on the part of the South, which presented a stern, unbroken front, impassioned, overbearing, defiant, and threatening. The North was told to "beware of the fate of Cæsar and of Rome;" a Northern member was denounced as "no better than Arbutnot and Ambrister, and deserves no better fate;" Cobb of Georgia said that this attempt to interfere with slavery was "destructive of the peace and harmony of the Union;" that those who proposed it "were kindling a fire which all the waters of the ocean could not extinguish. It could be extinguished only in blood!" For that prophecy he deserves that his name should go down in history. While the debate was in progress, a striking illustration of what the South was contending for was — said Tallmadge in his speech — "witnessed from the windows of Congress Hall, and viewed by members who compose the legislative councils of Republican America!" Missouri must be secured as a negro-market. "A slave-driver," he said, "a trafficker in human flesh, as if sent by Providence, has passed the door of your Capitol, on his way to the West, driving before him about fifteen of these wretched victims of his power. The males, who might raise the arm of vengeance, and retaliate for their wrongs, were handcuffed and chained to each other, while the females and children were marched in their rear, under the guidance of the driver's whip!"

rallying to their standard the other States by the universal emancipation of their slaves." Had the "wiser and bolder course" been persisted in, and the question of disunion met and settled in 1820, who can doubt that civilization and free and intelligent government would have been advanced forty years, without the enormous sacrifice which waiting forty years demanded?

The Missouri question being thus disposed of for that session, the cognate question of the establishment of a government for the southern part of the Missouri Territory, south of 36° 30' — the Arkansas country — was taken up. Both in the House and in the Senate an amendment to prohibit slavery therein was moved and lost, and the first step in the controversy was gained by the South.¹ In the course of the debate Louis McLane, a representative



A Slave-Coffle passing the Capitol.

in the House from Delaware, suggested as a compromise a division of the Western territory between the free and slave States.

The next session, convened in December, the contest was renewed,

¹ Wilson, in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, is in error in assigning the action of Congress on the Arkansas Bill to the following December. This is not merely an error in date: — the passage of the bill would have lost much of its significance had it been postponed ten months. It should be remembered that on the 16th of February, Tallmadge's amendment to the Missouri Bill, prohibiting slavery, had passed the House. Immediate alarm was taken; the Arkansas Bill was introduced the next day, and before sunset the perpetuation of slavery south of 36° 30' was assured in the territory west of the Mississippi. It was a great point gained. The precedent was secured of establishing slav-

the North, meanwhile, in resolutions of State legislatures, and the unequivocal expressions of public opinion, condemning the extension and perpetuation of slavery under the protecting power of the national government. A northeast wind could not have been less needed at the South. "They may philosophize and town-meeting about it as much as they please," said Macon, ^{Sentiments of the North.} a North Carolina Senator, with contemptuous insolence; "but, with great submission, they know nothing about the question."

In the House, the question was presented, as at the previous session — a bill for the admission of Missouri, with an amendment, proposed by John W. Taylor, of New York, prohibiting slavery, except in regard to those who were already slaves in the Territory. The anti-slavery men, led by Taylor, kept that issue clearly in view for several weeks of hot and passionate debate, and did not permit themselves to be turned from their purpose by propositions and resolutions, some of which were treacherous and some only ^{The struggle over Missouri.} stupid. These, however, it should be said, came often from Northern members, who, having determined to betray the North, aimed to do so by rendering service as conspicuous as it was possible to make it, compatible with the degree of ignominy it was their aim to avoid. Chief among these were John Holmes, from the Maine district of Massachusetts, and Henry R. Storrs, of New York. The bill was finally passed by a vote of ninety-one to eighty-two, the prohibitory amendment being first adopted by a majority of eight.

But this was a defeat only of the advanced guard. The real struggle was in the Senate, where the final victory was by parliamentary strategy, which first confused and divided, and then dispersed the weaker Northern column. To a bill for the admission of Maine the admission of Missouri was attached as an amendment. The Maine bill was sent to the Senate from the House, possibly before it occurred to anybody that use might be made of it to influence the other question. The suggestion of a resort to this stratagem was, at any rate, first made in a speech in the House by the Speaker, Henry Clay, on the 20th of December, who declared "that he did not mean to give his consent to the admission of the State of Maine into the Union, so long as the doctrines were upheld of annexing conditions to the admission of States into the Union from beyond the mountains." It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that there was no just parallel in the two cases. The right of Maine to admission as a

ery by positive legislation in territory not belonging to the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution; and the difficulty was avoided, in the further consideration of the Missouri question, of there being free territory, or territory still to dispute over, south of the parallel of 36° 30'.

part of one of the original thirteen States, with a republican form of government, was absolute under the Constitution. The question with regard to Missouri was whether, under the Constitution, Congress had the right to create a new State out of purchased territory, and admit it to the Union without a republican form of government.

But Clay's threat in the House was improved in the Senate. The memorial from the Legislature of Missouri was taken from the files of the last session and referred to the judiciary committee of the Senate. A few days afterward, a bill for the admission of Maine was received from the House, and that was referred to the same committee. In accordance then with a suggestion from Barbour, of Virginia, — in a notice of a proposed motion, — the judiciary committee reported the House bill for the admission of Maine, but adding to it an amendment for the admission of Missouri.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to defeat this trickery. Jonathan Roberts, of Pennsylvania, moved to amend the amendment by prohibiting slavery in Missouri. This was rejected by a majority of eleven, six of the number being Senators from free States. Had the six Northern votes been added to the sixteen given in favor of the amendment by the other Northern Senators, it would have been carried by a majority of one. There was still, however, a chance to defeat the bill on the proposition to make the admission of Maine dependent upon the admission of Missouri. But that Division of the votes. also was carried by Northern votes. The majority was two in the affirmative, the Senators from Illinois, Edwards and Thomas, and one of the Indiana Senators, Taylor, voting for it. The whole forty-four votes of the Senate were cast on this question; as Van Dyke and Horsey, of Delaware, voted with the North, the majority would have been four against the bill, had the three Senators from Illinois and Indiana been faithful to the cause of the free States.¹

The two Houses now stood directly opposed to each other. The Representatives would not recede from their decision to prohibit slavery in Missouri, nor accept the Senate's amendment to make the admission of Missouri the condition of the admission of Maine. The Senate was equally determined that Missouri should come into the Union as a slave State, and that unless that point was yielded, no free State should be admitted. Had the House maintained its ground, the United States, for the next half century, would have had another history.

But Thomas, of Illinois, who had voted thus far with the South, now came forward with the compromise measure, in accepting which

¹ The vote on prohibition was 27 to 16; that on adding the admission of Missouri to the Maine bill, 23 to 21.

passed by a majority of four only, — Edwards and Thomas, of Illinois, Hunter, of Rhode Island, and Parrott, of New Hampshire.

A committee of conference from the two Houses had met in the mean time, and recommended that the Senate recede from the amendment which added the admission of Missouri to the bill admitting Maine, and that the House recede from its amendment prohibiting the introduction of slavery into Missouri, and accept, instead, the compromise line of 36° 30' adopted by the Senate. But this the House had already done before the committee of conference had reported, — receding from its own amendment by a vote of ninety to eighty-seven. Twelve Northern men voted in the affirmative, — three times as many as were needed to secure a majority. The compromise measure was then passed by the overwhelming vote of one hundred and thirty-four to forty-two; and among the forty-two, thirty-seven were from the slaveholding States, leaving five opponents only from the free States. The more radical of the slaveholders denied the right of free labor to any territory whatever.

The measure was a Northern measure, carried by Northern votes. With some the threats of disunion were a sufficient influence; ¹ some, whom in the debate Randolph called "dough-faces," did not need even that. The Southerners stood by their order without failure and without faltering. The threat to keep out Maine, unless Missouri were admitted, did its work, nor did the Senate recede from that menace till the House had succumbed. There was even How it was secured. another trick still in reserve. Before the House bill was sent to the Senate, Randolph moved a reconsideration, that the question might be reopened, in the hope of defeating the compromise and saving the territory north of 36° 30' for slavery. Clay, the Speaker, declared the motion out of order till the ordinary business of the House — the reading of the journal — was disposed of. While this was going on, the Speaker hurried off the bill to the Senate, and, when Randolph renewed his motion, pronounced it again out of order, as the bill was no longer in possession of the House. Randolph's anger was unrestrained. He moved that the clerk had been guilty of a violation of the privileges of a member; and, when that was negatived, he moved that the rule securing to members the privilege he had exercised in regard to a motion of reconsideration be expunged as useless. The question was serious enough to call for an

¹ "In the hottest paroxysm of the Missouri question in the Senate, James Barbour, one of the Virginia Senators, was going round to all the free-State members and proposing to them to call a Convention of the States to dissolve the Union, and agree upon the terms of separation and the mode of disposing of the public debt and of the lands, and make other necessary arrangements of disunion." — *Adams's Diary*.

explanation from Clay, at the next session of Congress; but the only true explanation was, that the victory having been once gained, it was not to be jeopardized by another struggle through obedience to parliamentary law.

There was still another compromise to be made, and that was in the Cabinet. When the bill came to the President, he asked advice on two points. First, whether Congress had a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a Territory? The Cabinet were agreed that the right existed. Then he asked if the section prohibiting slavery "forever" referred only to the territorial condition, or was also applicable when a Territory should become a State?

Action of
the President
and his
Cabinet.

The Cabinet, except Mr. Adams, agreed that "forever" applied only to the territorial condition; but the Secretary of State maintained that "forever" meant literally forever, whether in Territory or State. The President wished the answers to be in writing; to which Mr. Adams said that, as he stood alone, in his reply to the second question he should wish to give his reasons. To escape this, it was proposed to avoid the question of "forever" as relating to States, and ask only whether the section prohibiting slavery in the Territories forever was constitutional.



John Randolph.

And on this the order of proceeding was reversed: Mr. Adams was only to reply in the affirmative without his reasons, while the rest were to explain in writing, that the prohibition was constitutional, but "forever" meant only while the territorial condition existed. With this mental reservation on the part of the President and his Cabinet — Mr. Adams excepted — the bill was signed, and in it was the whole pith and meaning of the Missouri Compromise, as the country learned thirty-five years afterward. It was a promise and agreement given to the ear and broken to the hope. When at that later time these written opinions of Monroe's Cabinet were searched for in the Department of State, "it is a singular circumstance," says Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in a note to his father's Diary, "that nothing was found but what appeared to have been an envelope referring to them as enclosed."

But even yet the pretended compromise was not quite finished.

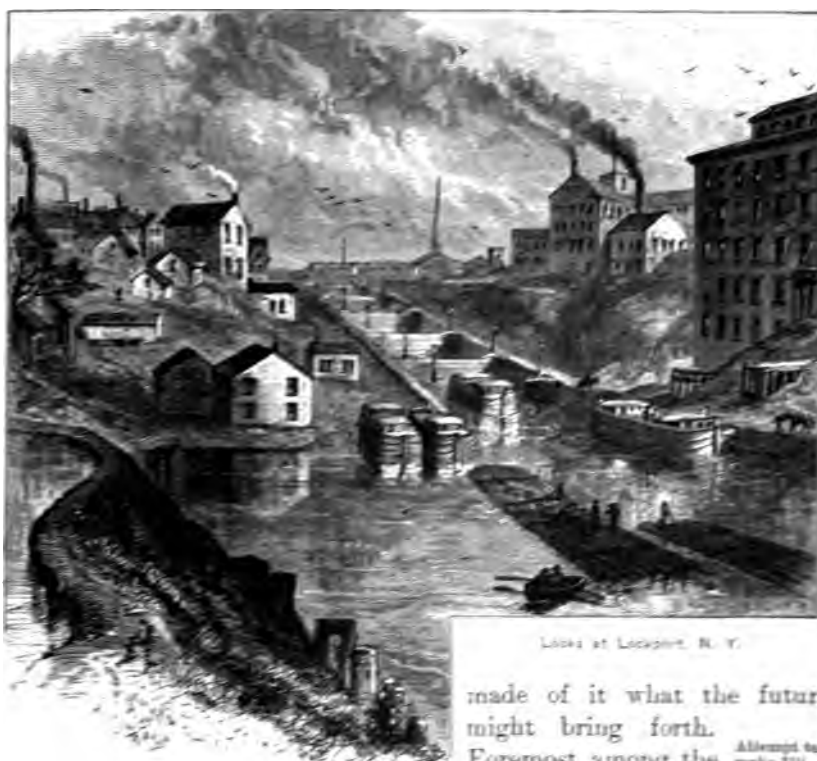
The next session Missouri sent her Constitution to Congress, and asked admission. An article of that Constitution declared that "it shall be the duty of the Legislature to pass laws to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State, under any pretext whatsoever." The question of the admission of the State was reopened, though upon new ground. Her Constitution must be in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and that declared that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the immunities and privileges of the several States." Were free negroes and mulattoes citizens? If they were, the Constitution of Missouri was not in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and she was not entitled to admission.

For three months the debate on this question continued in the same spirit, with much of the same asperity and menace on the one hand, and the same faltering on the other. The House was for a while as firm as it was before against the admission of Missouri as a slave State, and the Senate was equally firm that the colored citizens of other States should be denied citizenship by her if she so pleased. It came at last, as before, to a conference committee, and the question, as before, under the leadership of Clay, was compromised. It was decided that the State should be admitted when her Legislature should agree that the section of the Constitution in question should not be construed as authorizing a law excluding any citizens of other States from any immunities and privileges to which they were entitled under the Constitution of the United States, and that no such law should be passed. Such a pledge the Legislature of Missouri gave; but the objectionable clause remained in her Constitution, and the power remained with her, notwithstanding the act, to decide whether free negroes and mulattoes were citizens in other States, and, if they were not, to deny them citizenship in Missouri under her Constitution.

It was three years from the time the Missouri question first came before Congress (March, 1818) to this final compromise (February, 1821), by which the slaveholders gained all they contended for, and the Federal Government made itself responsible, not merely for the toleration of slavery, but for its establishment where it could exist only because it was so established. The slaveholders had learned how to govern, and the secret lay, first, in the perfect organization of their own order, and secondly in holding in their pay a menial party at the North, — called sometimes by one name, sometimes by another, — on whose obedience they could always count, and with whose aid they were almost always invincible. In the admission of Missouri there was, for the first time, a clean-cut, unmixed issue on the ques-

tion of a free government or a slaveholding government in the United States; and the slaveholders trampled the principles of the Constitution and the rights and interests of freemen beneath their feet. Henceforth the inevitable conflict between freedom and slavery was an open one, and it could only end in the dissolution and reconstruction of the Union. Cobb's prophecy was to come true, though not in the way he meant.

The completeness of the triumph of the slaveholders was plain to all men, and those who were wise saw in the almost immediate use



treacherous representatives of the Northern States in the late struggle had been the Senators of Illinois and Indiana, and that treachery was followed up as the next step, by an attempt to make them both slaveholding States, notwithstanding the fundamental and binding law of the Ordinance of 1787. The project was defeated, however, by a popular movement, led in Illinois by Governor Edward Coles.

But even this failed to arouse a suspicion of the price the future was to pay for the Missouri Compromise, and that what had been so future-

ously mistaken for a bargain was meant to be a gigantic fraud. The mass of the people in 1820, at the North at least, were, without doubt, heartily sick of the subject, and were anxious for peace on almost any terms. Missouri was then, and was likely to continue to be, a far-off and unknown land to most of the people of the Northern Atlantic States. Why need they care whether there were slaves there or not? Why, especially, need they be troubled that free negroes were to have no rights in Missouri? Was it quite certain that free negroes had any rights anywhere, though in some States they were tolerably secure in the privilege of not being slaves? The question was soon forgotten.

" So with a sullen ' All 's for best,'
The land seemed settling to its rest."

Topics of more immediate interest, and generally esteemed of more importance, engaged the popular attention. The question of internal Internal im-
provements. improvements grew in importance year by year, and nothing marked more distinctly the departure of the dominant party from the principles by which it had been governed in its earlier days. It was a favorite doctrine of the earlier Federalists, that, both for the good of the people, and for the sake of consolidating the Union, such improvements were a legitimate object of the fostering care of the Federal Government. The strict constructionists — as the Democrats assumed to be — opposed this doctrine. The Jeffersonian party held no more positive principle than that works of public improvement should be left to the States or to private enterprise, and that there was nothing in the Constitution that warranted the assumption of such a duty by the Federal Government. One of Madison's last acts was to veto a bill passed by Congress "to set apart and pledge certain funds for internal improvements."

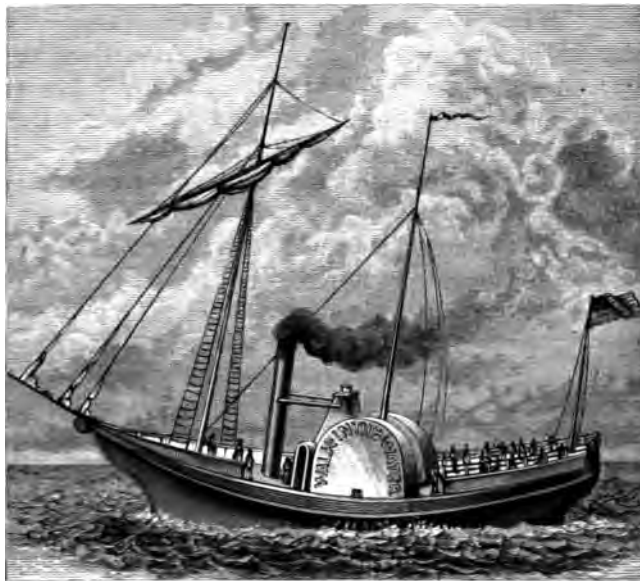
But it was not difficult for strict constructionists to find sufficient authority in the general purposes of the Constitution to warrant the interference of the Federal Government when it suited them to change their policy. More than a million dollars were expended during Monroe's administration to build the national road from Cumberland, in Maryland, to Ohio; other roads and canals were projected then, or a little later, in different parts of the country, which, before they were finished, received of the Government still larger sums. It would be an instructive inquiry to examine the cost, the usefulness, and the end of some of the works thus undertaken for the public good at the public expense, and to learn how far they have been outstripped and superseded by works built by private energy, with private capital.

But whether Federal legislation was wise or foolish under the impulse of material progress, that progress was rapid and general during

this period, sometimes with the aid of State Legislatures, sometimes through the unassisted labors of private citizens of large brain and iron will. In the face of unsparing ridicule, De Witt Clinton dug his "ditch" three hundred and sixty-three miles long, connecting Lake Erie and all the upper lakes with the tide-water of the Atlantic. On the 4th of July, 1817, the first spadeful of earth was turned in this great work, and in October, 1825, the largest canal in the world was open for traffic. Its route was through a region of almost unsurpassed fertility, much of it then a wilderness, and new towns sprang up along its banks, some of them to grow, in a few years, to large cities. Its original cost was seven million six hundred thousand dollars, and its annual earnings have sometimes been nearly half that sum, while the amount of traffic has surpassed that of the River Rhine.¹

Steamboats were no longer a novelty and an experiment in eastern waters, where they were coming gradually into favor. At the West, in 1818, the long smoke-pennant floated over Lake Erie from the steamer *Walk-in-the-Water*, which ran regularly to Detroit. The next year a more memorable event occurred, in the first passage of a steamship across the Atlantic. On the roll of honored names of those who gave their energies to the successful application of steam to navigation belongs, among the first, that of Moses Rogers, of New London, Connecticut. It was he who first ventured out to sea in command of the steamboat *Phœnix*, sent by John Stevens, of New York,

¹ The project of the Erie Canal is believed to have been originated by Jesse Hawley, who in 1807-8 published a series of articles upon its feasibility and value.



Steamboat "Walk-in-the-Water."

First steamboat on the lakes.

in 1808, from that port to Delaware Bay. In the summer of 1819, in command of the ship *Savannah*, of three hundred tons, he sailed and steamed — for he used both sails and wheels — from First ocean steamship. New York to Savannah, thence to Liverpool, and thence up the Baltic to St. Petersburg. His ship carried seventy-five tons of coal and twenty-five cords of wood, and to economize these he depended on his sails when the wind was favorable. When under sail, and in stormy weather, the wheels were unshipped and taken on board.

The voyage was nine days to Savannah from New York, and twenty-five days from Savannah to within sight of the coast of Ireland. When seen from on shore, she was supposed to be a ship on fire, and a revenue cruiser went out from Cork to offer her relief. The *Savannah* was built in New York, and her engines made at Morristown, New Jersey. The enterprise was purely American, but its importance found no recognition by Congress. Captain Rogers visited Washington in his ship, after his return from Russia, and an attempt was made to sell her to the Government. The ship and her remarkable voyage seem to have been utterly unnoticed by that body of men, who could hardly give themselves rest for a single session from months of discussion upon American industry. This transatlantic voyage had no immediate influence upon the commerce of the world, and the attempt was not repeated for twenty years ; it was, nevertheless, an advancement in the art of navigation, as important in the intercourse of nations as that obtained by the invention of the mariner's compass.¹

Close of Monroe's administration. The last two years of Monroe's administration were crowded with political intrigues for the presidential succession. The President himself sank almost into insignificance as his power waned ; and it is pitiful to see how the man who, from the very birth of the Republic, had been among the most distinguished of her statesmen, was pushed aside, as his long career drew towards a close, and is hardly visible at all except in the attitude of a suppliant to the new men for some arrearages of pay for forgotten services. In his Cabinet were three candidates — Adams, Crawford, and Calhoun — for the chair he was about to vacate ; for the early rule had not yet fallen into desuetude, that the fit person to fill the office of chief magistrate was to be found among those whose unquestioned ability, faithful public service, and long experience in other responsible positions, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow-citizens. It was not

¹ Captain Rogers died within two years of his return from this voyage. His log-book, from which we make a fac-simile extract, was kindly lent me by his daughter, Mrs. S. A. Ward, of New London, Connecticut.

1851

These 24 hours begins with light breezes and
cloudy.

At 8 PM Calman a heavy sea got steam up
and set the wheels to going took in all sail

At 9 AM Lee Mizon head on Ireland bearing East.
6 leagues distant

At 9 took in the wheels and set sail
at Meridian light breezes and pleasant
Variation $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. Westerly.

Lat by Obs $51^{\circ} 22' N$

till years afterward that this wise unwritten law was departed from in the nomination of James K. Polk. From that time till now, however, its violation, under the despotism of the National Convention, has been rather the rule than the exception, the selection of a President depending, not upon the wishes or the will of the people, nor the eminence for character, ability, and distinguished services of a candidate, but upon the combinations — matured or momentary, but always selfish and often corrupt — of party leaders.

But besides the three Cabinet candidates, there were two others — Clay and Jackson — and around each clustered many warm and earnest partisans. Fortunately this large number to choose from made it possible to get rid of the imperious power of dictation which had grown out of the method of presidential nominations by the Congressional caucus.

As Crawford had the largest following among the members of Congress, a caucus nomination, should it be accepted, was a foregone defeat of all his competitors. The first necessity, therefore, was to set aside such a nomination, and Crawford's opponents could unite in this if they could agree in nothing else. When, in due season, the caucus was called, they refused to attend it, and the decision of the followers of Crawford was held to be not binding upon the party. The people were



William H. Crawford.

free to vote for whomsoever they pleased. The other candidates were all, it should be remembered, of the same party; although that "era of good feeling," — which was held to be significant of Monroe's administration, really because the Federal party was finally exterminated, and the Republicans, or Democrats, were left in unquestioned possession of power — had resulted in dividing the Republicans into as many factions as there were acknowledged leaders. But beneath this division lay a deeper discord, — the hidden consequence of the Missouri Compromise, which the "era of good feeling" had made possible, — that the time had come for the end of the twenty-four years of the Virginia dynasty, and the election of a Northern President.

There were cabals, intrigues, and, no doubt, bargains without number in this struggle of factions, this strife of ambitious politicians,

amid the final explosion of fraternal amiability.¹ This condition of things had its influence upon all subjects which came before Congress for discussion and settlement. The revision of the tariff, which occupied the attention of both Houses for nearly three months in the session of 1823-24, was decided, more than ever, by considerations of geographical interests. With more distinctiveness and determination than ever, it was maintained that duties upon imports should be enforced for the encouragement and protection of manufacturing industry at home, rather than with reference to the easiest way of providing a revenue for the necessities of the government. Revenue, indeed, needed no consideration, provided the tariff was so adjusted that the price of all foreign manufactures should be made sufficiently high to give a large profit to the domestic competition, but not so high as to prohibit importation.

The South had already changed her mind upon this subject. It had become evident that slave-labor could only be used in the rudest kind of manual industry; intelligent artisans could not be made from a people whose only incentive to diligence was the lash, and the imparting to whom even a knowledge of the alphabet was a penal offence by statute. The Federal Government had, in the Southern mind, only one reason for being — to protect slavery and enlarge the area for the cultivation of its coarse products. To develop those varied industries to which the labor of freemen only could be profitably applied, was an iniquitous policy if it enhanced the price of negro-cloth and cotton bagging. New England still adhered to the doctrine of free trade, partly because the larger portion of her capital still remained invested in foreign commerce, and partly because she believed her infant manufactures would develop into as healthy a growth as they were capable of, without any legislative nursing. But the

¹ The jealousies of rival candidates greatly disturbed the harmony of the Cabinet. The more earnestly Mr. Monroe strove to maintain an attitude of perfect neutrality, the more he was suspected by at least one of his secretaries — Crawford, — perhaps by more than one, of partisanship. The significance of an anecdote told by Mr. Adams in his Diary is a curious evidence of this alienation between the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, due partly to Crawford's resentment on this subject. He had waited upon the President to ask for certain appointments to office among his followers, to which Mr. Monroe, on good grounds no doubt, objected. The Secretary's reply was so disrespectful as to call for rebuke. Whereupon — relates Mr. Adams — "Crawford, turning to him, raised his cane, as in the attitude to strike, and said, 'You damned, infernal old scoundrel!' Mr. Monroe seized the tongs at the fire-place for self-defence, applied a retaliatory epithet to Crawford, and told him he would immediately ring for servants himself, and turn him out of the house; upon which Crawford, beginning to recover himself, said he did not intend, and had not intended to insult him, and left the house. They never met afterwards." Mr. Adams tells this story after his own election, on the authority of Samuel L. Southard, who had received it from Monroe immediately after the occurrence. The writer adds, "If I had known it at the time, I should not have invited Mr. Crawford to remain in the Treasury Department." To that invitation, Monroe, when consulted, had made no objection.

Western and Middle States, with a few votes from other parts of the country, were strong enough to give to the new tariff-bill a small majority. From that time the imposition of protective duties marked the dividing-line between political parties, and the tariff policy henceforth lost, in a great degree, the character of a scientific question, properly discussed only in the light of the invariable laws of political economy.

To no act of his life was Monroe so indebted for the preservation of his name from oblivion as to a passage in his annual address to Congress in 1823, announcing what has ever since been called "The Monroe Doctrine." The doctrine was not the less excellent because it is so often supposed to be American international law, or mistaken for a principle rather than an opinion; nor is it the less creditable to Monroe that it was first suggested to him by his Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, and carefully discussed and approved by every member of the Cabinet. Its annunciation was called forth by a conjunction of circumstances which has never occurred since and is never likely to occur again, and is therefore as little applicable as the old Articles of Confederation are to the condition of our time, or, probably, of any time to come.

The Monroe
Doctrine.

But the declaration then had a peculiar fitness. The allied sovereigns of France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria had seen fit to restore, in 1822, through the arms of France, to the Spanish King, Ferdinand, those royal prerogatives of which he had been deprived by the Cortes three years before. The Holy Alliance assumed thus to check in Spain what was conceived to be a dangerous defiance of the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and succeeding in this first measure, it was next proposed by Ferdinand that the Alliance should aid him in reducing to obedience those revolted colonies of his in America, which had not only thrown off their allegiance to him, but, following the example of the United States, had resolved themselves into independent republics.

It was to this condition of things that the declaration of Monroe was addressed. In the war between Spain and her colonies the United States, he said, had observed and should continue to observe, the strictest neutrality. "But," he added, "with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." Hardly less than this could be said, if anything was said at all, by the lead-

ing power among the republics of the Western hemisphere when the possible interference of the Holy Alliance with those of South America was contemplated; and it was hardly possible to avoid saying something, for England — disapproving from the beginning of all that had been done by the allied sovereigns on behalf of Ferdinand — had invited the United States to join with her in some effectual measure for the protection of the independence of the new American republics. The declaration was altogether cautious; it might mean much or it might mean little — a threat of armed resistance, or an expression only of harmless and pacific sentiment; what it really did mean was the subject of long and hot debate in the first year of the next administration, when Mr. Adams proposed to send ministers to a congress of representatives of American states to assemble at Panama. The President, in another paragraph of the same message, informed Congress that an agreement had been made with England and with Russia to settle, by amicable negotiation, any question of conflicting rights on the northwest coast. In the discussions upon this subject it had been proper to assert, he said, as a principle, that the American continents were “henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.” This also is sometimes held to be a part of the Monroe Doctrine. But it seems to have had no deeper meaning — considering it in connection with the topic to which it specifically related — than that thereafter it should be considered that the unsettled country within the acknowledged boundaries of American states was exclusively their own, and not subject to foreign occupation. It certainly was no new doctrine, though it might be proper to repeat it on such an occasion, that the United States would always protect her own territory.

In the presidential election there was no choice by the Electoral College. Adams received the popular vote of all New England, and a majority of that of New York, with a minority vote from Delaware, Maryland, Louisiana, and Illinois. The popular vote in three of the Northern States, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, was given to Jackson, and this, with that of seven Southern States, gave him a majority in ten States. The votes in other States were divided between Crawford and Clay, and the election, therefore, was thrown into the House of Representatives, where a choice was to be made between the three highest candidates, Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. Adams was elected by a majority of the States voting by their delegations — thirteen. In addition to those States whose votes he received in the Electoral College, he now received the three which had been given to Clay, two which had been given to Jackson, and one which had been divided

Election of
Adams as
President.

in the choice of electors. Calhoun, whose name had been withdrawn from the list of presidential candidates, had been already chosen Vice-president in the Electoral College.

Jackson, who in the House had been voted for by seven States only, had received a plurality in the vote for electors, both as to States and as to the popular vote. There had been ^{Political calumny.} charges of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay, even before the election. These charges were now pressed with added bitterness when the States which had chosen Clay electors gave their votes for Adams in the House, the Kentucky delegation disregarding the instructions of the State Legislature, — as they had a perfect right to do. But when Clay was appointed Secretary of State by the new President, the act was considered, by the party in opposition, as conclusive proof that the two highest offices in the Government had been bought and sold. There was, however, no other evidence than these circumstantial coincidences on which to found this partisan slander. It was a slander, however, that did not easily die, and it played an important part in the next presidential canvass. But it was always met with the most positive and indignant denial by both the gentlemen accused, and by unquestionable proof of the avowed determination of Clay, previous to the time of the alleged bargain, to use his influence — if not available for his own election — on behalf of Adams. One must have a very imperfect comprehension of ^{Character of Adams.} the character of Adams to accept as true that which gives the lie to every other act of his long and eventful life. He sometimes erred in judgment; and sometimes, like all other men that ever lived, he committed acts of weakness; but he was the wisest and purest of the statesmen of the middle period of the first century of the Union. He must look with distorted vision upon the career of this remarkable man, who believes him capable of even entertaining the thought of condescending to any political baseness under any possible temptation.

CHAPTER XII.

ADAMS AND JACKSON.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING.—ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—THE PROPOSED CONGRESS OF SOUTH AMERICAN STATES.—OPPOSITION OF THE SLAVE-HOLDERS.—POLITICAL EDUCATION, NORTH AND SOUTH.—A SOLID SOUTH.—INDIAN TROUBLES AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY IN GEORGIA.—THE TARIFF MADE A SECTIONAL QUESTION.—THE BLACK HAWK WAR.—JACKSON'S CHARACTER, AND HIS POPULARITY.—HE ESTABLISHES THE SYSTEM OF REMOVALS FROM OFFICE.—THE EATON SCANDAL.—THE CONTENT OVER THE UNITED STATES BANK.—RE-ELECTION OF JACKSON.—ANTI-MASONRY.—NULLIFICATION.—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—THE COMPROMISE BILL.—THE PUBLIC LANDS.—MATERIAL PROGRESS.—INCREASING USE OF STEAM POWER.—THE FIRST RAIL-ROADS.—EARLY MANUFACTURING.

Political transition. THE administration of Monroe was a period of transition in which the old party divisions upon questions having only a temporary interest gradually disappeared. But beneath the apparent calm of the "era of good feeling" new parties were slowly forming upon essentially radical principles, on the overthrow or establishment of which must ultimately rest the stability of the Government and the welfare of the people. Not that these differences were at first distinctly seen or generally understood; but under the force of circumstances—the increase of population; the settlement of new country; the increase of material prosperity; the new applications of industry; the greater earnestness of the struggle for political power between the two systems of society, one resting on the rights of freemen, the other on the privileges of the holders of slaves—parties took new and more positive forms. Nor was it that in that process of growth either party was absolutely wrong or absolutely right, whether upon fundamental principles or upon questions of temporary interest; but that a marked division-line was drawn, growing ever wider and deeper, leading at last to a dissolution of the Union and to civil war. That dividing-line even civil war and the reconstruction of the Union has not yet obliterated.

Accession of Adams. On the accession of Adams to the Presidency, parties were reorganized, on the single question at first, of supporting or opposing his Administration. On the surface there was apparent, for the moment, no other cause of political difference than whether

should be reëlected or whether he should be succeeded by Jackson Calhoun. That, indeed, was comprehensive enough, for the real question was the old one of a Northern or a Southern President. The opposition to Adams at once drew together the party composed mainly of Southern slaveholders, which, with a sufficient Northern alliance, has been able, with occasional interludes, to maintain always the political ascendancy under whatever party name. To the support of the administration, on the other hand, rallied that instinctive antagonism to a slaveholding Democratic party, which survived as a living principle, often feeble, its existence often denied, or not recognized, but still always active in various political organizations, whether known as National Republican, or Whig, or finally as the Republican party.



The Adams Mansion, Quincy, Mass

Mr. Adams, in his first message to Congress, presented an opportunity for concerted opposition which was instantly seized upon; and it was the more significant of how earnest that opposition was to be, that there was, on his part, no intentional provocation. The South American states had agreed to hold Congress at Panama, the purpose of which was to consider their relations to each other and to foreign states, political and commercial, and the expediency of a league among themselves. In this Congress the United States had been invited to be represented, and Mr. Adams announced that the invitation had been accepted, and that ministers would be sent to take part in the deliberations, "so far as they may be compatible with that neutrality from which it is neither our

The South
American
States.

intention, nor the desire of the other American States, that we should depart." As the mission would involve the United States in no alliance with these South American states without the assent of the President and Senate, while it gave the ministers who should attend the Congress the opportunity of understanding and of influencing its purposes, no harm, at least, could come of the President's decision. Had the decision been otherwise, there would have been quite as much reason for hostile criticism, and it would have been seized upon with equal eagerness, probably, to oppose the Administration.

The papers relating to the subject were sent confidentially to the Senate, and considered in secret session. It was determined, obviously for the influence that might be exercised upon the popular mind, that the debates and the documents should be made public. The President was asked if the removal of the injunction of secrecy would be injurious to any pending negotiations. A negative answer was expected, as no negotiation was pending. But Mr. Adams was too wary a man to be entrapped into any assumption of a responsibility which did not belong to him, but which the Senate proposed to throw from their own shoulders upon his. His reply was, that that body was the best judge of how their proceedings should be conducted. Here was new cause for complaint, and the answer was denounced as little else than insolent. It had to be accepted, however, and the Senate opened the doors which the President declined to open for them.

What the character of the debate should be — what it was that the people were to be called upon to listen to — was settled beforehand. A Virginia Senator sounded the key-note. There was often method in the madness of that political mountebank, John Randolph; as he himself once said in debate with a Congressman who had been a carpenter, he "knew a hawk from a handsaw." Before the Senate determined to discuss the Panama mission with open doors, he moved a resolution — which could only be meant to be laid on the table, and was laid on the table, with his consent, when his speech upon it was finished — that the President be requested to give the Senate any information in his possession, "touching the principles and practice of the Spanish American states, or any of them, late colonies of old Spain, in regard to negro slavery." That the President could have any information to give upon such a subject that was not open to all the rest of the world as well, neither Randolph nor any other member of the Senate could suppose for a moment. The Spanish American states, like the United States, professed a belief in the natural right of all men to liberty; and their practice — unlike that of the United States — was in accordance with their principles, and had been to sweep negro slavery, so

Randolph
raises the
slavery
question.

ar as they could, from off the face of the earth. But the object of the resolution was gained when Randolph, in a characteristic speech, denounced the proposal to send representatives to a Congress of those foreign states who had set the pernicious example of giving freedom to negroes; where the black Republic of Hayti might be recognized; where the independence of Cuba, so dangerously near to our own shores, and the possible emancipation of her slaves, might be discussed. To send representatives to such a Congress was to touch slavery, and slavery must be "let alone." That it would not be let alone, Randolph said, was "a great danger—a danger that has increased, is increasing, and *must* be diminished, or it must come to its regular catastrophe;" and therefore the consideration of all other interests which the United States might have in common with the South American republics must be put aside that slavery be protected from the danger even of discussion by foreigners in the presence of Federal representatives.

For nearly the whole session the Panama Congress was debated in the Senate under one or another pretext; it came before the House on the question of an appropriation, and a large portion of the time was given to it there from January to April. That the neutrality of the United States might be jeopardized by the official recognition of the Congress, was urged as one reason for rejecting the nominations of the President; but, inasmuch as it was expressly provided that such neutrality should remain intact, that argument had little weight. The attack on the Administration was pressed with much more vigor on the proper interpretation of "The Monroe Doctrine." A meaning was given to it, it was declared, which its terms did not warrant, by the assurance of Mr. Poinsett, the Minister to Mexico, sanctioned apparently by Mr. Clay, the Secretary of State, that in that declaration a pledge of protection was made to the South American states in the event of European aggression. It was denied, and the denial generally accepted, that "The Monroe Doctrine" was meant to convey an assurance so dangerous to the future peace of the country.

But all this was, for the most part, a skirmish of words. The question more important than all others was the question of slavery, and on this the debate was in dead earnest. A Congress of American nations, some of whom believed in the right of all men to liberty; a Congress that would recognize Hayti as a sister republic; a Congress that might lead to the independence of Cuba and Porto Rico, and to the emancipation of their slaves, was not a body in which the United States should be represented. The one interest in the United States, absorbing and supreme, was the interest of slavery. It must govern

in the foreign relations of the Government, as it was meant it should govern at home.

To enforce this doctrine was the object of the debate; the Congress itself was only a secondary matter. The South has always understood the importance of political education, and the necessity of inculcating great primary principles. These were, that the true foundation of democratic government was negro slavery; that the supreme power should rest in the hands of a few thousand white men — generally about one per cent. of the whole population of the country — by virtue of their ownership of negro slaves; that the highest and most imperative function of the Constitution and the Union was the support of a government so constituted; and that the Union must cease to exist the moment the Federal Government was perverted from that end, and the sanctity and peace of slavery were imperilled. From generation to generation the young men of the South have sat at the feet of their prophets to learn this lesson. The divine right of kings was never enforced, even when taught as an article of religious faith, with the earnestness that the cognate doctrine was enforced at the South. But there was no political education to answer to this in the North. The strength of firm convictions and abiding faith, on the one hand, was met with hesitation and doubt on the other. The South believed in slavery with its whole soul, and knew what it wanted; the North was not quite sure whether it believed in it or not, and was by no means certain of what it was that the South was aiming at.

When enough had been said in both Houses to show, as had been so often shown before, and would be so often shown again, that slavery must never be meddled with, but that all moral and political forces must be bent to its support, the nomination of the delegates to Panama was confirmed, and the appropriation made. In itself the act was of no consequence, for the Congress never met. But some of the Southern senators were quite willing that the delegates should be appointed, if instructed to use their influence as representatives of the United States to prevent the recognition of Hayti, and arrest any movement in aid of the independence of Cuba. In reality there was no anxiety on either point. There could be no misconception of the position of the Government, as represented by the Secretary of State. Mr. Clay had earnestly urged the intervention of Russia with Spain, to induce her to recognize the independence of her late colonies, that she might retain Cuba; and he had persuaded those colonies to delay any movement against Cuba, in the hope that recognition would leave that island and Porto Rico in the possession of Spain. Mr. Clay was an enthu-

Political education of the South.

Clay's position.

in the cause of liberty in South America; nor did he stop to that races — white, black, or copper-colored, pure or mixed — to enjoy that liberty in those far-off countries. But his enthusiasm was under perfect control, and the new republics were made to stand that no pernicious example of the abolition of slavery could be tolerated so near the United States as in Cuba. Nor was the slightest reason to suppose that the Government under Adams would interfere with slavery; but with that wise fore-

sight which the South had lost sight of, the opportunity was seized to set by months of debate the radical doctrine that the Union only existed for the support of slavery, and that it ceased to do that it ceased to exist.

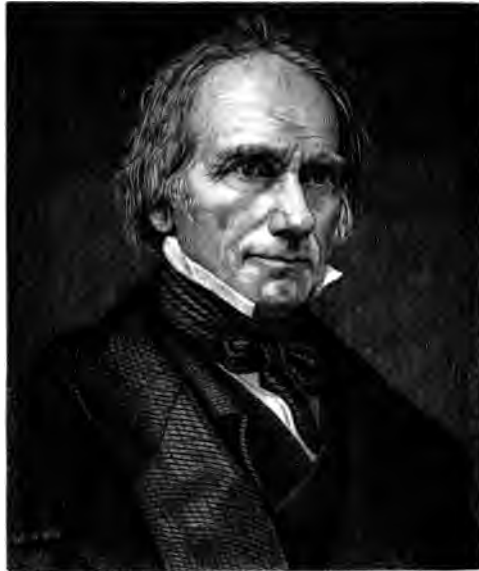
The Republic was already nearly a half century old, and once before had been a Northern dependent, and he chosen at the will of the Union. In this fact there was danger, and it was to rally a "solid Union" in an opposition to innovations must

not wait at the outset. "I will cry out *obsta principiis*," said Randolph. In this first encounter with a Northern Executive, A solid South.

much gunpowder — "enough to blow, — not the first of the shots — but the last of another dynasty, — sky-high — sky-high."

Hayne replied, that when "the policy of that portion of the Union [the South] should be called in question, or their safety endangered, . . . the whole South will be *as one man*."

The doctrine of State Rights — however precious and true it may be when rightly interpreted in a union of really free States — meant nothing in this slaveholders' organization of the supremacy of slave States. Georgia soon made this manifest in her conduct in regard to the Indians still within her borders. A condition of the cession of her western territory to the Federal Government was, that the title to the Indian lands



Henry Clay.

Indian troubles in Georgia.

should be acquired by the United States and transferred to her. The Government was willing to redeem this promise; but it had been long deferred because of the unwillingness of the Creeks and Cherokees to part with their land. A council of Creek chiefs resolved, as firmly as men could resolve, not to sell a foot, and to visit the penalty of death upon any chiefs who should disregard the resolution. Commissioners were appointed, and in 1825 they concluded a treaty with McIntosh and some other chiefs at Indian Springs, by which the lands were conveyed to the United States; and thereupon the Creeks made good their word by putting the signers of the treaty to death. The State of Georgia meanwhile had ordered a survey of the territory occupied by the Indians, and if this were carried out a conflict between the surveyors and the Indians was inevitable. The treaty, which had been ratified by the Senate and the President, continued the Creeks in possession till September 1, 1826, and there could be no color of right under the treaty even, much less outside of it, for interference by Georgia. But the Governor, George M. Troup, assumed at once a position which ignored laws and treaties, and rested upon the title of a sovereign State. In his correspondence with the Government, he assumed in the boldest and boldest language the independence of Georgia, and insolently informed the President that the survey would go on. The Governor professed to see in the attitude of the Government a secret hostility to slavery, and called upon the Legislature to act in self-defence.¹ A committee of the Legislature reported, in very tempestuous language, that the time had come for united action on the part of the South in resistance to the Federal Government.

A long discussion then ensued, between the Governor on the one side and General Gaines, who had been sent to Georgia to keep the peace, and the Secretary of War, on the other. The President was firm, and near the end of July, 1825, he instructed the Secretary of War to write to the Governor that, pending a new consideration of the treaty by Congress, the terms of the recent treaty were such as to forbid the survey. "I am, therefore," writes the Secretary,

¹ "Soon, very soon, therefore," said Governor Troup, "the United States Government, discarding the mask, will openly lend itself to a combination of fanatics for the destruction of everything valuable in the Southern country; one movement of the Congress, unresisted by you, and all is lost. Temporize no longer; make known your resolution that this subject shall not be touched by them but at their peril. But for its sacred guarantee by the Constitution, we never would have become parties to that instrument. At this moment you would not make yourselves parties to any constitution without it. Of course you will not be a party to it from the moment the General Government shall make that movement. If this matter be an evil, it is our own; if it be a sin, we can implore the forgiveness of it; to remove it, we ask not either their sympathy or assistance; it may be our physical weakness — it is our moral strength." — *Niles's Register*, xxviii. 240.

Beginning
of the State
Rights con-
test.

directed by the President to state distinctly to your Excellency that, for the present, he will not permit such entry or survey to be made." A new treaty was negotiated at Washington, and new cause of complaint loudly declared in Georgia. Troup, who had been re-elected Governor by a bare majority, again ordered surveys upon the basis of the former treaty. The Indians appealed to Adams, who presented the whole subject afresh to Congress. The message, throwing the burden upon Congress, was a clear statement of the case; but the people were not prepared to test the relative authority of Union and State. The interests involved were of little moment to the people at large. The dispute was only over a tribe of Indians who blocked the way. The President was expected to maintain treaty obligations, but no authority was given him by Congress to assert the authority and dignity of the Federal Government when it involved direct collision with a State. A let-alone policy was accepted; Georgia triumphed, and the Administration and the Indians went to the wall.

The advantage gained over the Creeks was repeated immediately in a contest with the Cherokees, which lasted from 1826 to 1837. By a series of enactments the Georgia Legislature pressed hard upon the unfortunate Indians. The authority of the State was extended over the entire territory, and was so exercised as to make life in Georgia unendurable to the Cherokees. The missionaries living among them were treated as felons, and the longer the Indians presented a passive resistance the more malignant was the persecution visited upon them. The State, having once secured its position before a temporizing Congress, resisted effectively every attempt on behalf of the Indians. When Jackson succeeded Adams, he declared officially to the Cherokees that they had no choice except to obey the laws of the State or "to remove, and, by associating with your brothers beyond the Mississippi, to become again united as one nation;" but the declaration ignored the fact that the Cherokees were still a nation, by treaty, with the United States; it yielded the whole question to Georgia.

The Indians appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and William Wirt, the ex-Attorney-general, appeared on their behalf. But here the anomalous political position of the Cherokees confronted the judges, and, as interpreters of the law, they were obliged to give a decision contrary to their own sense of justice. In the complaint, the Cherokees had been described as a foreign state, having adopted a constitution for their own government; but as such they could not bring a case before the Federal courts. But Chief Justice Marshall, in rendering the decision, said, "So much of the argument as was in-

tended to prove the character of the Cherokees as a state, as a distinct political society, separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs, and governing itself, has, in the opinion of the majority of the judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a state from the settlement of our country. The acts of our Government plainly recognize the Cherokee nation as a state, and the courts are bound by those acts."

The Court soon came into more direct conflict with the State on a question of jurisdiction, and both Governor and Legislature treated the order of the Supreme Court as an interference with the rights of Georgia, and paid no heed to it. Another occasion arose later still, when a Presbyterian minister, named Worcester, was condemned to four years' imprisonment at hard labor for the crime of remaining in the territory with a dying wife beyond the ten days allowed him for leaving. The case of Worcester was appealed to the Supreme Court, and the act of the State of Georgia was declared void. Nevertheless, the State court paid no attention to the decision, and Clayton, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, said that "before the decree of the Supreme Court should be carried into execution, Georgia should be made a wilderness." The country was stirred to indignation, but rather at Georgia's inhumanity than at her rebellion against the Union, and it was found convenient by the Federal Government to avoid a crisis on behalf of the Indians.

Thus through two administrations the Federal Government was defied by a single State; the doctrine of State Rights, as it was understood at the South, was carried to its legitimate conclusion; and Georgia assumed, and proved herself, to be as absolutely independent of and above the authority and laws of the Union, where her special interests were concerned, as if the Union had ceased to exist. The controversy was upon too remote an interest to alarm the North as to its real character; nor has the sense of justice and humanity toward the Indian ever been so keen that the cruelty visited upon the Creeks should, at that time, arouse the sympathies of the country on behalf of that unhappy people. But the conduct of Georgia was sustained, directly or indirectly, by her sister States of the South, and her success rejoiced in as a complete and triumphant assertion of the Southern policy. There was no long time to wait before another struggle, with essentially the same result.

The question of the tariff was becoming more and more a sectional question. The breach between North and South was widened as the inevitable antagonism between free labor and slave labor was made more manifest by the protective policy. The recuperative power of the North was irrepressible. She

The tariff as a sectional question.

grew rich and prosperous, whether, under free trade, her energies were devoted to agriculture and commerce, or whether, under a protective tariff, her capital and labor were forced into the development of manufacturing interests. It was just the reverse at the South. Slavery and prosperity were incompatible, and while the North flourished under either free trade or tariff, the South grew poor under both. All the North asked for was a steady and uniform policy; she also wanted to be "let alone." But the South, which had first established the protective policy for her own supposed advantage, now demanded a return to free trade for the same reason. The North, she believed, gained by her loss, for she could not understand that the North could accommodate herself to any policy because her labor was free, but that there could be no like prosperity at the South because her laborers were slaves. It was certainly true that the cheaper everything else was, the greater was the value of a crop of cotton or tobacco. To sell it at the highest possible price, and to buy in return all that was needed on a plantation at the cheapest, was a very simple problem in political economy. But there were other terms to the problem; the North, against her will, had been compelled to invest her capital and labor in a variety of industries, and she demanded that as legislation had put her in that position, legislation should protect her. It was not a question of political economy between the two sections of the Union, whatever it might be in the abstract; but whether the ability in capital and industry in one portion of the country should be directed and controlled by the inability in both of the other portion. But cotton was king, and kings are not necessarily held to reason.

The tariff of 1828 was a more comprehensive measure, and more distinctly adjusted to encourage American industry than any previously enacted. All New England and most of the Middle and Western States were now united on this subject, and in 1827 a large National Convention of Protectionists was held at Harrisburg to consider their various interests and to influence legislation. The number of articles — wool, iron, lead, hemp, distilled spirits, and others of smaller general importance — demanding protection was increased. The question was made, more positively than had been done four years before, one of party politics.

It only influenced, however, without governing parties, for there were protectionists who voted for Jackson, though there were no anti-protectionists who voted for Adams. At the present time, with the general diffusion of information and the rapid communication between the different parts of the country, the people usually have a pretty clear understanding of the character of

(character of
Jackson.)

presidential candidates, when, as still sometimes happens, there are candidates who have any characters to be understood. But it is not

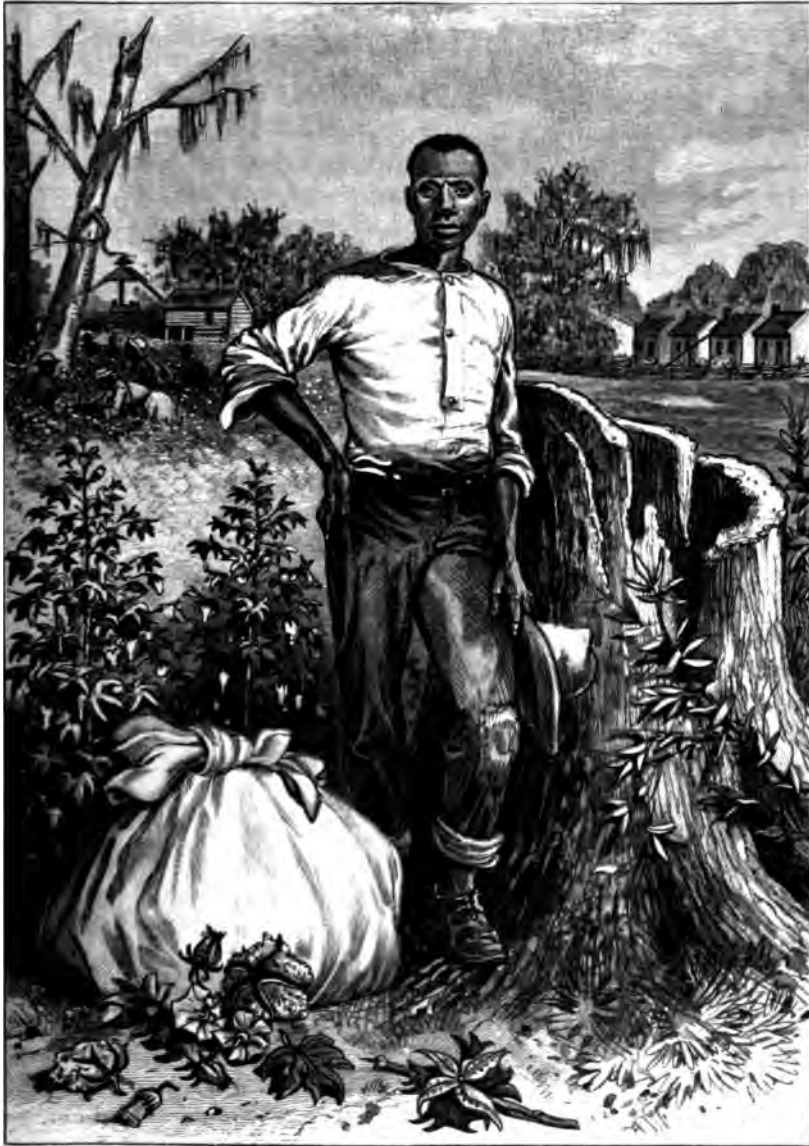


Northern Industry.

to be wondered at that fifty years ago Jackson was voted for in different parts of the Union for precisely opposite reasons.

It seems, at first sight, difficult to find in General Jackson's per-

onal qualities the cause of his great popularity. He was neither a wise nor a good man, and in many respects he was both a foolish and



Southern Industry.

bad one. He was not only illiterate — which may be a misfortune without being a fault — but ignorant; he was easily provoked to anger, and his rage was not only cruel but uncontrollable; in temper

he was as despotic as he was fearless, and he was as free from scruples as he was without fear. As a brave and successful soldier, he was known to the people; if he was capable also of strong domestic attachments and of warm friendships, which — no doubt truly — is alleged of him, that could have had little to do with his popularity, as it could not be generally known. The worst and the largest side of him is that which for thirty years was presented to the public, and either because of it or in spite of it, the larger number of the people admired and honored him. But that large part — at least in his first election — was from the Southern States, and his popularity there is easily accounted for. The strong points in his character were precisely those engendered and developed in the mastership of a gang of negro slaves, and the education of the plantation. "The whole commerce between master and slave," said Jefferson, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. . . . The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances." An education of this sort had in Jackson been rounded and intensified by his long experience in the peculiar warfare carried on against the Indian tribes of the South.

Reasons for
his popular-
ity.

The slaveholders saw in him a magnified reflection of themselves, and they admired and esteemed him accordingly. That his popularity should have extended subsequently to the North, admits of something of the same explanation. As a result of "the most boisterous passions" engendered by slavery, Jefferson deduces "degrading submissions," as well as "unremitting despotism." There has been always a singular servility in the character of a portion of the American people. In that class the slaveholder has always found his Northern servitor. Randolph first gave it a name to live by in the term "doughface." It always loves to recognize a master, as the slave is always most abject under the lash that cuts the keenest and oftenest. It was this class that loved Jackson simply because they saw a master in his despotic will, which no scruple ever controlled. Besides this, there was that other weakness of the American character which has so much to answer for — the capacity of being aroused to an irrepressible enthusiasm on the most factitious pretexts, and of raising the most ordinary mortals to immortality with shouts so frantic that they come at length to be believed sincere.

It was during the closing years of Adams's administration that the

last serious Indian war occurred within the borders of the present northwestern States. In 1830 a treaty was made with the tribes of Sacs and Foxes, by which their lands in Illinois ^{The Black Hawk war.} were ceded to the United States. They were nevertheless unwilling to leave their country, and Governor Reynolds, of Illinois, called out a militia force to remove them beyond the Mississippi. Black Hawk, a chief of the Sacs, then about sixty years of age, refused submission, and the next year returned with a small force. He was driven back by the troops at Rock Island, but in March, 1832, he reappeared, at the head of about a thousand warriors, — Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagos, — and penetrated into the Rock River valley, declaring that he came only to plant corn. But either he would not or could not restrain his followers, and the devastation of Indian warfare soon spread among the frontier settlements. Farms were laid waste, farm-houses given to the flames, and their occupants put to death. The force at Rock Island was sent out to stay these ravages, and Generals Scott and Atkinson ordered from Buffalo with a reënforcement, which on the way was greatly diminished by cholera and desertions. The Governor of Illinois called for volunteers, and an effective force of about twenty-four hundred men was soon marched against the enemy. Black Hawk's band fled before it. General Whiteside, who was in command, burned the Prophet's Town, on Rock River, and pursued the Indians up that stream. But his advance under Major Stillman was led into ambush at a point about twenty miles from the present town of Dixon, and defeated. The Indians were overtaken and badly defeated on Wisconsin River; and the survivors, still retreating northward, were again overtaken near Bad Axe River, on the left bank of the Mississippi. Here Black Hawk attempted to get his main body across the Mississippi, himself and twenty warriors forming a rear-guard to make a show of force and keep the pursuers at bay. But his movements were understood, the rear-guard soon driven in to the main body, and that was surrounded. Many of the Indians were shot in the water while trying to swim the stream; others were killed on a little island where they sought refuge. Only about fifty prisoners were taken, and most of these were squaws and children. The dispersion was complete, and the war was soon closed by the surrender or capture of Black Hawk, Keokuk, and other chiefs. Many persons are still living who can remember the melancholy progress of these warriors on their way to Washington to acknowledge their subjection.

In the presidential election of 1828 the Northern dynasty was blown, as Randolph said it should be, "sky-high — sky-high." Adams received the electoral vote of New England, of Delaware, and a por-

tion of that of Maryland. All the rest were given to Jackson, making a total of one hundred and seventy-eight electoral votes to Adams's eighty-three. There was at least one man in the country who was not surprised at this result; Adams had expected it, and had prepared, though with great reluctance, to retire to private life. Calhoun was again elected to the vice-presidency.

At the inaugural ceremonies in the following March, a larger crowd assembled at Washington from all parts of the country than had ever



Battle of Bad Axe.

before come together on a similar occasion. Mr. Adams was conspicuous by his absence, — a fact commented upon then, and remembered ever since against him, by those who, perhaps, did not know that the incoming President had carefully abstained from showing him, before the inauguration, the usual courtesies due to the retiring chief magistrate. The matter was considered of sufficient importance for Mr. Adams to seek counsel from his friends, and to be guided by their advice.¹

¹ The excuse made for Jackson in Parton's *Life of Jackson* — that he took this method

The inaugural address rather surprised both parties, and disappointed those who expected a condemnation of the tariff. On that subject it was moderate enough to encourage the protectionists to hope that the established policy would not be meddled with. Upon the necessity of reform — that much-abused word in American politics — the address was pronounced and emphatic. In saying that a “correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections” was required, nothing was meant, probably, but a reflection upon the preceding Administration. It was a rash charge to make, however, for whatever other political sins might be attributed to Mr. Adams, that of an undue use of patronage was certainly the one of which he was absolutely innocent. Jackson had, indeed, distinguished himself years before, by urging Monroe to disregard party in the choice of his secretaries; and, when in the United States Senate, he had proposed an amendment to the Constitution forbidding the appointment of members of Congress to any office whatever, except upon the bench. However unjust, then, the implied accusation against Mr. Adams might be, it was assumed that the President really meant to lay down a rule for himself. The country had not to wait a month to see how ludicrous the word reform was in his mouth. Members of his Cabinet were taken from the Senate and the House, and it was soon understood that not to have been in favor of his election was to be held as forfeiture of office, that places might be given as a reward to his active partisans. In the forty years of previous administrations there had been seventy-three removals; Jackson removed a larger number in the first month of his administration. Before the year was out, six hundred and ninety of his partisans were rewarded with places made vacant for them, and these, in their turn, punished and rewarded hundreds more of subordinates.¹ The character of the government was completely changed by the introduction of this new system of the tenure of office; an element of corruption was introduced, for which no remedy has yet been found; and an injury done to the morals of the people, and to the cause of republican government, so monstrous that it would have been better had Andrew Jackson never been born. It was this partisan spirit that distinguished his administration for eight years, and made it, though in some things excel-

His inaugural address.

He establishes the system of removals.

of showing his resentment at some reflections made upon his wife, in a newspaper supposed to be the political organ of the Administration in Washington — only shows, if true, how incapable Jackson was of discretion where his feelings or his passions were concerned.

¹ Washington made nine removals from office; John Adams, nine; Jefferson, thirty-nine; Madison, five; Monroe, nine; John Quincy Adams, two; Jackson made, and caused to be made, probably not less than two thousand.

lent, of so evil example. He esteemed himself not a part of the State, but the State. In one week he vetoed more bills sent him by Congress than all his predecessors had vetoed in forty years.

Martin Van Buren was his Secretary of State; the rest of his Cabinet, excepting John M. Berrien, the Attorney-general, were men who left no mark upon their time. His "Kitchen Cabinet," as it was called in the slang of the day — William B.



The Hermitage — Residence of General Jackson.

Lewis, Duff Green, Amos Kendall, and Isaac Hill — were the advisers and confidants of the head of the State. The official Cabinet was scattered, or scattered itself, before the end of the first term, moved thereto by a personal scandal which Jackson wanted the dignity and delicacy to smother, but insisted instead upon forcing upon the public. It occupied too impor-

tant a place in the political history of those years to be forgotten.

John H. Eaton, the Secretary of War, had married a Mrs. Timberlake, who, it was said, had been his mistress while her first husband was living. Whether this was true or not, it was believed, and it is certain that the woman was of bad reputation before Eaton married her. The families of other members of the Government, and those of foreign Ministers, as well as those of the better class of people generally in Washington, refused to recognize or admit her to their houses. There was a touch of chivalry in the impetuosity and passion with which Jackson came to the defence of this woman. From the same remarkable incapacity of weighing testimony which he showed on other occasions, he assumed this case to be parallel to his own; and by the zeal with which he defended an apparently indefensible cause, acknowledged, in the minds of many people, the justice of the charges that had long been brought against himself and his own wife. Eaton, it is true, was his personal friend,

The Eaton scandal.

and Mrs. Timberlake and her family had long been known to him. But it would be doing him great injustice to suppose that there was no deeper influence than ordinary friendship, no other impulse at work than headlong obstinacy, to impel him to a course of conduct which so controlled the first three years of his administration. The defence of Mrs. Eaton was the defence of his own wife, dead not many weeks, and mourned with a passionate sorrow. There was really no parallel in the two cases, nor could Jackson see that it was he who was reflecting upon the memory of his dead wife by admitting any possible similarity. When, nearly forty years before, he had married, she was, as both believed, fully divorced from a former husband. When this was found to be a mistake, the proper legal steps were taken, and they were married again. Years afterward this perfectly innocent error was seized upon and tortured by political malice into a cruel scandal; and it seemed to him a sort of vindication of the memory of his wife, and a righteous resentment for what she had been made to suffer, to defend another woman who seemed to him visited with similar injustice. It did not occur to him that in inviting comparison he was confessing judgment.

Moved by such an impulse, his pertinacity and violence on this topic are less to be wondered at, and even from one view to be applauded. It was characteristic of the man, however, that he should permit this purely personal feeling to override all other considerations. He might have conceded so much to an almost universal belief as to have consented that his public conduct should not be governed by his private opinion. But to this his imperious temper could never consent. Harmony in his Cabinet meant that the wives of his secretaries should open their doors to Mrs. Eaton. Because they would not submit to this interference with their domestic relations, and yield their sense of decency and of moral obligation to his dictation, Cabinet meetings became less and less frequent, were at length given up altogether, and finally the Cabinet was broken up, in part, at least, from this want of harmony. He threatened to dismiss a foreign minister whose wife declined to recognize Mrs. Eaton; he sent Mrs. Donelson and her husband — his nephew and secretary — who resided with him in the presidential mansion, back to Tennessee, because she declined to receive Mrs. Eaton; and he was almost beside himself with imbecile rage when, in those private parlors where he had procured her admission, the ladies of Washington retired from before her as if her presence were a contamination. Jackson was himself, undoubtedly, as chaste as a virtuous woman; but it was, nevertheless, through the overbearing self-will of this man that the simplicity and purity of a republican Administration was, for the first time, and so far for the

last, smirched with the scandalous intrigues that in earlier times distinguished the courts of monarchs.

The President's hostility to the United States Bank, which distinguished his first term of office, and had more to do, probably, than anything else with his reelection, showed itself in his first message. As the Bank would soon ask for a renewal of its charter, which would expire in 1836, he called the attention of Congress to the constitutionality and expediency of the law creating it. It had failed, he said, in establishing a sound and uniform currency, and he suggested that a National Bank, founded upon the credit and revenues of the Government, might be devised which would be constitutional, and be beneficial to the finances of the country.

It was the beginning of a long struggle which convulsed the country as long as it lasted. That its final result was beneficial, was not long doubted after the party passion the encounter excited had subsided; nor is it incredible that the motives of Jackson's hostility were what he professed they were, though their first impulse may have been purely personal. Certain it is that those private counsellors of his who were soon known as the "Kitchen Cabinet" had already had an encounter with the officers of the Bank, and to this is usually traced the immediate hostility of the Administration. In the summer of that year, 1829, an attempt was made to remove the President, Jonathan Mason, of the branch bank at Portsmouth, N. H. Complaints were made of its management by Isaac Hill and Levi Woodbury, both active politicians and warm friends of the Administration in that State. Ingham, the Secretary of the Treasury, held a long correspondence with Nicholas Biddle, President of the parent bank, at the conclusion of which the Bank firmly and with some asperity declared its intention to pursue a course entirely independent of political dictation. As the appointments were in the hands of the Directors, the victory was for the time complete. But it was a victory which aimed a direct blow at Jackson, and from that time, till he was able to strike a fatal blow in return, he continued in successive messages to press the subject upon the attention of Congress.

The Bank was accused meanwhile of using its means and its influence to bring the question of a re-charter within the arena of party politics. It became, at any rate, a party question in the canvass for the next presidential election, the Clay party hoping to defeat the Jackson party either by procuring the re-charter of the Bank by Congress, or by an appeal to the country should that attempt fail. In the session of 1832 the Bank asked that its charter be renewed, and an act was passed by large majorities; but when the President vetoed the bill, there was not a two-thirds vote in the Senate to sustain its

previous action, and the bill failed. At the beginning of the session of 1832-33 the President expressed doubts of the solvency of the Bank, and recommended the removal of the deposits of public money, which, by the act incorporating the Bank, was subject to the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, who was required to give to Congress his reasons for removal. When Congress refused to authorize such action, the President assumed the responsibility himself. Technically he was free to do so, through the Secretary, and to give his reasons afterward; but the action of Congress upon his message was virtually a refusal to sanction such a proceeding. Jackson's argument, reiterated in many forms, was that the Bank was buying up members of Congress, and would obtain a two-thirds majority at the next session unless he crippled it at once, and that as a matter of fact it was not solvent. He read to his Cabinet a long paper on the subject, in which he accused the officers of the Bank of the most flagrant mismanagement and corrupt practices, and concluded with the announcement that he had fully determined upon the removal, and should assume the entire responsibility. He sent Amos Kendall on a tour of inquiry among the State banks, with a proposition that certain of them should receive the deposits, and give a combined guaranty for their safety.

The Bank made a stubborn fight for its life. The management acknowledged that in four years it spent fifty-eight thousand dollars in defending itself. On the floor of the Senate, Mr. Benton was the representative of Jackson's enmity to the Bank, while its chief defenders were Mr. Dallas and Mr. Webster. Though nearly the whole debate was confined to the question of the character and management of this institution, strong objections had been urged from the first against the existence of any United States Bank at all. Jackson had opposed the scheme in Hamilton's day, being at that time a Senator from Tennessee. The argument for a bank, briefly stated, was, that it would give the country a uniform and comparatively stable currency,—money that would pass at one value in every State of the Union, making prices steady and business safe; while at the same time, when an unusual amount was wanted in one section—as at the West, when the crops were to be moved—the surplus of other sections could, through a bank with branches in every State, be readily drawn upon. The argument against it was, that to create such a centralized money power and monopoly was dangerous to the Government, whose elections and legislation it might control, and dangerous to the people, whom it might impoverish for its own gain; while it was contended that all the benefits might be secured by some other system of banking, and these perils avoided. Mr. Webster, who was now in favor of the Bank, had opposed it when it was chartered in

1816; and he was not the only member of Congress who had changed sides on the question. It became necessary for the President, in carrying out his object, to remove Secretary Duane, because of his refusal to transfer the deposits. His successor, Roger B. Taney, afterward Chief Justice, complied with the President's wishes, and the deposits were thereafter placed in several selected banks.¹ The Senate resolved that the reasons for removing the deposits were unsatisfactory, and that the President had usurped unconstitutional power over the Treasury by removing the Secretary; the House resolved that the Bank ought not to be re-chartered, nor the deposits restored.

Before the conclusion of this struggle over the Bank, a new presidential election had come and gone. There is a prevalent belief that Jackson was reëlected by an unprecedented majority. But of the eight presidential elections from the elder to the younger Adams—including both—the successful candidates in four of them were chosen by larger majorities than were given to Jackson. It was only that there was more noise than ever before, with the result that the country then formed the pernicious habit of depending more upon noise than reflection in the selection of a chief magistrate. But though this enthusiasm produced an erroneous impression, there was evidence enough



Roger B. Taney.

of the President's great popularity in two hundred and nineteen electoral votes cast for him, out of a total of two hundred and eighty-six. His course in regard to the Bank, though not the sole cause of his popularity, undoubtedly had much to do with it. A thorough knowledge of fiscal affairs and the true functions of a bank was not necessary to an intelligent comprehension of the fact, that there might be a far wiser and more prudent disposition of the public finances than to intrust them to a banking institution controlled by private persons, and that they might be, when so placed,

¹ Knowing what would be the fate of this appointment, Jackson refrained as long as possible from sending Mr. Taney's name to the Senate for confirmation. When, in the last week of the session, he did present it, it was promptly rejected by a vote of two to one. The "removal of the deposits" did not consist in any actual withdrawal of funds from the Bank, but in making all deposits thereafter at certain other designated banks.

perverted to personal or party purposes. With such a substratum of sound argument, it was easy to arouse almost unbounded enthusiasm for the man who, on this plea, could be made to appear as the poor man's friend as against the rich, as the protector of the rights of the many as against the few.

Clay in this election was Jackson's competitor, and, besides the suffrages of the high-tariff party, it was expected that he would acquire great strength from the support of the Anti-masons. ^{Morgan and the Anti-masons.} This party originated in the murder, in 1826, of one William Morgan, who professed to expose in a book the secrets of the order, and was, therefore, deliberately killed by direction of his official superiors. Out of this incident grew a political party, opposed to all secret societies, and determined to suppress the Masonic order by law. It was stronger in New York than anywhere else, for in the western part of that State Morgan had lived and was murdered; and it was there that, a year afterward, a coroner's jury was either induced or cajoled by some clever political knaves to declare that a dead body found on the shore of Lake Ontario was that of Morgan. This body was of a man recently drowned; Morgan had disappeared a year before. Morgan was a smooth-faced, bald-headed man; the face and head of the corpse, when first found — its appearance was changed in a few hours in these particulars — were well covered with hair; the drowned person was four inches taller than Morgan was known to be; and finally a Mrs. Monroe appeared and recognized the corpse as that of her husband, who was drowned a few weeks before, and the clothes it had on as those she had mended with her own hands; and the man who was with Monroe when he fell overboard from a boat also identified him. But up to this time it was a disputed point whether Morgan was alive or dead; it was necessary to the Anti-masonic frenzy that his death should be proved; and on this verdict of a coroner's jury a political tornado swept the country.¹ Its violence was too far spent, however, to withstand the counter gale of Jackson's popularity in the election of 1832.

But there were other causes besides his conduct toward the bank that aroused enthusiasm on behalf of Jackson. The revenue during his administration had far exceeded expenditure, ^{Jackson's popularity.} and the national debt was in process of rapid extinction. His moderate tariff views commended him to that large class of persons who would levy imposts only for revenue, giving protection an incidental

¹ The essential facts relating to the origin of this remarkable political episode in the history of parties in the United States are first fully set forth in a recent monograph entitled, *American Political Anti-masonry, with its "Good Enough Morgan,"* by Henry O'Rielly. Mr. O'Rielly was at that period editor of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, the first daily newspaper west of the Hudson River.

consideration. He had saved the government from enormous expenditures by his vetoes of bills for internal improvements, for the Democrats of that day believed that such use of the public funds was unwise as well as unconstitutional. The long-standing difficulty between England and the United States, in regard to the West India trade, had been favorably settled by Louis McLane, the Minister at London, though at the price, the opposition declared, of the dignity of the



A Hickory-pole Election.

Government. But the trade was opened ; and Jackson's popularity was not injured in his own party, that, in bringing about a result so desirable, he had made concessions to England which Adams had considered humiliating. For all these reasons, he had become almost as popular at the North as he had long been at the South — not, perhaps, among the most intelligent of the people, who could not forget the radical defects of the man, nor the corrupt influence, in many respects, of his administration, but among those whose admiration for his courage and strength of will blinded them to his other qualities,

and who believed that he was as pure as he was strong. So absolute and intense was the character of this singular man, that he so completely absorbed the attention of those who saw one side of him only, that the other side was totally invisible, and he was accordingly either beloved and admired, or detested and feared.

The country was becoming embarrassed with a difficulty hitherto unknown in the histories of states. Unencumbered with debt, as it would be presently, its revenue would be larger A surplus of revenue. than it could have any possible use for. The problem did not seem to be one difficult of solution, as the source of revenue, the tariff, could be reduced, and this would not only render a surplus impossible, but would at the same time lift a burden of taxation from the shoulders of the people. But what in that case would become of protection? Mr. Clay answered the question by pushing through Congress, in 1832, a bill which provided for a reduction of duties upon foreign products, except where they came in conflict with articles of domestic manufacture. As sufficient revenue could be produced without a resort to such an expedient, this was an announcement that the Northern protective policy was accepted absolutely as the policy of the Government, in spite of the Southern slaveholding interest. It was a signal of a renewal of the conflict between free labor and slave-labor, which broke out soon after in the nullification contest with South Carolina.

There had been some preliminary skirmishing, for South Carolina had shown signs of revolt in public meetings after the passage of the tariff bill of 1828, and Georgia sent in an earnest but solemn protest against it. In 1830, the constitutional question involved was settled, so far as argument could settle it, in a memorable debate between Hayne and Webster, in the Senate. The Hayne-Webster debate. A resolution was offered by Samuel A. Foot, of Connecticut, directing an inquiry into the expediency of suspending, for a time, the sale of public lands, and under it Mr. Hayne brought up the question of State Rights. His argument was the old one—old as the Constitution itself—that the “consolidation of the government” was the one great evil to be dreaded and resisted. Webster took his stand upon the ground of the early Federalists, that the United States was a Nation. It was not the servant of four and twenty masters, but “the people’s Constitution, the people’s Government; made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people.” It was not “the creature of State Legislatures;” it was the “independent offspring of the popular will.” Jackson was attached to the Union with all the strength of his impulsive nature, and did not need to be aroused to the impending conflict; but Webster’s speech made, prob-

ably, a deeper and more abiding impression on the minds of the Northern people than any other ever delivered in the halls of Congress, before that time.

Nullification was a practical application of the doctrine of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. It was not, as supporters maintained, necessarily secession nor war, though it might in the last resort lead to both. The first duty of the citizen was to the State, not to the Federal Government. The State — as Calhoun's argument — having determined to protect its citizens by an act of nullification, would put an insuperable obstacle in the way of any penalty imposed by the Federal courts for obedience to that act. The nullification, he contended, did not disturb the legal relation between the State and the Union, but rather confirmed it. Force could not be employed by the Federal Government, not only because no such power was intrusted to it by the Constitution, but because the question being a moral one, no physical opposition would be found. Even should the final step of secession be taken, — and I granted that under certain conditions it might be necessary, — force could then only be applied after due formalities, the seceding State being now in law and in fact a foreign government. His argument found ready listeners, to whom it seemed conclusive. Moreover there was a strong precedent in the summary and unrebuked manner in which Georgia, not long before, had defied the authority of the General Government, and refused to obey the decision of the Supreme Court. The difficulty with South Carolina lay deeper, inasmuch as it involved wider interests and the peaceful relations of different sections of the Union; but the essential question was the same in both cases. As that, however, related to the rights of Indians, while now it was a question of the supremacy of slaveholders as slaveholders, the position was so much the stronger.

As the power to act in such an emergency must come directly from the people, the Legislature of South Carolina called a Convention. This assembled on the 24th of November, 1832, and an ordinance was passed, declaring the tariff acts to be null and void; that the payment of duties should not be enforced within the State; and that any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to enforce its laws would absolve the State from all connection with the Union, and it would immediately establish a separate and independent government. Nullification, if not assented to, was to be followed by secession.

At the meeting of the Legislature immediately afterward, the Governor, in his message, said that the ordinance was the fundamental law of the State; and that it was the duty of that body to

Nullifica-
tion.

Nullifica-
tion Ordi-
nance in
South Caro-
lina.

"look to and provide for all possible contingencies." Various acts, accordingly, were passed to meet the emergency. The Governor was authorized to accept the services of volunteers; fortifications were ordered to be repaired; old arms were to be put in order, and new ones manufactured; ammunition to be provided, and everything done that could be done to prepare for war. A martial rage took possession of the people; the men everywhere devoted themselves

to military drilling; the women had no occupation but to make palmetto cockades and prepare battle-flags and ensigns of State sovereignty; the United States flag was raised union down, while some of the volunteer regiments had provided a red standard with a single black star in the centre, to be unfurled at the moment secession should be proclaimed. Two or three mass meetings were held every week, to keep up the enthusiasm. At one of these meetings, Governor Hamilton told the



Making Cockades.

crowd that, to try whether the Federal authorities would dare to enforce the revenue laws, he had ordered several boxes of sugar from Havana. "And," he added, "if Uncle Sam puts his robber hand on the boxes, I know you'll go to the death with me for the sugar!" — a declaration that was received with immense applause. But when the sugar arrived, it was quietly locked up in one of the forts in Charleston harbor.

The President replied to the ordinance with a proclamation and a

Preparations
for seces-
sion.

message to Congress, which left no doubt of the temper in which he would meet any attempt at disunion.¹ He denied the right of either nullification or secession, pointed out the absurdity of State sovereignty, and assured the South Carolinians that if they resisted the laws they would be coerced by the combined power of the other States. Finally, as a fellow citizen and a native of their State, he entreated them to give up their foolish scheme. "Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part. Consider its government uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different States, giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of American citizen, protecting their commerce, securing their literature and their arts, facilitating their intercommunication, defending the frontiers, and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the earth. . . . Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support. Look on this picture of happiness and honor, and say, We too are citizens of America. . . . And then add, if you can, without horror and remorse, This happy Union we will dissolve; this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface; this free intercourse we will interrupt; these fertile fields we will deluge with blood; the protection of that glorious flag we renounce; the very name of Americans we discard!"

Position of
the Presi-
dent.

General Scott was summoned to Washington, and it was determined that strong garrisons should at once be thrown into Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and the arsenal at Augusta, Georgia, and a sloop-of-war and several revenue cutters be sent to Charleston harbor. "Proceed at once and execute those views," said Jackson. "You have my *carte blanche*, in respect to troops; the vessels shall be there, and written instructions shall follow you." Scott went to Charleston, with sufficient military and naval force under his command, to carry out the President's orders. He maintained, however, amicable relations with the citizens, and often invited individuals or parties to the forts, that they might see what they would have to encounter if it came to war.²

General
Scott sent to
Charleston.

Calhoun, who had resigned the office of Vice-president, had taken his seat in the Senate, in the place of Hayne. Although it was un-

¹ Two years before a public dinner was given, nominally to celebrate the birthday of Jefferson, but really as an impetus to the doctrine of nullification. The President, being called upon for the first volunteer toast, gave that which has passed into a proverb, "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved." Mr. Calhoun was next called upon, and gave this: "The Union: next to our liberty the most dear: may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States, and distributing equally the benefit and burden of the Union." The incident was accepted as a sign of what was coming. — *Benton's Thirty Years' View*, i., 148.

² Scott's *Memoirs*.

er his teachings that South Carolina had been led into her present position, it was also his determination to keep the contest ^{Popular feeling.} within the bounds of speech; and while Jackson was equally earnest in his purpose to use force if necessary, it became plain, as the weeks wore on, that the fury displaying itself in proclamations and laws was not yet ungovernable. It is by no means certain that the President would not have preferred to compel South Carolina to return to her allegiance to the Union, by force of arms; and it is certain that many in both Houses of Congress agreed with Adams and Webster that no concession should be made till the State had receded from her rebellious attitude either voluntarily or by compulsion. How far the country at large would have approved of extreme measures, it is impossible to tell, but it is probable that Jackson's great popularity would have carried the Northern wing of his party with him, and the National Republicans would have united with it. Most of the States, through their legislatures, assumed positions upon the abstract doctrine of nullification. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Delaware, Indiana, Tennessee, and Missouri condemned it. Virginia passed conciliatory resolutions, and appointed a special messenger to carry them to South Carolina. North Carolina and Alabama condemned nullification, but pronounced the tariff unconstitutional and inexpedient. Georgia did likewise, and proposed a convention representing Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, the Carolinas, and Georgia, to devise some relief from the protective system.

But there was compromise in the very air. The President asked that special and enlarged powers should be given him to ^{The compromise.} meet the emergency, and a bill was introduced for that purpose, called the Force Bill. It hung fire; it was not till it was no longer necessary that it became a law. But compromise did not hang fire. The great champion of protection, Clay himself, introduced a new tariff which essentially abandoned the policy of protection and conceded to South Carolina the principle for which she was contending. It provided that where *ad valorem* duties exceeded twenty per cent., one tenth of the excess should be remitted after December 31, 1833; one tenth thereafter on each alternate year, till December 31, 1841, when half of the remaining duty was to be remitted; and after June, 1842, all duties were to be reduced to twenty per cent., on a home valuation, to be paid in cash. Mr. Clay and his friends conceded thus far for the sake of peace, reserving only this modified protection for nine years to come. Mr. Calhoun and the nullifiers graciously assented not to ruin at a single and sudden blow those who had invested largely in manufacturing under a protective tariff. As Pinckney went home, at the formation of the Federal Constitu-

tion, and explained to South Carolina that she could safely accept that instrument as a sufficient guaranty of slavery, so Calhoun now went back, and persuaded the people of the State that they could safely lay down their arms, for their cause had triumphed. The bill in the Senate was passed on the 1st of March, by a vote of twenty-nine to sixteen.

In the House, meanwhile, a bill, introduced by Mr. Verplanck of New York, was painfully and tediously dragged along from week to week. Its object was to make the needed reduction in the revenue, but, at the same time, to save the protective policy. It was disposed of, and Mr. Clay's bill made to take its place by one of those strategic movements by which compromise measures have more than once been carried in similar struggles. Senator Benton — who, as a Southern representative, opposed any concession to the Protectionists — is our witness. Late in the afternoon of the 25th of February, he says, "Mr. Letcher of Kentucky, the fast friend of Mr. Clay, rose in his place, and moved to strike out the whole Verplanck bill — every word of it, except the enacting clause, — and insert, in lieu of it, a bill offered in the Senate by Mr. Clay. . . . This was offered in the House, without notice, without signal, without premonitory symptom, and just as the members were preparing to adjourn. Some were taken by surprise, and looked about in amazement; but the majority showed consciousness, and what was more, readiness for action. The Northern members, from the great manufacturing States, were astounded, and asked for delay," — which was not granted. Thus, he continues, "the bill which made its first appearance in the House late in the evening, when members were gathering up their overcoats for a walk home to their dinners, was passed before those coats had got on the back; and the dinner which was waiting had but little time to cool before the astonished members, their work done, were at the table to eat it."¹ It is a striking picture of Southern legislation by one of their own artists. But South Carolina was appeased; the Union was once more saved, after the Southern manner; and the North meekly turned away to see what next she could do with her dollars and her labor.

There were many who believed that it would have been better had the question of disunion been then and there settled. But it is exceedingly doubtful if it could have been. Jackson would have enforced the laws and suppressed the insurrection with an unrelenting will, for he did believe in the Union, and he did long, it was asserted, for an opportunity to hang Calhoun. But the difference between the North and the South lay deeper than a division upon a revenue

¹ *Thirty Years' View*. By Thomas H. Benton.



EMIGRANTS TO THE WEST.

or a protective tariff. One might be wise and the other foolish ; the North could grow prosperous and rich under either, while the South, so long as slavery existed, would be poor and ignorant, and only half civilized, under both. It would have been more manly to have suppressed South Carolina. It was her statesmen, more than all others, who, in 1816, had compelled the North to accept the policy which now, in 1832, that State, rather than obey, would scatter the Union into fragments. It would have been well enough, for the dignity and the political morality of the nation, had there been only left some fragments of South Carolina ; but that would have left, after all, the great and inevitable battle still to be fought. Liberty and Slavery could not exist forever in one Union. The final conflict between them must come upon a broader field than a tariff of duties.

Next to the tariff the public lands were, during the administration of Jackson, a fruitful source of debate in Congress, not merely for their own sake. An interest so immense could be ^{Public lands.} easily made to play an important part in the affairs of political parties. It was part of Clay's compromise that the West should be reconciled to the reduction of duties by a division of the proceeds of the sales of public lands among the States within whose boundaries the sales were made. The President's veto nullified that part of the bargain. Then Western politicians used the question of the price and disposition of the public domain to further their private ambitions. There could be, however, no question of the right of Congress to control all lands in territory not organized into States ; but when the State was formed it was maintained by many persons that the lands became its property — a position stoutly and successfully contested by Webster and others. From the first, the importance of these lands as sources of revenue was never lost sight of. The price, reduced in 1820 from two dollars to a dollar and a quarter an acre, continued for many years. The action of Congress was generally favorable to actual settlers. In 1835 and 1836 the purchases were much larger than was required for occupation,¹ although the encouragement given by Congress had a steadily appreciable effect upon foreign immigration. New settlers, finding lands preoccupied and held at high prices, passed beyond the frontier surveyed, to settle where no immediate payment was necessary.

The tables of immigration during the decade show a fluctuation which is interesting, as indicating the waves of prosperity in the country. Thus, in 1831, the number of alien immi- ^{Immigration.} grants was nearly twenty-three thousand ; the next year it was over

¹ Rising from less than five millions in 1834 to over fourteen millions in 1835, and nearly twenty-five millions in 1836.

fifty-three thousand. In 1834 the number was sixty-five thousand; in 1835 it had fallen off to forty-five thousand. It increased, until in 1837 it was nearly eighty thousand; but the next year after that disastrous one it fell to less than thirty-nine thousand. In 1840 the number was eighty-four thousand. The immigration had already, in Jackson's time, begun to affect personal politics, and the Irish vote was spoken of as a constituency to be respected.

There came, in the mean time, the financial crisis of 1837. The United States Bank, on the refusal of Congress to extend its charter, had procured a new one from Pennsylvania, but it differed from the State banks only in the magnitude of its operations. The State banks, under the impetus given by the breaking up of the United States Bank, had increased their issue of paper from sixty-one millions in 1830 to a hundred and forty-nine millions in 1837.

Large quantities of these notes had been received in payment for public land, when, alarmed at the accumulation of so much paper of uncertain value, the Secretary of the Treasury, by order of the President, issued a circular instructing the agents in charge of the land-offices to receive only gold and silver. This at once caused a demand for specie, which could only be met by those banks where the government funds were deposited.¹ Most of the others suspended. And when, a little later, the Government called for its deposits, in order to make the distribution of surplus revenue to the States, many of the favored banks were involved in the general ruin, and the panic of 1837 was the grand result.

The attacks upon the Bank shook public confidence in it. The removal of the deposits, and the refusal to extend the charter, weakened the Bank itself, and led to an unlimited extension of local banks. The immediate enormous increase of paper gave a specious show of wealth, and while the paper floated on the public debt, it was used both for promoting new industrial schemes and for luxuries. The final result of the Congressional debates over the currency and the banking system was the establishment, in 1840, of the sub-treasury system, a measure which had been proposed by both parties alternately, and was looked upon as ending the controversy. Henceforth the Government was to transact all its business by means of a metallic currency, and to be completely dissociated from all general financial operations.

A single fact must be observed, from its conspicuous and yet apparently feeble influence upon the state of affairs. In June, 1836, when the public debt was nearly extinguished, an act was passed providing that after January 1, 1837, all surplus revenue

The panic of 1837.

surplus revenue.

¹ Called, in the slang of the day, "pet banks."

exceeding five million dollars should be divided among the States as a loan, only to be recalled by direction of Congress. This unprecedented problem perplexed the statesmen of the time, but mainly as to the principle of distribution. The ghost that could never be laid, stalked again into the halls of Congress. Should the money be divided according to population? If the slaves were counted, that would be to pay an unequal share to their masters; if they were not counted, the slave States would receive only their just proportion according to the number of citizens. Compromise, as usual, healed the difference at the expense of the North. The electoral vote was made the rule of distribution. Thus Pennsylvania, whose electoral vote was thirty, received about three million eight hundred thousand dollars; yet its population was nearly two hundred thousand more than the free population of the six slave States, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, whose electoral vote was fifty-three, and their aggregate share of the surplus fund over six million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.¹

The distribution, which extended over a year, amounted to twenty-eight million dollars, and none of it was ever recalled. Before the amount was all expended, it was evident that there would be a deficit in the treasury. The States used the surplus variously: some involved themselves in extensive improvements; some divided the amount received among their citizens in petty sums. Never was there a more unsatisfactory business operation.

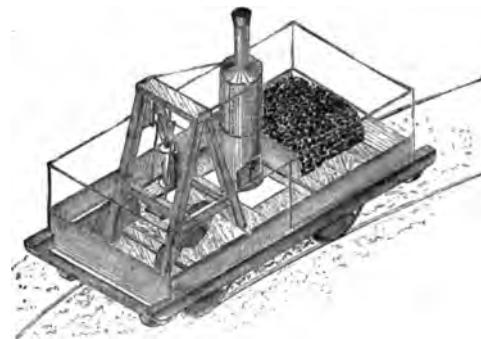
After the blow of 1837, States as well as persons found themselves insolvent. The expanded credit which an over-sanguine confidence had sought and granted, had been especially applied to the enterprises of States. The widespread bankruptcy made it easy for certain States to persuade themselves that they also might take advantage of the common course and put in the bankrupt's plea. A large part of the State bonds was held abroad, and every effort was made by the bondholders there to bring moral force to bear upon the repudiating States. Congress was petitioned to assume the debts of the States, in accordance with the precedent of 1791, but after a long debate refused to take any action.

Notwithstanding financial disturbance, commercial disaster, political strife and corruption, the country shared with the rest ^{Growth of the country.} of the world in the wonderful material progress and prosperity which mark this period. Steam came into general use as a motive power in communication by water and by land, and in the numberless uses to which it has since been put by inventive genius and human industry. One born within the last twenty years to the

¹ *A View of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery.* By William Jay.

common heirship of the present time, can hardly conceive how great a change has been wrought within only half a century by a single agency. Indeed, it is hardly fifty years since confidence in it was so far established as to command the energies and the capital of men and of States.

The first timid experiment in railroads was a tramway in Quincy, Mass., built in 1826, chiefly by Thomas H. Perkins and Gridley Bryant, of Boston. Its only purpose was for the easier conveyance — by horses — of building-stone from the granite quarries of Quincy to tide-water. It was the germ, however, of a mighty movement in this country. The first railway in America for passengers and traffic — the Baltimore and Ohio — was chartered by the Maryland Legislature in March, 1827. The capital stock at first



First Locomotive built in America.

was only half a million dollars, and a portion of it was subscribed by the State and the city of Baltimore. Horses were its motive power, even after sixty-five miles of the road were built. But in 1829 Peter Cooper, of New York, built a locomotive in Baltimore which weighed one ton and made eighteen miles an hour on a trial trip to Elliott's Mills. In 1830 there

were twenty-three miles of railway in the United States, which was increased the next year to ninety-five, in 1835 to one thousand and ninety-eight, and in 1840 to nearly three thousand.

Manufactures at the same time were rapidly increased, though this was a long-established interest. A single mill for the manufacture of cloths and cassimeres was in operation in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1791. Three years later one was established in Byfield, Massachusetts, and in 1809, one at Oriskany, New York. One which was built at Middletown, Connecticut, in 1812, was able to turn out from thirty to forty yards of broadcloth a day, and was considered very large. In 1810 the total woollen manufactures in the United States were estimated at twenty-six million dollars; but these were nearly all home-made. The rise of the cotton industry diminished the production of woollen goods, so that its value, in 1820 only four and a half million dollars, rose in 1830 to fourteen and a half million, and in 1840 to twenty-one million.

Samuel Slater, who had been apprenticed to Strutt and Arkwright

Develop-
ment of
manufac-
tures.

in England, and had assisted Strutt in improving his inventions, came to New York in 1789, bringing in his head the whole idea of their cotton-spinning machinery. The exportation of the patterns had been prohibited by act of Parliament, with heavy penalties, and at the same time the Pennsylvania Legislature had offered a bounty for their introduction. Slater set up three carding-machines in Pawtucket in 1790, and three years later began to erect mills in Oxford (now Webster), Massachusetts.

In 1821 the water-power at Lowell, on the Merrimac, was purchased by Boston capitalists, who planted there the enterprises which have developed what was then a village of two hundred inhabitants into a large city.

But water-power soon ceased to be an absolute necessity for manufacturing purposes, as steam-engines came into use. Other cities and towns grew up all over the country, wherever labor could hold in its hands any other implement than a hoe. The railroads annihilated space and time, and as

they carried the multitudes from the sea-coast to the prairies to people a continent, so the fruits of all industries could be brought back rapidly and cheaply. The navigation of the Mississippi, for the right to which nations once contended, ceased to be in a few years of any other than local importance, as travel and commerce found a shorter way across the Alleghanies from the Atlantic to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains.

In 1840 Sidney Morse, of New York, obtained a patent for an apparatus by which instantaneous communication could be carried over wires, for any distance, by electricity. Four years afterward it was put to practical use between Washington and Baltimore. The network of wire that has since been woven about the globe has changed the relations of the human family.



Samuel Slater.



Head of "The Liberator."

CHAPTER XIII.

SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY.

A NEW ERA. — THE MODERN ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT. — GARRISON AND "THE LIBERATOR." — HIS EARNESTNESS AND DETERMINATION. — DEBATE ON SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA. — THE SOUTHAMPTON INSURRECTION. — PANIC AT THE SOUTH. — THE SOUTHERN IDEA OF GOVERNMENT. — SLAVERY MET ON A NEW ISSUE. — THE ABOLITIONISTS. — THE ATTEMPTS TO SUPPRESS THEM. — PENAL LEGISLATION PROPOSED. — THE RESORT TO VIOLENCE. — THE REIGN OF MOBS. — INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY ON MORALS, MANNERS, LITERATURE, AND COMMERCE.

IN 1831 appeared the first sign of a movement which, when contemporaneous passions and prejudices shall have passed away, will be recognized as the beginning and largely the source of a new era in American history. It was a natural consequence of the old slaveholding dispensation that the generation that has passed, or is just passing away, should be made to believe that "Abolitionism" — not slavery — was the sum of all villanies; it was almost inevitable that the next generation should fail to recognize in the influence which governs their time, that very movement of which they know little except that their fathers hated and reviled it. But hated as it was, by those who had eyes enough to see into to-morrow, despised as it was, by the vulgar and the ignorant who have eyes that can hardly see even to-day, the future will discern in this movement the germ of one of those revolutions that overturn dynasties, save nations, and insure continued progress in human affairs.

It was in that year that William Lloyd Garrison, a young printer, from a country town in Massachusetts, established in Boston a newspaper, which he called "The Liberator," to be devoted to the abolition of slavery. He saw, with the vision of a prophet, the long and terrible struggle before him, as he said in the first number of that journal with the eloquence of a sublime pur-

The anti-slavery era.

Garrison and "The Liberator."

pose, — “I am in earnest ; I will not equivocate ; I will not excuse ; I will not retreat a single inch ; and I will be heard.” And he kept his word. From that time till slavery was abolished, “The Liberator” appeared weekly, weighed down often with discouragements and difficulties, reviled, hated, and feared, but never faltering, never untrue to the great idea of its founder, who would never equivocate, never excuse, never retreat a single inch, and was never afraid. In its earliest days one of Garrison’s staunchest supporters said to him, “My friend, do try to moderate your indignation and keep more cool ; why, you are all on fire.” “Brother,” he answered, “I have need to be all on fire, for I have mountains of ice about me to melt.” It was a flame that soon set the nation ablaze.

It is with moral as it is with material discoveries — they go for nothing till the world is ready for them. Garrison was not the first to discover that slavery was an evil and ought to be done away with. That thought was as old almost as the distinction between right and wrong. It was no more questioned than that original sin was an evil, or that an earthquake or a flood was a disaster. But then the compensating doctrine was, that it could no more be eradicated than the natural tendency to moral or physical weakness could be done away with ; no more be brought under control than a convulsion of the earth ; no more be stayed than the rush and roar of mighty waters. The slaveholders, indeed, for that very reason,



Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

could hardly help looking upon themselves as the elect of Heaven ; for where else in all the economy of creation was there a sin that needed no repentance, — a crime for which a whine was always sufficient atonement ? Where else was there a wrong, of man’s own devising, for which there was no remedy ?

Garrison’s startling proposition was, that all this involved a stupendous lie ; that there was no more necessity for the continuance of slavery than for the continuance of murder or robbery or dishonesty, for wrong or outrage of any kind that one man might commit upon another ; that, on the contrary, it could and should be brought

The new doctrine.

to an immediate end ; that the slaveholder must stop holding slaves, as the murderer should cease to kill, or the robber to steal, or the knave to cheat, or the criminal of any kind to continue in his evil courses. If Garrison had talked of slavery as the divines preach of man's inherent depravity, as a thing that came in with Adam, and might go out with the Second Advent, nobody would have minded. But he said, here is a gigantic wrong of man's contrivance ; for the sake of humanity and in obedience to the laws of God, there is one way to deal with it, and one only, — make an end of it now, not wait for the Second Advent.

The slaveholders heard presently of this new doctrine with consternation. Slavery to them was wealth and power, social supremacy and supremacy in the state. They were not forgetful of the attending dangers — the degradation of the many of their own race, kept in ignorance and poverty which must needs be a continual menace ; and the possible vengeance of a still lower class which was none the less to be dreaded because their condition was but just above that of the brutes. But eternal watchfulness was the price of slavery, and its privileges were valued by the few who profited by them, more than its dangers were feared. The pleasure of possession was enhanced by the impudent acknowledgment that such a state of society was abstractly wrong ; but that the responsibility rested on wicked people of two or three centuries back, and the penalty would fall upon those who were to come some centuries hence. " But as for me and my house," said the slaveholder, " we will serve the Lord."

There came an end to this contentment and tranquillity, in the light of this new doctrine, — that it was not the century before the last that this evil was begun, nor the century after the next that something should be done about it ; but that the sun which rose this morning looked down upon a wrong done anew this day, and that before it set it should shine upon penitence. Garrison spoke to an awakening Northern intelligence. Calhoun said somewhere, when the Northern conscience is aroused, and religious conviction is brought to bear upon this question, then the Union will be dissolved, or slavery be abolished. What the result must needs be was evidently foreshadowed in Calhoun's own mind, by this concession that the case was one to be carried into the court of conscience with religion for its counsel. And these two men represented, with equal intellectual integrity, the two antagonistic ideas which were to save or destroy the Republic.

It was a notable coincidence that within the year of the appearance of "The Liberator," Virginia should have proved in a debate of weeks in the State Legislature, how impotent were all the plans that

slaveholders could devise for the extirpation of slavery; how fearful its continuance was among them, and how completely, nevertheless, the love of power, which the system secured them in so many ways, could overcome all other considerations. The debate was remarkable for the thorough exposure of the evils which march with slavery with even stride — of its degradation of all manual labor, its destruction of material prosperity, the ignorance it enforces, the immorality it engenders. But not less remarkable was it that in all this it was the white man who was referred to. There was little consideration of the rights of the men who were black. These were not, in Southern estimation, exactly men and men, but chattels personal,¹ although endowed with certain human attributes, such as the gift of articulate speech, and the habit of walking on their hind legs. He best spoke to the moral sense of that assembly who said that "the owner of land had a reasonable right to annual profits, the owner of orchards to their annual fruits, the owner of brood mares to their products, and the owner of female slaves to their increase." There was just a tinge of sarcasm pointed at the supposition — if anybody should make it — that these colored men could be anything but breeders for the vigintial crop of Virginia slaves; but it was meant to be, nevertheless, a bold statement of a matter of fact. It was the opposite doctrine that gave power to the new anti-slavery movement in Massachusetts, and so aroused the whole nation, — that an infernal wrong was done to men and women in the South, and that there must be an immediate end of it. The difficulty was in making it plain that they were men and women, and not brood mares and stallions, or other cattle; but when that should be done, none understood so well as the slaveholders themselves the mighty meaning of that word immediate.

The debate was significant in another respect — it was the result of great fear. The Southampton insurrection, as it was called, had occurred the previous August, and, though speedily suppressed, and involving only a limited district of country, was magnified by the terror of the white inhabitants into a formidable outbreak. Its leader was one Nat Turner, who believed himself chosen of the Lord to lead his people to freedom. For a long time he had heard voices in the air and had seen signs in the sky; portraits were written on the fallen leaves of the woods and in spots of blood upon the corn in the fields, to warn him of a divine mission; the Bible, which he knew by heart, he found full of the prophecies of great work he was called upon to do. Fanaticism like his has led men to great deeds, but Turner wanted followers like himself,

Anti-slavery
debate in
the Virginia
Legislature.

The South-
ampton in-
surrection.

¹ In Louisiana negro slaves were real estate.

and, though he was believed to be a man of unusual mental power and resources, he was singularly wanting in any plans or preparations that could promise success.

Only six men were in his confidence. With these he started at an appointed time to go from house to house, to kill every white person, of whatever age, sex, or condition, to inspire universal terror, and arouse the whole slave population. Beginning at Turner's own home, they first killed his master, and going then to other plantations, were joined by their slaves. An advance guard on horseback surrounded each house in turn, holding it till their followers on foot, armed with axes, scythes, and muskets, came up to complete the work of destruction, while the horsemen rode on to the next house. In forty-eight hours, fifty-five white persons were killed without loss to the insurgents, who by this time had increased to about sixty. The band then moved toward Jerusalem, the county seat, where they expected to find plenty of fire-arms, and to be joined by large numbers. But on the way, against Turner's protest, the majority insisted upon stopping at a plantation to enlist some of their friends. Here the band became separated, and were attacked by two bodies of white men, who, after some fighting, dispersed them. In forty-eight hours the insurrection was suppressed. In the nature of things, no other result than a speedy end of it was possible.

It now only remained to hunt down the offenders, and make an indiscriminate slaughter of suspected blacks, or those who were not suspected but were only black. Turner, who had escaped to the woods, dug a hole under a pile of fence-rails and lived in it for six weeks, recording the weary days by notches on a stick, and leaving his shelter only at midnight. He was accidentally discovered, and compelled to change his quarters. For ten days he hid among the wheat-stacks on a plantation. Again he was discovered and shot at, but again escaped. The whole county was alive with armed men in search of him; and as he crept one day from a hole beneath some felled pine trees, he was confronted by a man with a leveled rifle, and surrendered. Turner was marched off to Jerusalem, where he was given a sort of trial, was of course found guilty of murder, and one week later (November 11, 1831) was hanged.

This was only the beginning of the retribution. Turner's young wife, a slave, was tortured under the lash to compel her to produce papers which, probably, had no existence. Fifty-three negroes were formally tried, of whom seventeen were convicted and hanged, including one woman; twelve were transported, and the remainder were acquitted. But the extra-judicial punishments were much more numerous. Negroes suspected of complicity were tortured, burned,

ot, and mutilated. The heads of some of these were set up along the highways as a warning to their fellow slaves. The panic continued till late in the autumn. On the least alarm, families abandoned their homes and fled to the woods for safety. The terror spread from Southampton County all over the State, ^{spread of the panic.} and not only through Virginia, but as far west as Kentucky, as far north and southwest as Georgia and Louisiana. But nowhere could there be found, though arrests were made in many places, and dili-



Discovery of Nat Turner.

nance and watchfulness were everywhere unremitting, the slightest suspicion of any concerted movement, or that the plot extended beyond Nat Turner and his six followers. Could any have been found, vengeance would have been swift and sure in the universal terror; it was only nine years before, without this incitement, that twenty-five slaves were hanged at one time, in Charleston, South Carolina, by order of a justice's court, without indictment and without a jury, on mere suspicion of plotting insurrection.

It was the theory of slavery to deny that the black was really a man; but his manhood was, nevertheless, too thoroughly believed in to admit of a doubt that he longed for freedom and thirsted for vengeance. There was always an avowed dread therefore, of insurrection, which was sincere enough when there was any real danger. But when danger was not immediate, its possibility was made good use of to excite the sympathies of those who knew of slavery only by report, and who would be less likely to meddle with it if convinced that the slaveholders reluctantly submitted to what they could not help, and were entitled, therefore, to pity rather than deserving of blame. It is remarkable how seldom the negroes, in the course of two hundred years, attempted to redress their own wrongs; while the frantic fears aroused by those infrequent attempts show the keen consciousness, on the part of the masters, of how terrible the wrongs were that sometimes provoked retaliation. It was this fear and this consciousness that had aroused the law-makers of Virginia.

But the panic soon subsided, the danger was forgotten, — or remembered only as something that might return again for a few hours to some future generation, — and old thoughts resumed their sway. Those, it is said, who had made themselves most conspicuous in this momentary revolt against the order of Southern society were driven from public life, and were henceforth marked as men who needed watching. In later years it was declared by the Northern opponents of the Abolitionists that it was their measures which defeated this movement against slavery in Virginia. But Garrison's "Liberator" was then only in its first year, and it is safe to say that at that time not a member of the Virginia Legislature could have ever heard of him or of it. The simple truth was, that a cry of despair rent the air when the volcanic flames illumined the heavens; but when they sank again and vanished, it was treason to say that the land was not fair, and that beneath its thin crust the fires were still burning.

Hitherto, whatever struggle there had been with those who held slavery as an organized power, it was almost purely political. The contest was unequal, because on one side, under the Constitution, was the representation only of numbers; on the other was the representation both of numbers and of property. Numbers, on one side, might be, and were, divided in opinions and in interests; property, on the other side, held opinions and interests together in a single compact organization which, whenever slavery was in question, could never be broken. Then slavery was, in the nature of the case, always aggressive. Its contest was with the laws of the universe: the very stars in their courses were against it; the struggle for mastery was with all that is wise, with all that is good, with

Struggle
with slavery
on political
grounds.

that contributes to the progress, the virtue, the manliness, and the happiness of the human race. To be passive was to perish; it could only live by continual conquest; and this, if not always easy, was ways sure, when worth its while, so long as its opponents would consent to confine the struggle to the field of politics. There it had become irresistible by the force of centralization in the administration of the Federal Government, through the power conferred by the Constitution upon slaveholders as an order. Domestic slavery," said Governor McDuffie, of South Carolina, "instead of being an evil, is the corner-stone of our republican edifice," because it superseded

The slaveholders' idea of government.

the necessity of an order of nobility and all the other appendages of a hereditary system of government." This was the Southern theory of the Republic — not that it was a popular government, but a government in which the slaveholders were the ordained rulers. They assumed to be a privileged aristocracy, an order set apart from and above the people, whose constitution recognized the fact. To call the government a republic, was only a concession to popular sentiment. It was intended that the supremacy and perpetuation of the order should be the fundamental



John C. Calhoun.

principle of the government, and the moment the Constitution was perverted from that purpose, then from that moment the allegiance to the order ceased. For more than half a century the history of the government was made to conform to this theory. McDuffie's order of nobility — whose coat-armor was a slave-whip and handcuffs — practically reigned, though not altogether to the satisfaction of men like Calhoun and McDuffie, who believed that the ideal government could not be reached, nor a perfect social condition be established, till all laborers were slaves. They were thoroughly logical. If the true theory of government was an aristocracy, the essential basis of which was the ownership of the laboring class, then emigrants from Ireland and Germany should be brought in and held as slaves, as well as emigrants from Africa. It was maintained at the South that a

fatal mistake was made when assent was given to the prohibition of the introduction of laborers from Africa to be held as slaves, while there was no restriction upon the coming of the corresponding class at the North who were recognized as freemen. The balance should have been kept even, either by the unrestricted introduction of slaves, or the prohibition of free emigrants.

It was not long before Garrison made himself heard, and gathered about him a small band of men and women as determined as himself. The political aspect of the question was not to them of chief importance. They acknowledged at the outset the limitations of the Con-

stitution, and avowed in the clearest and most unmistakable way their determination not to invoke Federal legislation to interfere with slavery in the States. Where, however, Federal

responsibility existed, as in the District of Columbia, the territories, and the domestic slave trade, there they demanded action. But even for that purpose they neither formed, nor proposed to form a political party, only praying that Congress should take into consideration the condition of the people who were under its control, and, by its laws, were held in bondage. They were not so foolish as to assume that there, or in the States, legislation would precede conviction, and it was to the task of conviction, therefore, that they addressed themselves. The slaves, they said, were robbed of their birthright, of their manhood, of the fruits of their toil, of all material well-being, of intellectual growth, of religious culture, of equality and protection under the law, of their rights as husbands, wives, and parents; that all that made human life worth having was taken from them. They were reduced to the condition of the brute, and like beasts of burden bought and sold in the market.

The appeal was to the humanity, the mercy, and the consciences of the people, on behalf of these two million of their countrymen, whose condition had no parallel among civilized nations. But the Abolitionists counselled no sudden or violent measures; the slaves themselves — if their words could reach them — they would exhort to patience, forbearance, and longer suffering; the masters they urged, by argument, remonstrance, and exhortation, to repent of wrong-doing and “let the oppressed go free;” but above all they addressed themselves to the great body of the Northern people, who, without the excuse of immediate contact with slavery, free from the influence of personal interest in its continuance, belonging to a higher grade of civilization than is ever possible where slavery exists, yet stood in the presence of this monstrous wrong with profound indifference to its existence, or in criminal apathy at their own moral and political responsibility. Slavery, the Abolitionists said, is an offence

Purpose of
the Abolitionists.

such magnitude that none can innocently uphold it, directly or indirectly. The North was not less guilty than the South, and it was meet that they should first call the North to repentance.

In this brief statement is the whole body of doctrine of modern abolitionism,—the full measure of its offending. In the progress of events, it is true, there came up side issues, growing out of some inevitable application of fundamental principles, when followed to logical consequences, or unlooked-for complications to which that gave rise. But all was comprised in the assertion of the truth that a black man was no less a man because he was black; that to hold him as a slave was a sin; that for sin there was one remedy, and one only, in ethics and religion,—immediate repentance and immediate atonement. It was as simple as the Gospel; and its preaching, like the preaching of the Gospel, brought not peace, but a sword. Many received gladly as the word they had waited for; many were faithful to the end; many fainted by the way; many proved that they were of a generation of backsliders. Those who preached it, reached according to their gifts, for, whatever other charges were added to the Abolitionists, it was not one of them that they were not independent in thought and word, each man for himself and no respecter of authority. Some were as gentle as the Apostle whom the Master loved; some, like the Master, cried, “Woe unto you! scribes and pharisees, hypocrites!” Others were filled with the spirit, and sometimes with the power, of the older prophets, and with Jeremiah cried out, “Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor’s service without wages, and giveth him not for his work!” One of the most potent and the most ludicrous of the arguments brought against them was that their language was harsh and intemperate. The baser sort rebuked it with oaths, revilings, and brickbats, to inculcate moderation; the less violent, but no less earnest, opponents of emancipation professed, with a fine contempt of logic, to deprecate the use of language which made, they said, emancipation almost impossible.

Effect of the
anti-slavery
agitation.

It was, however, what the Abolitionists said, not how they said it, that raised against them a storm of calumny and persecution the like of which is unknown in any civilized community of modern times. They were not misunderstood; rather they were understood too well. The whole country seemed to recognize the ominous sounds of an impending conflict in which the two great forces of liberty and slavery were arrayed against each other for the first time in dead earnest and for a final struggle. There was not an interest or a relation, social, political, or commercial, that would not be involved in this strife, and the first popular impulse was to meet and suppress a movement,

the immediate cost of which was apparent, while the ultimate good seemed dim and uncertain. The South was quicker than the North to apprehend the danger, nor did her far-seeing leaders make a mistake as to where that danger lay. Calhoun ridiculed the notion that the Abolitionists proposed to liberate the slaves by force of arms.

"The war," he said, "which they wage against us is of a very different character, and far more effective. — it is waged, not against our lives, but our character." "We do not believe," said Duff Green, a Washington editor, "that the

The real apprehension of the South.



Wendell Phillips.

Abolitionists intend, nor could they if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. . . . It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the Abolitionists can accomplish their object." It was precisely because they exposed the true character of slavery and slaveholders, and because they appealed to conscience, that the South was alarmed and that the North was called upon to arrest the agitation.

Before "The Liberator" had made itself known in Boston, except to the few who sympathized with its editor, an eminent legal gentleman of a Southern State wrote to the Mayor of that city, Harrison Gray Otis, in 1831, complaining of the publication of the paper, and commending it to his official consideration. The Mayor replied that this was to him the first intimation of the existence of such a sheet, but he had verified it by repeated and diligent inquiries. He found that it had received only "insignificant countenance and support," and that the South had nothing to fear from Boston. But, should there ever be indications that "opinion was taking a wrong direction," official application for its correction would receive "prompt and respectful attention."

A Northern response.

If a quick response like this could come, at the first intimation of peril, from one of the foremost men of Massachusetts, — one who, as a leader in the Hartford Convention, not twenty years before, had discerned, on political grounds alone, that between liberty and slavery there could be no unity, — if such response from such a source could come when the sharpened vision only of the slaveholder could

ee the first red spark of fire, what was to be expected when the whole horizon was kindled into flame? First tens, then hundreds, then thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands were drawn together by a new-born zeal, animated by a common religious conviction, inspired by pity for human suffering, demanding, with one voice, from Heaven and from man, justice and mercy for those who were dumb. These people were the stuff that martyrs are made of in all ages. None doubted, none can doubt, that they were single-minded, of the purest lives, the longest-headed, the picked and chosen of the body politic, the men and women most esteemed, most trusted, in all things else save this of anti-slavery, in the several communities where they were known for their individual characters. But a broad and sharp dividing-line was soon drawn between them and their countrymen. Some were called upon to be literally martyrs, even unto stripes, imprisonment, and death. Social ostracism was visited upon them all. Fanatics, fools, traitors, infidels, incendiaries, were their mildest designations; the climax of oburgation was reached with "nigger!" The South demanded their suppression as public enemies, and the North obeyed. Commerce, it was proclaimed, was in peril; the state was in peril; the church was in peril; civil society was in peril; religion was to be trampled under foot; civilization was to be wiped out; the throats of all the masters were to be cut by their slaves; all the white women were to be given up to the blacks; all white men were to take black wives. The intelligent and educated class — in whose hands were the wealth and all that intelligence and wealth command in the organization of society — were to be brought into subjection by one sixth of their number, ignorant to the last degree, possessed, as their share of the material resources of the country, of a knife and a bludgeon. It may be questioned which madness of that time is the most marvellous — the atrocities visited upon the Abolitionists, or the pleas put forward to justify them. But almost the whole North and the whole South became possessed of the devil, because these people said that black men, as well as white, "are endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights," and that to the nineteenth century Christ was as long a delay in the establishment of that fact as could be reasonably tolerated.

Character of the Abolitionists.

Their suppression demanded.

The plans of the Abolitionists were as simple as their aim was direct. They organized societies with brief but clear declarations of principles. They printed newspapers and pamphlets, and sent forth speakers to disseminate these principles and influence public opinion. Could they bring others to see as they themselves saw, that slavery was a sin to be at once abandoned, the

Their plans.

work would be done. They denied that slavery was, as the slaveholders loved to call it, an Institution. As well, they said, talk of the institution of counterfeiting, of forgery, of house-breaking, of horse-stealing. A slave was originally a man stolen, and the robbery was perpetuated in him or his descendants by sheer brute force. It was simply a system of man-stealing, they said, and was no more to be tolerated than any other monstrous wrong. As they were in earnest and meant to be heard, it was easy to see what the end would be if they could not be answered. It is our character that is at stake, said Calhoun; it is our consciences they appeal to, said Duff Green. Then they must not be heard, and the readiest way to silence them was by violence.

To emancipate the blacks even by common consent, would necessarily involve some sacrifices, and there were formidable obstacles to be overcome before that consent could be obtained. If to these difficulties was added the fear of terrible disasters, of anarchy, of the shedding of innocent blood, it would be easy, it was thought, to trample out agitation as though it were a pestilence. The whole country, therefore, gave itself over to a dispensation of lies—some to creating, some to believing them, but all to make them the apology for violence. For years the mob reigned.

Large rewards were offered in some of the slaveholding States for the apprehension of several of the leading Abolitionists. The Legislature of Georgia passed a law appropriating five thousand dollars to be paid to any person who should arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction, under the laws of that State, the editor of "The Liberator." Mr. Williams, the publisher of "The Emancipator" in New York, who never in his life had been in the State of Alabama, was indicted for declaring that man should not be held as property, and his rendition was demanded as a fugitive from justice, by the Governor of that State. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, called upon the Northern States to suppress the anti-slavery societies by penal enactments. Governor W. L. Marey, of New York, and Governor Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, earnestly commended the subject to the legislatures of those States, and a committee of the New York Legislature reported that such laws would be enacted the moment they seemed necessary. A bill was reported, though not passed, by a committee of the Rhode Island Legislature, for the trial and punishment of Abolitionists. At a public meeting in Mississippi, it was resolved that whoever should circulate anti-slavery publications, "was justly worthy in the sight of God and man of immediate death," and

The reign
of mobs.

Southern
action.

Opposition
to slavery to
be made
penal.

that such would be the penalty in any part of that State. In South Carolina persons were appointed to examine all travellers arriving at Charleston by steamboat or rail, and to deliver over to the Vigilance Committee all suspected of anti-slavery opinions. In Tennessee, Amos Dresser, a travelling agent of the Bible Society, in whose possession were found some anti-slavery publications, not for sale but for his own use, was sentenced, at a public meeting, at which the Mayor presided, to be punished with thirty lashes upon his bare back.¹ In Washington, Dr. Reuben Crandall, it was accidentally discovered, had received some packages, the wrappers of which happened to be anti-slavery newspapers. He was thrown into prison and was kept there for nine months before he was permitted to answer to an indictment for publishing a malicious and wicked libel with an intent to excite the slaves to insurrection.

Persecutions
at the
South.



The Domestic Slave-trade

A Mr. Black, an agent of the Bible Society, when it became known in New Orleans that he had offered a Bible to a slave, was compelled to fly for his life from the mob, after being severely reprimanded in a court of justice. The local society publicly apologized for Black's conduct, with the acquiescence of silence in the parent society in New York.

Manifestations like these — for these are a few only among many — show the spirit then aroused at the South at what the South instinctively recognized as an attack upon slavery that must inevitably lead to its destruction. The appeal to the North was met in a like spirit. The legislative committee of New York did not recommend immediate legislation for the punishment of the Abolitionists, because they believed, as Marcy suggested, that the popular opposition to the movement would soon make an end of it. A perpetual

¹ One of the books found in Dresser's possession was called *The Anti-Slavery Record*, and it contained the engraving of which we give a fac-simile. "This," says Dresser in his narrative, "added considerably to the general excitement." He adds: "Mr. Stout," who had caused Dresser's carriage to be searched, "told me that the scene represented in the cut was one of by no means unfrequent occurrence — that it was accurate in all its parts, and that he had witnessed it again and again. Mr. Stout is himself a slaveholder."

conflict was waged with the mob. In 1834, the house of Lewis Tappan, a wealthy and distinguished merchant of New York, was sacked, and the furniture destroyed. In October, 1835, on one and the same day a mob, led by the most prominent citizen of the town, broke up an anti-slavery meeting at Montpelier, Vermont; another at Utica, New York, with the member of Congress from that district and a county judge at its head, dispersed a meeting of the National Society, and compelled it to adjourn to the house of Gerrit Smith, at Peterborough: in Boston a meeting of women was beset by a mob of "gentlemen of property and standing"—as the newspapers of the town styled them in justification of their conduct; Garrison was rescued from the rioters, with a rope already



The Altan Riot — From an old Print.

tied about his body, and lodged in the city jail for safety, by order of the Mayor, who seemed to think it best he should not be hanged, though his life was not worth the suppression of a riot. The ladies found refuge in the private house of Francis Jackson. The next summer, the press and types of "The Philanthropist," a newspaper established in Cincinnati by James G. Birney, — a Southerner by birth, who had been a slaveholder, but had given freedom to his slaves, — were thrown into the Ohio. "Gentlemen," said the Mayor to the rioters, when the work was finished, "it is now late at night, and time we were all in bed: by continuing longer you will disturb the citizens or deprive them of their rest, besides robbing your-

lives of rest. No doubt it is your intention to punish the guilty and leave the innocent. . . . We have done enough for one night." The following year a mob attacked a warehouse in Alton, Illinois, where a printing-press was stored belonging to the Rev. E.

Lovejoy. Here, and on the opposite side of the river, in Missouri, his newspaper, "The Observer," had been three times suspended by the destruction of his printing materials. This time, the fourth, the suppression was permanent, for the editor was murdered. The news was received by what some

Murder of
Lovejoy.

Burning of
Pennsylvania
Hall.

the leading citizens of Boston tried to turn into a congratulatory meeting in Faneuil Hall; but which gave to anti-slavery a convert, Wendell Phillips, whose career, destined to be so marked in its influence upon the history of the next thirty years, began at that moment. Six months afterward, Pennsylvania Hall, a costly building erected in Philadelphia, that there might be one place there always open to free discussion, was for that reason burned to the ground. It was dedicated the previous day by an anti-slavery meeting, at which a poem by the young poet Whittier was read. The keys were given to the Mayor that he might be responsible for its safety; but no effort was made either to suppress the rioters or to extinguish the fire.



John G. Whittier. (1838.)

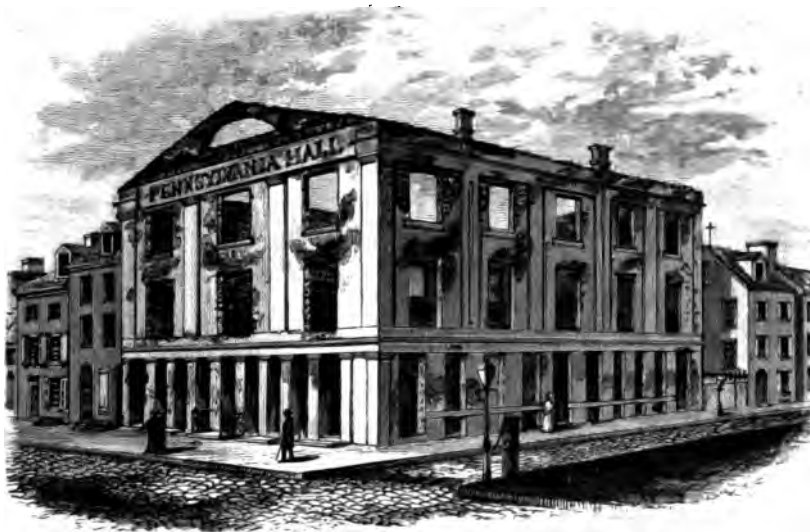
The years of these incidents were especially marked by such evidence of the popular determination to suppress at any cost this dangerous movement against slavery. But these were only the more remarkable instances of the character of that violent opposition; it was continued, sometimes with greater, sometimes with less bitterness, down to the very eve of the rebellion, according to the temper of the moment. During all that time, as the voice of the anti-slavery lecturer and press never ceased in the land, proclaiming the only issue on which slavery could ever be successfully met, namely, its inherent and absolute sinfulness, so to the end, till the contest was virtually over, there was always the sole response that had any force in it, namely, trample out that doctrine

and those who preach it. When a generation or two more have passed away, it will be easier to see and to understand how the scattered seed of a new faith yielded a thousand-fold of fruitfulness, and the North was gradually educated to meet the question of a government of and for the people, or the rule of and for an oligarchy of slaveholders.

The condition of the free negro was one result of slavery which the Abolitionists could not overlook. They exposed the character of the Colonization Society, established in 1816, which, at the North, sought the support of philanthropists under the pretence of facilitating emancipation, by returning at last all the slaves to Africa; while at the South its avowed purpose was to expatriate all free negroes, lest by their presence the slaves should be reminded that their bondage was not altogether hopeless. It was not one of the least of the anti-slavery offences that Garrison and Judge William Jay so thoroughly stripped that society of its hypocritical pretence. Gerrit Smith, the Tappans, Birney, and many others of the earliest and most earnest of the anti-slavery people, were Colonizationists, till they discovered that in supporting that scheme they had been the dupes of the slaveholders; nor could it longer rely upon the aid and countenance of the Federal Government, which had hitherto been given it almost without question. The popular opposition to the anti-slavery movement was strengthened, therefore, by the hostility of the Colonizationists, who gave the whole weight of their influence to add to the torrent of misrepresentation and persecution.

The condition of Northern free blacks was hardly better than that of the same class in the Southern States. They were pariahs; if the law recognized them at all, it was to oppress, not to protect them; no calling was open to them, save the lowest menial service; their presence among whites in public places was a forbidden intrusion; the schools were shut in their faces; if they were permitted to worship God in common with their fellow-creatures, it was only in the negro-pew, above the galleries, close under the ceiling, as far as they could be removed from the rest of the congregation; should enough of the spirit of the white man's Christianity reach them there to lead to a wish to commemorate the Last Supper, they were taught that the Lord had spread for them a second table; and when at last unto dust was pronounced over their poor black bodies, it was in some remote corner of the grave-yard, lest when the trumpet of the resurrection sounded there should be a disagreeable confusion of persons. In all the more ferocious mobs it was the innocent colored people who were the chief sufferers. The rage against the Abolitionists would yield, even at white heat, to the deeper hatred

of the blacks. When Pennsylvania Hall was burned, the rioters were easily turned aside, when on their way to attack the private houses of some of the leading anti-slavery people, by a cry, "to the nigger school-house!" raised by one who put himself at their head to divert their blind rage from the taking of life to the destruction only of property. In New York, in Boston, in Cincinnati, and in other places, it was a sort of sportive relief from the serious business of suppressing anti-slavery gatherings to sack the meeting-houses and the dwellings of negroes.



Ruins of Pennsylvania Hall.

It was only where the blacks were very numerous that they were permitted to acquire the merest rudiments of education in schools of their own. The promise of anything more was re- Education denied them. sented, so true was the logical instinct that every advanced step of the free colored man was one step nearer the freedom of his race. It was therefore, that when Miss Prudence Crandall of Canterbury, Connecticut, opened a school for colored young women, she was pursued with months of persecution, her furniture destroyed, her house set on fire, the lives of her pupils endangered, she herself thrown into prison, and an act passed by the Legislature forbidding schools of that character within the boundaries of the State. When a few colored boys were admitted into an academy at Canaan, New Hampshire, it was declared by a vote in town-meeting, that the school was a nuisance; and the people of the neighborhood assembled with a

hundred yoke of oxen, dragged the building from its foundations for some distance, and left it in ruins. At Zanesville, Ohio, a young woman opened a school for colored children, but it was broken up by the destruction of her furniture and the books, and the teacher driven from the town by personal abuse. In Brown County, in the same State, a school-house was burnt to the ground, with all it contained, and the teacher compelled to leave the place, for the same offence. It was proposed to establish a collegiate school in New Haven, Connecticut, for the education of colored boys; but the Mayor, when he heard of it, called a public meeting, and the citizens declared that they would resist the establishment of such a school in that town, and the scheme was necessarily abandoned.

It must not be supposed that acts like these were the acts of mere ruffians. The mobs of that period were often led in person, and always incited, by men of the highest social, political, and religious position. If the law was invoked, it was to justify riot; if the officers of the law interfered, it was to protect the rioters. It was assumed that the interests of politics, of commerce, of literature, of art, of education, of religion, were involved in the speedy suppression of the agitation against slavery. At the second anniversary of the National Society, in New York, a leading member was called out of the meeting by one of the principal merchants of the city to give him this warning, — “We cannot afford to let you and your associates succeed in your endeavor to overthrow slavery. I have called to let you know, and to let your fellow-laborers know, that we do not mean to allow you to succeed. We mean to put you down, by fair means if we can, by foul means if we must.” The Faculty of Lane Theological Seminary, at Cincinnati — of which Dr. Lyman Beecher was President — ordered its students to break up an anti-slavery society they had formed among themselves, a mandate which they obeyed by nearly breaking up the seminary, for they left it almost in a body. One of the largest publishing houses in the country said in a letter published in a Southern newspaper, “it must be pretty generally understood in your section, as well as elsewhere, that we uniformly decline publishing works calculated to interfere in any way with Southern rights and Southern institutions.” In the same letter they said: “Since the receipt of your letter, we have printed an edition of the ‘Woods and Fields’ in which the offensive matter has been omitted.” The “Woods and Fields” was an English book of tales, reflecting somewhere upon slavery, of which the New York publishers had inadvertently printed an edition without mutilation. They wrote directly to another Southern newspaper “that they had refrained from republishing a certain

Character of
Northern
mobs.

Northern
baseness.

English work, very ably written and likely to be profitable," because the author was an "Abolitionist, and we would have nothing to do with him." In Hinton's "History of the United States" — republished by another Northern house in numbers — there was something objectionable to the slaveholders; all the numbers, containing it, that could be found in New Orleans were seized and burned, and the agent compelled to flee for his life; in Charleston they were withdrawn from circulation, and the New York publishers printed a new and expurgated edition. Do these things seem too base and too cowardly to be credible? They are only a few instances among many that showed the servile spirit of the time. It pervaded all things and governed everywhere. Intense excitement and debate was aroused in the House of Representatives at Washington because there had been placed upon the shelves of the Congressional Library a work upon political economy, in which a chapter was given to the consideration of slavery purely as a question in social science. Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University, in a work upon Moral Philosophy, asserted the natural equality of all men, and that the enslavement of any part of the human race was incompatible with that law. The protest at the South against ever again sending Southern youth to that college, was loud and earnest.

It is not to be denied that the great mass of the Northern people were absolutely destitute of any humanity for the blacks, or any principle in regard to slavery. They knew nothing of the character of the Slave Code — unmatched for its atrocities in any body of law reduced to writing within the last thousand years — and they cared nothing for the condition of those who under it were held as property and treated as beasts. But they believed that any interference with slavery would convulse the political, commercial, and social relations of the country, and, though it might be confessed an evil, its cure was not worth such a convulsion. It may be said also, in their defence, a defence that can be made, however, only at the expense of Northern intelligence, that they honestly believed the Abolitionists meant to arouse the slaves to insurrection. The lie was purely a Southern invention, accepted by the thoughtless, or used as a pretext for violence by those who knew it to be a lie. It hardly needs now to be said, that in the whole range of anti-slavery publications, in all the constitutions of anti-slavery societies, in the speeches of anti-slavery lecturers for thirty years, not a single word was ever printed or ever spoken that sustains this accusation. On the contrary, till John Brown went to Virginia, in 1859, all appeals to the slaves were disavowed, officially, individually, in thousands of ways, on thousands of occasions. Moreover, the very philosophy of the movement showed

the absurdity of the calumny. That was nothing if not moral; it relied on no arm of flesh; no Abolitionist ever lifted his hand even to repel outrage upon himself; his faith was absolute in the appeal to reason and to conscience, and if this failed he had no hope left.

That such a charge was accepted, only proves the readiness of the Northern people to secure their own peace by the sacrifice of millions of their colored countrymen, by assuming a pretext which both North and South knew to be false. They not only knew it to be false, but they also knew that no such appeal could be made to the slave, nor would it be heeded if it could. The African in America, whether bond or free, either from inherent quality of race, or from the habit of submission, patience, and long-suffering engendered by centuries of subjection, has rarely shown any spirit of revolt. He may sometimes run away, but he does not resist. The Abolitionist was too wise and too merciful to attempt to stir up a servile war, which could only end in prolonging the servitude of the blacks; the slaveholders laughed that the great majority of the Northern people were either so stupid or so wicked as to consent to be duped by so absurd a pretext. But the few who, after all, made the public opinion of the North were not dupes, however it might be with the rabble who followed them. If slavery were really in danger, much else would be in danger also. From 1830 to 1840 the whole country was afloat upon a wild sea of speculation; the price of cotton went up in the course of that decade from six cents to twenty, and fluctuated anywhere between, as there was access or decrease of the public fever; more than twenty million acres of public lands were bought in the southwest; nearly four hundred thousand slaves were transferred from the slave-breeding to the cotton and sugar States, for the cultivation of these lands; all this was done, mainly, with borrowed capital, and plantations, slaves, cotton-crops were mortgaged directly or indirectly to Northern capitalists, through public or private credit, and whatever threatened to disturb it threatened great pecuniary loss. With all this was involved the never-ceasing struggle of the slaveholders for the perpetuity of their political ascendancy, who offered their favor to the highest bidder among Northern politicians. These influences, however little they may palliate the pro-slavery furor of the time, are not to be lost sight of in any consideration of its history. The North thought, at least, that its rage was not altogether without reason.

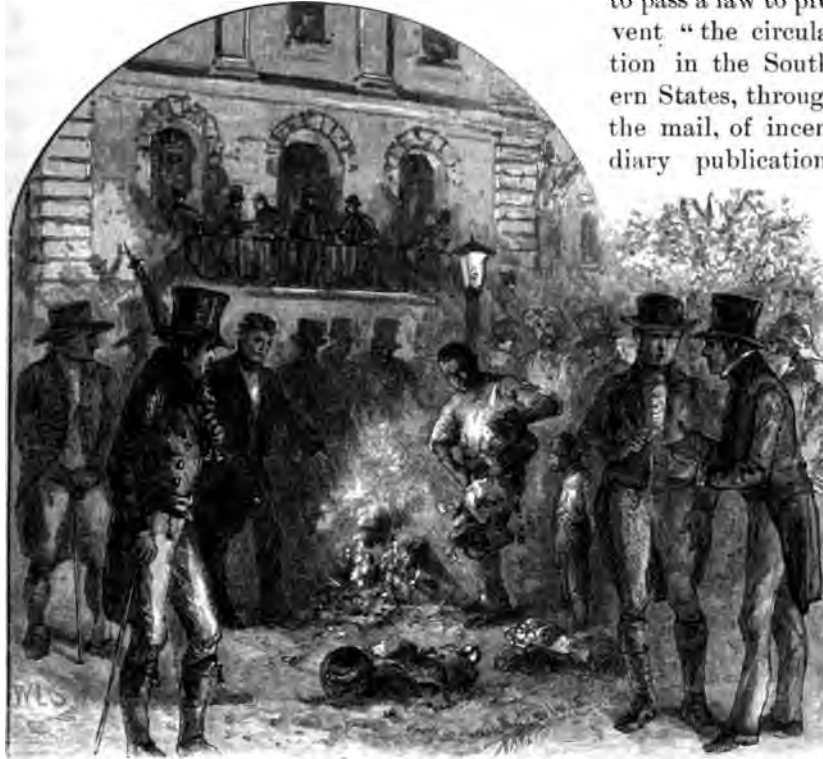
But the lie was sent forth to the world with the highest sanction. President Jackson, in his annual message to Congress in 1835, called "attention to the painful excitement produced in the South by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals addressed

Pro-slavery
accusations.

Condition of
the country.

to the passions of the slaves, in prints, and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to produce all the horrors of a servile war." It is quite likely that he believed this to be true, for he never permitted himself to be embarrassed by evidence in coming to a conclusion; and accordingly, he urged Congress

to pass a law to prevent "the circulation in the Southern States, through the mail, of incendiary publications



Burning Mail-matter in Charleston.

intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection." Of course the purpose was to prohibit the use of the mails for the conveyance of anything that touched the question of slavery. The sagacity of Calhoun was not at fault, when as chairman of the committee to whom the subject was referred, he reported that it should be left to the States to decide what was an incendiary publication. This was in accordance with his State-Rights theory, that the slave State should decree and the Union execute; and he knew, besides, that even then there were Northern members of Congress who would not consent to self-stultification, but would demand the evidence of the existence of any publication addressed to the slaves or designed, in the remotest degree, to excite them to insubordination, and that no such evidence

could be found. Nor did the slave States need any such law. Six months before the message, the mails had been seized in Charleston, S. C., and some few anti-slavery publications, addressed to influential gentlemen for their possible enlightenment, taken out and publicly burned. The precedent was one which every postmaster at the South was ready to follow; even the postmaster at New York had assumed the power of rifling the mails of everything which he thought might offend the South; and the Postmaster-general, Amos Kendall, had written to his subordinates both in Charleston and New York, justifying their assumed censorship of the press, though, as he acknowledged, there was no law to authorize it.

But neither laws nor lawlessness, neither tyranny nor subserviency, neither sagacity nor stupidity, could stay the tumult of discussion that swept over the country. Every obstacle it met only served to add to its strength, and on all sides questions arose in unexpected ways that increased the agitation. The slaveholders and the slaveholders' friends put into the hands of the anti-slavery people a tremendous weapon, by denying them, for years, the right of petition. Keeping carefully within the letter and the spirit of the law, they prayed that Congress would exercise its undoubted right of abolishing slavery in the national domain under its exclusive control, and of interdicting the domestic slave-trade. Their prayers would have been soon silenced, had they been simply received and denied; but when the attempt was made to destroy even the right to pray, then for every petition rejected there came a thousand new ones. For ten years they were hurled like fire-brands as if against a fortress of straw, and bastion and battlement were in a constant blaze and the magazines in continual explosion. A few brave men in Congress, led by John Quincy Adams, fought that fight against all the forces, Northern and Southern, of slavery. Session after session the attempt to get the petitions before the House was defeated, by a standing rule known as the "Atherton gag" — so called from one Atherton, of New Hampshire, who belonged to the class of Northern "white trash," bearing the same political relation to the slaveholders that the poor whites of the South occupied socially, too degraded, that is, to be respected even by slaves. But session after session the agitation widened, and the demand grew louder that when Northern citizens spoke they should be respectfully listened to, no matter what they said. When, in 1842, Mr. Adams presented a petition from some persons in Massachusetts, asking for a dissolution of the Union, and resolutions of severe rebuke were offered, his defence of himself and of the right of petition aroused hundreds of thousands of the Northern people to indignation and reflection upon the true meaning of the conflict out of which that incident grew.

The "Atherton gag," however, was only the perfected rule for excluding from Congress the consideration of any subject reflecting unfavorably upon slavery—though whatever favored it was never prohibited and was always in order. The initiative step was taken nearly three years before, in a resolution offered by Pinckney of South Carolina, upon which Mr. Adams refused to vote, declaring, "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, the rules of this House, and the rights of my constituents." The ground was thus clearly taken at the outset: on the one hand the inviolability of Slavery, and, on the part of Adams and a few others, the sacredness of the right of petition. The defenders of that right never yielded a single inch; petitions were sometimes presented by the hundreds in a single day, and of the thousands who signed them to assert the abstract right, many came at length to feel hardly less interest in the immediate object of the prayer. Pinckney's rule was renewed at the opening of the next Congress, and Mr. Adams, a few days afterward, asked if a paper in his possession, purporting to come from twenty-five slaves, would be laid on the table, without any action upon it, under the rule. The turmoil that followed, though paralleled many times since, was then without a precedent in the halls of Congress. The mobocratic spirit which ruled in Northern towns and cities, blazed up in the House. It was gratuitously assumed that a petition from slaves was a petition for their freedom, and the slaveholders and the slaveholders' friends vied with each other in denouncing ^{A petition from slaves.} a proposition so monstrous, and the audacity of the man who dared to ask for it a hearing. Public censure at the bar of the House was the mildest punishment proposed for him; one member from South Carolina denounced him as having rendered himself liable to the penal laws of the District of Columbia, and threatened, that should he persist in presenting such a petition, he would expiate the offence within the walls of the penitentiary. The first onslaught of the storm soon exhausted itself by its own fury; but it broke out again with renewed violence when Mr. Adams reminded his assailants that he had not yet presented the petition, but only inquired as to its probable disposition under the rule if he should present it, and then informed them that, whether genuine or not, it was not, as they had assumed it must be, for the abolition of slavery, but that slavery be let alone.

A similar and not less extraordinary scene occurred at the opening of the next session, when William Slade asked that a petition for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia be referred to a committee, with instructions to bring in a bill granting the prayer of the petitioners. It was the first time such a

proposal had been made, and the House was immediately in an uproar. Slade was speedily silenced by points of order, which were as quickly violated by Southern members with impunity. Representatives from several Southern States called upon their colleagues to leave the House, and when a motion to adjourn was made, all the members of those States were invited to come together to take this crisis into consultation. Rhett called it, in a report to his constituents, "the memorable secession of the Southern members," and the word was cherished. He prepared resolutions declaring it "expedient that the Union should be dissolved," and that a committee be appointed of "two members from each State to report upon the best means of peaceably dissolving it." But another "gag" rule was passed the next day, and the South was again appeased by enjoining silence once more upon the North. It only taught the North to think the more and talk the louder.

Elsewhere than in Congress events were constantly occurring at that period — and from that time forward were constantly cumulating — to intensify the public excitement, and to strengthen the North in the final struggle which was at some time inevitable, and, it was now evident, could not be long delayed. Not that such events had never occurred before; but that to the awakened observation and conscience, to which the anti-slavery people were perpetually appealing, such events no longer passed by unheeded. Thus, in 1839, the Governor of Virginia demanded of the Governor of New York the rendition of three sailors as criminals charged with aiding a slave who had secreted himself on board their vessel to escape from bondage. The demand, a few years earlier, would have been complied with without hesitation. But now no Abolitionist of the extremest school could have taken higher ground than that taken by Governor Seward in his refusal. The laws of New York, he said, did not recognize property in man, and to aid a person, therefore, to escape from slavery was not a crime. His exposition of natural law and of the law of slavery was masterly and unanswerable, and in the long controversy that followed, Virginia was driven to the *ultima ratio* of the slaveholder — a threat to dissolve the Union. The Virginian Governor appealed for sympathy to the other States; but Mr. Seward was neither alarmed by threats, nor moved from his position by an attempt at retaliation. While the controversy was pending, he asked for the rendition of a forger who had escaped to Virginia, and the request was refused until the prior demand of Virginia was complied with. But on this point, the Governor of Virginia went a little further than even his own Legislature would sustain him, and he indignantly resigned his office. An act was passed,

Secession of
Southern
members in
the House.

Controversy
between
New York
and Vir-
ginia.

however, requiring that all New York vessels in the ports of Virginia should be searched when about to sail, on the presumption that slaves were secreted on board ; and this law was to continue in force till the alleged fugitives from justice, whom Seward had refused to surrender, were returned and the recent act of New York, giving a trial by jury to all persons claimed as fugitive slaves, was repealed. The Governor was sustained by his own party, though the opposition — the Democrats — in the Legislature, passed resolutions upholding the pretence of Virginia to make the laws of New York subordinate to her own.

A similar controversy arose between New York and Georgia, about the same time, with a like result, in which the Governor of the latter State, profiting by the experience of Virginia, ^{New York and Georgia.} hoped to succeed in his purpose by stratagem. He demanded the return of a colored sailor on board a New York vessel, on a charge of stealing, first, a quantity of wearing apparel, and second, a slave. Governor Seward chose to go behind the indictments ; according to natural law, no crime had been committed in aiding a slave to escape from bondage, and there was, therefore, no criminal to return ; and the knavish cunning of the Georgians he refused to be taken in by, as the clothes the man was charged with stealing were the clothes worn by the slave who had attempted to escape. Georgia was also unfortunate about the same time, in a controversy with Maine, where a like demand for the rendition of an alleged fugitive from justice was made and peremptorily refused. It was the old question, — always recognized and inculcated as the fundamental principle of state-craft at the South — of the subordination of the Union, and the free States, to the law of slavery.

That the North was learning a new lesson, and learning it rapidly, is plain to see when it is remembered that only four years before Mr. Seward declared that New York did not recognize property in man, a joint committee of the Massachusetts Legislature ^{Attitude of Massachusetts.} had declared that “ the right of the master to the slave is as undoubted as the right to any other property,” and that “ any attempt, whether direct or indirect, to deprive the slaveholder of this property, as of any other, is a violation of the fixed laws of social policy, as well as of the ordinary rules of moral obligation.” This report, signed by George Lunt as chairman of the committee, was in response to the message of Governor Everett, in which he commended to the consideration of the Legislature the demands of five of the slaveholding States, that the discussion of slavery should be made a penal offence. The rebuke of this pro-slavery fanaticism, however, was not long delayed in Massachusetts. Only two years

later another joint committee of the Legislature — in a report declaring that Congress had the power to abolish slavery in the Federal domain, to interdict the domestic slave-trade, and to refuse admission to the Union of any new slave State, — said, “There is little difference of opinion in this Commonwealth as to the moral, social, and political character of domestic slavery. It is regarded by all, or nearly all, as a wrong in itself, and an evil in all its relations and influences. . . . The wrong is the greatest which man can inflict upon his fellow, and the evil deep, certain, and aggravated.” The chairman of this committee was James C. Alvord, and the report one of the firebrands which Adams shook in the face of Congress from session to session, till the slaveholders were ready to tear him limb from limb. Marshall, a member from Kentucky, acknowledged in open debate that the venerable ex-president would probably be lynched should he venture into that State, and threats of assassination were sent him almost daily by mail from the South.

The position taken by the governors of New York and Maine, in answer to the demands of slave States, was only one of the indications of the rapid growth of anti-slavery opinion at the North. Events were leading to nice distinctions. If, for example, to aid a man to escape from slavery was not recognized as a crime in Northern jurisprudence, how happened it that the escaping man must be returned to bondage? Hitherto there was no question anywhere, except perhaps among a few Philadelphia Quakers, as to the return of fugitive slaves; but the doctrine spread, that if there were a bond for a pound of flesh, no drop of blood must be spilled in tearing it from the living tissue. It is not likely that the number of slaves attempting to escape was increased; but those who did now found a multitude of friends ready to invoke the law, so far as it was possible, in defence of liberty, and where that could not be done, there were many more who were swift to obey what they believed to be a law higher than that of the Constitution. Thousands of fugitives passed stealthily through the free States, aided from point to point, to a safe refuge in Canada; others stopped on the way in Northern cities, but always ready for further and instant flight if the word of warning came, that the chase was on their tracks. Every case that came before the courts aroused profound interest, and set men to thinking upon the character of slavery, and the nature of fundamental law. In every arrest that was made public, where no opportunity was given, or none existed, for an appeal to judicial decisions, the appeal to pity for the unfortunate fugitives was irresistible with the thoughtful and humane. What right has one man to hold another in bondage? How far shall the municipal law of the slave States be

Fugitive-
slave ques-
tion.

permitted to override all law in the free States, where the end of government is the protection of the citizen in his right to life, to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? As every incident in the debates of Congress and of State legislatures, in the courts, in the action of Northern governors, in the attitude of religious organizations, in the persecution of individuals, and in the thousand attempts of the mob to suppress free speech, aroused reflection and intensified the struggle, so it was because the question of slavery had come before the people in a new aspect, and was seen with anointed eyes.

Where did a man's right to himself begin, and where did it end? In 1839 the United States brig *Washington*, Captain Gedney, overhauled, near the coast, and brought into New London, a Spanish vessel, the *Amistad*, having on board a number of Africans, who had been kidnapped in their own country, and sold as slaves in Cuba. On their way to another Spanish island in the West Indies, they captured the vessel, under the leadership of one Cinque, killed the captain and cook in fair fight, and put the rest of the crew and the white passengers, among them their pretended owners, in confinement. Knowing nothing of navigation, they ordered one of the Spaniards to steer the vessel



Cinque.

for Africa. He obeyed in the daytime, when his captors could tell by the sun which way the vessel was heading, but at night he reversed her course, till he brought her upon the American coast. These men, born free, reduced to bondage contrary to the law of nature and of nations, were thrust into jail to await a trial, on the assumption that they were slaves and pirates. From the State courts the case was taken up to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the final decision was, that the prisoners had been kidnapped in Africa and carried unlawfully to Cuba; that their present pretended owners had purchased them knowing these facts; that as they were not slaves they could not be pirates in taking the measures they did to regain their freedom, and that, therefore, they should be discharged. In the contest for justice to these helpless

The *Amistad*
case.

strangers, their friends were compelled to fight every step of the way against the influence of President Van Buren's Secretary of State, John Forsyth, of Georgia, and the Attorney-general, Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, who were anxious that these men, who, had they been white, would have been welcomed as heroes, should either be surrendered as slaves, or sent back to Cuba to the merciless disposition of Spanish law.

The fate that might befall these native Africans had no relation to American slavery, except as it touched the abstract question of property in man. But this was enough, for the slaveholders never forgot, and the North was beginning to learn, that on this question hinged the whole controversy. But in 1841 there happened a similar occurrence that came closer home. An American slaver, the *Creole*,

The *Creole*. sailed from Richmond with a cargo of one hundred and thirty-five slaves, gathered, not from the wilds of Africa, but the slave huts and kitchens of the Virginia and Maryland plantations. Among them was one whose very name was revolutionary — Madison Washington. This man knew something of liberty, for he had been a fugitive in Canada, and had gone back thence to Virginia to release his wife from bondage; but he had been retaken and sold, as was usually done with those whose intelligent discontent marked them as dangerous, for the depleting discipline and the safer distance from Mason and Dixon's Line, of a southwest plantation. Early in November, when the *Creole* was near the Bahamas, the black Washington, putting himself at the head of nineteen of his fellows, whose arms altogether were only four knives, attacked the crew, and after a struggle, in which one white, a slave-trader, was killed, and the captain and some others wounded, the blacks obtained possession of the vessel. They compelled the captain to take her into Nassau, New Providence, where those not immediately engaged in the revolt were declared to be free. Washington and his eighteen companions, who, the captain of the *Creole* demanded, should be surrendered to him to be taken to the United States for trial for mutiny and murder, were detained ostensibly to be tried in the English courts. The whole cargo was a loss to the slaveholders; but there were thousands of people at the North who persisted in considering it not in the light of a loss of property, but as a restoration to one hundred and thirty-five human beings of the liberty of which they had been robbed since their birth. Calhoun, Clay, and other Southern senators denounced the English Government for stretching its protecting arm over acts which they looked upon as piracy and murder, and for refusing to permit the United States to extend its slaveholding law into its dominion. Not a voice in the Senate was raised to defend the

inalienable rights which Madison Washington and his companions had asserted for themselves. Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State of the acting President, Vice-president Tyler, wrote instructions to Edward Everett, then Minister to England, which satisfied even Calhoun. In the House of Representatives a scene of characteristic violence ensued when Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, offered a series of resolutions, the essential point of which was, that every man has a natural right to himself, and that the slaveholding laws of the Southern States, however potent they might be at home, whatever sanction they might receive from the Federal Constitution, were void beyond their boundaries. A vote of censure was immediately passed by an overwhelming majority, and the bold member who thus challenged the legitimacy of slavery, as instantly resigned his seat, and before the sun set was on his way to Ohio to appeal to his constituents. "I hope we shall soon see you back again," said Adams with emotion, as Giddings took leave of him. The wish was fulfilled; the interval was long enough only for a new election, when he was back with an increased majority of thousands. The doctrine advanced by Calhoun was not new, but partly because of the peculiar character of the case of the *Creole*, partly because of the agitation of the public mind, it had never before attracted attention so serious. Within the ten previous years three American vessels engaged in the coastwise slave-trade had been wrecked at different times in the West India Islands, or driven into port by stress of weather. So long as slavery existed in her colonies, England consented to make compensation for the American slaves who were thus liberated; but after that event she declined any such concession — would hardly acknowledge that the principle involved was worthy of discussion.

Resignation
of Giddings.

Almost at the very moment that Congress was so hotly debating the nature of slaveholding law, the Supreme Court of the United States was pronouncing what that law was, so far as it governed the right of the recapture of fugitive slaves. More than once in former years attempts had been made to induce Congress to put an end to the kidnapping of free negroes along the border between the free and slave States; but it had hardly been possible to arouse attention enough to the subject to listen to a motion. In 1826 Pennsylvania, after conferring with Maryland, passed an act intended to prevent and punish kidnapping while, at the same time, it enforced the returning of fugitive slaves, and prescribed the method of seizure. In 1839 one Edward Prigg went into Pennsylvania, and, in disregard of the Act of 1826, carried out of the State a colored woman, Margaret Morgan, and her children, to restore them to a former mistress, Margaret Ashmore, in Maryland, from whom

The Prigg
case.

the woman and her children — except one born in Pennsylvania — had escaped some years before. Prigg was brought to trial and found guilty of kidnapping, not, however, because he had taken fugitive slaves, but because he had taken them without regarding the method prescribed by the law of the State. The case was carried to the Supreme Court by agreement between the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and its decision excited universal discussion, and quite as universal surprise and resentment. Many learned, for the first time, what the compromises of the Constitution really meant, though few, probably, saw foreshadowed in this decision the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and the decision of the same court in the Dred Scott case in 1856.

The court declared that to secure to the slaveholders the complete right and title of ownership in their slaves, as property, in every State of the Union, to which they might escape, was a fundamental article of the Constitution without which the Union could not have been formed. That this positive, unqualified right, no State law could qualify, regulate, control, or restrain. That the slave-owner could seize his fugitive slave wherever he found him, if he could do so without a breach of the peace, could seize, that is, one claimed as a slave, without question of his right or title, in the streets of Boston, as he would unquestioned in New Orleans or Charleston. But though the Constitution thus executed itself, it was the duty of Congress to enforce this right by special law, which it had done by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793; and as the right to legislate upon the subject belonged to that body alone, all State legislation — whatever its object, whether to protect its own citizens, to require evidence of the legality of the ownership of the slave, or even to aid the claimant in the recapture — was unconstitutional and void. One privilege, however, was left to the free States: they might forbid their own magistrates to act, as the law of 1793 required them to do, though the magistrates might act unless they were so forbidden. Yet under their general police power, the States might pass laws for the arrest of fugitive slaves, to remove them from their borders or otherwise protect themselves, — a saving clause intended for the protection of those States which presumed all colored persons to be slaves who could not prove they were free, and sold them to the highest bidder at public sale, if no owner appeared to take them away, which was the law in the District of Columbia: and finally, the law of Pennsylvania of 1826 — a part of the title and object of which was, “the protection of free people of color; and to prevent kidnapping” — under which Prigg was indicted, was pronounced unconstitutional and void. By this decision the country was taught that the law of slavery was

Decision of
the court.

supreme in the free as in the slave States; that the right of the slaveholder to his human property could tolerate, under the Constitution, no interference even for the sake of protecting the liberties of free-men. It rudely interrupted the controversy then going on between Governor Seward and the Governor of Virginia, by deciding that the law of New York, giving the right of trial by jury to a fugitive slave, was unconstitutional. There were differences of opinion among the justices on some points of the decision, mainly upon whether Congress had so exclusive a control of the subject as to prohibit any legislation by the States. On this point Chief Justice Taney went far beyond the Court, though agreeing with it in the main; it was the duty of the free State, he thought, to legislate, not for the protection of its own citizens, or on behalf of any unfortunate person who might be unjustly seized as a fugitive from labor, but to aid the slaveholder everywhere in recapturing the slave. In the doctrines here advanced by him was the germ of the decision in the Dred Scott case Dred Scott decision. in 1856, when Taney gave it as the opinion of the Supreme Court, that as, at the adoption of the Constitution, the negro was regarded as one who "had no rights which the white man is bound to respect," so he was not, and never could be, a citizen of the United States — the doctrine which at this moment, fifteen years after emancipation, rules the thought and the action of the South, that this is "a white man's government."

So everywhere the anti-slavery agitation made its way, and convulsed the nation. And nowhere else was that agitation so profound, or the result more significant or more permanent, than in the Church. The Southern Church, in its defence of slavery, The Church and slavery. was driven to maintain its divine character; at the North the world and the Church were agreed that the cost of meddling with the subject — of measuring Southern conduct and Northern responsibility by the New Testament and the Declaration of Independence — would be too great. The chief religious organizations by their acts and by their words gave the support of their enormous influence and power to slavery, till one after another they divided into New and Old, into the Church North and the Church South; for the earnest anti-slavery minority strove, year after year, to bring them to deal with man-owning and man-selling, which they all condemned in the abstract, as they dealt with other sins. No newspapers were so bitter in their hostility to the anti-slavery movement as the religious journals which represented the old organizations; no one class of the community reflected so faithfully and so zealously that hostility as their clergymen; keen as the eyes of the world were to detect the colored intruder in any place of public resort, they were not so keen

as the eyes of the Church in discovering any trace of African blood in one who should kneel in prayer anywhere but in the negro-pew, or ask for admission to the Lord's Table. The natural and inevitable result was that in the end, while the Church could only hinder and delay the emancipation of the slaves, multitudes of their own members were emancipated from ecclesiastical domination. It was no less an insult to the common sense than to the religious convictions of many serious Christians, that the General Assembly of the



The Negro-Pew. [An Actual View.]

Old School Presbyterians should reject a resolution calling upon them "to purify the Church of this great iniquity" by treating it as they treated "all other sins of great magnitude." For while declaring that they did "not think it for the edification of the Church for this body to take any action on the subject," the same meeting declared "promiscuous dancing" to be so "entirely unscriptural," and "so

wholly inconsistent with the spirit of Christ," and with "propriety of Christian deportment and purity of heart," as to call for the exercise of Church discipline.

They did not choose to remember that in the Southern churches, which they "fellowshipped," there was no rebuke for that promiscuous relation between the men and women of three millions of people which had taken the place of legal and Christian marriage. In North Carolina and Georgia it had been considered for the edification of Baptist associations to declare that where husband and wife were separated by sale, for the pecuniary benefit of the master, either might take a

Marriage
relation
among
slaves.

new husband or a new wife. It was difficult to evade the question, if these people were men and women, and not brutes to be held as property, whether their pretended owners were to be recognized as unoffending Christians by churches which maintained the right of discipline over their members. It was a question which shook the Church to its foundations and could not be stilled. As the gradual encroachments of the slaveholding dynasty proved how grievously the second and third generations had departed from the political faith of the founders of the Republic, so the anti-slavery agitation in the churches showed that they had fallen away even more lamentably from the testimonies and the discipline of earlier days. From the sowing of such seed, the red harvest was ripening.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF SOUTHERN RULE.

THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR — REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES — COST OF A SLAVE-HUNT. — TROUBLE ON THE CANADIAN FRONTIER. — BURNING OF THE CAROLINE. — TRIAL OF MCLEOD. — THE LOG-CABIN CAMPAIGN OF 1840. — DEATH OF PRESIDENT HARRISON. — SUCCESSION OF VICE-PRESIDENT TYLER. — HE BREAKS WITH THE WHIGS. — HIS SOUTHERN POLICY. — THE ASHBURTON TREATY. — EASTERN AND NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARIES. — THE DORR WAR OF RHODE ISLAND. — THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. — THE MANNER AND PURPOSE OF IT. — ELECTION OF JAMES K. POLK. — WAR WITH MEXICO. — ITS RESULTS. — ANNEXATION OF CALIFORNIA.

Second Seminole War. THE second Seminole War, though begun under the administration of Jackson, dragged slowly through all the years of that of Van Buren, and was not, indeed, quite finished till the summer of 1842. It was a war, like all other Indian wars, for the possession of the lands of the natives; but it arose primarily — like the former war with the Seminoles — from a wish to reduce to slavery the maroons of Florida, and the determination of South Carolina and Georgia not to have so near their borders an asylum for fugitive slaves. It was not because the Seminoles were not sufficiently peaceable when unmolested, that their removal to a reservation beyond the Mississippi was demanded; the chief reason for hostility against them was, that they would not give up to slavery the blacks who by long association and intermarriage had become identified with their tribe, and who in the swamps and Everglades led a free and happy, if a savage life. So long as this state of things continued, Florida was not practically slave territory, and to make slave territory was the object of the purchase from Spain.

Treaty of Payne's Landing. A treaty had been signed at Camp Moultrie, a few miles south of St. Augustine, in 1823, by which the Indians were confined to a reservation on the eastern peninsula; but this did not cure the difficulty, and the territorial Legislature petitioned Congress for their removal. By the Treaty of Payne's Landing, negotiated in May, 1832, it was stipulated that seven chiefs of the Seminoles should examine the country assigned to the Creeks, west of the

Mississippi, and if they found it satisfactory, and that the two tribes could live together amicably, the Seminoles were to be removed thither within three years; surrendering all their lands in Florida, and receiving fifteen thousand dollars and an annuity, besides certain supplies. It was also stipulated that the demands for "slaves and other property" stolen or destroyed by the Seminoles should be investigated, and, if proved just, be liquidated by the United States to the amount of seven thousand dollars. President Jackson, determined that the Seminoles should remove at all hazards, sent a special commission to the West, to convince the seven chiefs that the country was eminently desirable, and a supplementary treaty was obtained from those seven, who signed it without consulting the rest of the tribe.

A portion of the Seminoles were unalterably opposed to removing, as they feared to come under the domination of the Creeks, from whom they had seceded eighty years before.

Among the leaders of this party was a young chief named Osceola, son of a half-breed woman and an Englishman. His wife, the daughter of a slave, had been treacherously seized and carried off, to be surrendered to her mother's master. At a council, Osceola drew his knife and drove it into the table, saying, "The only treaty I will execute is with this!" The exact point of the controversy turned upon the interpretation of a pronoun in the Treaty of Payne's Landing. The pream-



Osceola at the Council.

Osceola and his party.

ble, after providing for the mission of the seven chiefs, stipulated that, "should they be satisfied with the character of the country," etc., the removal was to take place. President Jackson held that "they" referred only to the seven deputies; Osceola and his party held that it referred to the opinion of the whole tribe after they should hear the report of the deputation. Osceola's party swore to punish with instant death any Indian who should prepare for removal, and the threat was executed upon one of the chiefs.

Hostilities broke out in 1835, and under Osceola's leadership the Seminoles were aggressive, vigilant, and merciless. In December, Major Francis L. Dade, with about a hundred and forty men, set out from Tampa Bay on an expedition against the hostile Indians. When they reached the Big Withlacoochee, they were fired upon by an unseen foe, and Dade and nearly half of his men fell at the first volley. The remainder took shelter behind trees, and the skilful service of a six-pounder with grape and canister drove off the Indians, who had been hidden in the tall grass. The survivors of Dade's command immediately erected a small breast-work of logs; but in less than an hour the savages returned in immense numbers, and fired steadily upon the little band from every direction, till all were shot down. After they had gone with the arms and accoutrements, a band of negroes came up and butchered the wounded, except two who escaped. Three days later, General Clinch defeated, on the Withlacoochee, a band of Seminoles under Osceola.

The Territory was now in a general state of alarm. The settlements in the interior were broken up, and the white inhabitants flocked to the larger towns and forts. General Gaines with seven hundred men sailed from New Orleans in February, 1835, landed at Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay, and attempted a march across the country. But as he was without sufficient provisions, and had no knowledge of the ground, he was soon compelled to turn back, and was attacked at a point on the Withlacoochee where he had expected to find a ferry. While he constructed rafts, he was held in close siege by the Indians, and would perhaps have been defeated, had not Clinch finally come to his assistance. General Scott, who resented Gaines's movement as "interloping," then assumed command in Florida. The Indians improved every opportunity to murder express riders and isolated families and to cut off wagon-trains,¹ and attacked in force the post at Micanopy, but were driven off. The summer of 1836 was exceedingly sickly, and the forces at all the posts were depleted by disease. Fort King and Fort Drane

¹ It was said that these outrages were often the work of white men in disguise, and in two cases this was proved to be the fact.

had to be abandoned, and later in the summer Micanopy, — which gave up a large tract of country to the Indians. In an action near Newnansville, the Indians were defeated, and in the autumn a force under General Call routed them on the Withlacoochee, but failed to drive them from the Wahoo Swamp.

Once more a change of commanders was tried, when General Thomas S. Jesup superseded Call, with eight thousand men, and entered upon a winter campaign. The Indians were forced from their positions on the Withlacoochee, and pursued toward the Everglades, till in February, 1837, they sued for peace. Nevertheless, five

days afterward they made a determined though unsuccessful attempt to take Fort Mellon. In March, at Fort Dade, five of the chiefs signed an agreement to cease from war, and await the decision of the Government as to whether they might remain in Florida. General Jesup having vainly urged that such permission be given, about seven hundred In-



A Cuban Bloodhound.

dians and negroes were secured before the decision was announced to them, and sent off to Tampa for shipment. Osceola and a few others were sent to Charleston as prisoners, where Osceola soon died of grief. In May, 1837, General Zachary Taylor succeeded Jesup. The remaining Indians and maroons were now so wary, and scattered themselves so widely in the swamps and woods, that it was exceedingly difficult to follow them with an organized force. Jesup had taken measures to procure bloodhounds from Cuba, to track the refugees; perhaps because a dog of more sagacity was needed than the common hound trained for negro-hunts on the Southern plantations. Taylor and the Administration approved the plan, and thirty-three hounds, with five Spaniards to manage them, were imported from Cuba, at an expense of several

General
Jesup.

General
Taylor.

Use of blood-
hounds.

thousand dollars.¹ But the dogs, trained only to track negroes, would not take the scent of an Indian, and proved useless.

Taylor's plans were disarranged by the President, who sent General McComb to make peace with the Indians, and though Taylor had defeated them at Okechobee on Christmas day, 1837, he too was obliged to retire from the command, which then devolved upon General W. R. Armistead. During all this time, robbery and massacre had been going on, and as fast as small parties of Seminoles and negroes were captured they were sent to the reservation beyond the Mississippi — all save those whom any individual slaveholder chose to claim as his property. One more change of commanders was resorted to, when General William J. Worth, a man of more ability and more discretion than any of his predecessors, in the spring of 1841 succeeded Armistead. In a summer campaign, Worth's troops,

General
Worth.

in small parties, ascended the rivers and penetrated the swamps to the islands, where they destroyed not only the shelters of



W. J. WORTH

the enemy but many of the crops on which they must depend for the next winter. Worth then made use of a chief who had been brought to Tampa in irons, to secure a peace. Assuring him that he (Coacoochee) was a powerful chief, and could bring the war to a close, Worth bade him name five of his fellow captives and set a time which should be long enough for them to reach the tribe, and tell them that unless they appeared at Tampa and gave themselves up within that

time, Coacoochee and his fellow prisoners would be promptly hanged. In a few days they surrendered themselves, and from this beginning General Worth soon received the surrender of all the bands, and sent them to the West.

The war was ended at last, and it only remained to count the gains, and the cost. Somewhat over five hundred persons had been reduced from freedom to bondage, and Florida was no longer an asylum for fugitive slaves. That was the

The cost,
and the
result.

"I wish it distinctly understood," wrote the General to the Department, "that my object in employing dogs is only to ascertain where the Indians can be found, not to worry them." And the Secretary of War, Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, who had authorized the purchase of the dogs, smiled at Taylor's humane notions, directing that the dogs be put under the command of the following the enemy.

gain. The cost had been about forty million dollars — twice as much as was paid for the territories of Louisiana and Florida together, — and an unknown number of lives. It was estimated that for each person reduced to slavery, eighty thousand dollars and the lives of three white men had been expended.

But the war, long and costly as it was, as it dealt only with Indians and negroes, seemed, at the moment, of less consequence than a menace of hostilities on the northern border. A rebellion broke out in Canada in 1837, and so great was the sympathy for the insurgents on the American side, that General Scott was sent with a small regular force, and with power to call upon the Governors of New York and Michigan for volunteers in case of any serious difficulty. In spite of the efforts to maintain the neutrality of the United States, a small American steamboat, the *Caroline*, made regular trips across Niagara River to carry supplies to a party of five hundred insurgents on Navy Island. Captain Drew was sent from Chippewa with a considerable force on the 29th of December, 1837, to capture this vessel. Not finding her at Navy Island, Drew crossed to Grand Island, which was American territory, boarded her, and, in the struggle with those on board, killed twelve of them. The boat was towed into the stream, set on fire, and left adrift to be carried down the rapids and hurled over the falls of Niagara.

Destruction
of the *Caro-*
line in Ni-
agara River.

The Government of the United States at once demanded redress; but no definite and satisfactory reply could be obtained for three years. But in 1840, one McLeod, who boasted that he had participated in the affair, and had "killed a damned Yankee" with his own hands, visited the American side of the river, where he was under indictment for murder. He was at once arrested, and held for trial. The British Government promptly came to the rescue with a demand for his release, on the ground that what he had done was an act of war, performed under the orders of his commanding officer, for which he could not be punished by any civil tribunal. The President replied that no answer had yet been received to the question, asked three years before and many times repeated, whether the destruction of the *Caroline* was an authorized act of war; and that, in any case, the Administration had no power to prevent a State court from trying persons indicted within its jurisdiction. The Ministry assumed a hostile attitude, and threatened war in case McLeod were not released. The trial proceeded after the regular forms, and seemed likely to bring the two countries into conflict; but this calamity was happily averted by a verdict of acquittal on the question of fact. It was proved that McLeod had been asleep in Chippewa at the time

of the affair, and his story was wholly the product of his imagination. The natural excitement to which such a trial and its possible results gave rise was intensified by the attitude either of indifference or obstinacy assumed by the acting President, Tyler. In spite of the indignant remonstrances of Governor Seward, a United States District Attorney for New York was permitted to act as counsel for McLeod, and retain his office, presenting the remarkable spectacle of a law officer of the Government attempting to prove that in a case which might lead to war his own Government was wrong.

The political revolution of 1840, by which Mr. Van Buren was defeated, and General Harrison elected, was, as we now know, an entire surprise to the President himself. Looking back upon it, it is easy to see that dissatisfaction with the mechanical administration of party power, had as much to do with the change as the popularity of the new President, or any measures to which his partisans were committed. The financial crisis of 1837 had spread to every part of the country. The West at last felt the "pressure," as the pecuniary disturbance was popularly called, as much as the financial centres. The attitude of the Government in refusing any effort for temporary relief, irritated men who could sell nothing, could buy nothing, and had debts to pay. Still the State elections of 1839, as has been seen, had been favorable to the Administration. They seemed to confirm Mr. Van Buren in his appeal to a "sober second thought," which became for a generation proverbial. The Whig members of Congress proposed a national convention, to which should be intrusted a nomination for the Presidency — the first in the series of such meetings, which in their turn were to outgrow their usefulness. This convention was held at Harrisburg on the 4th of December, 1839, fifteen months before the President to be elected could take his chair. The firmness of the opposition appeared at once in the representation. Every State sent delegates, except South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

On the first ballot Mr. Clay had one hundred and three votes, General Harrison ninety-four, and General Scott fifty-seven. On the fifth ballot one hundred and forty-eight votes were given to Harrison, and he was named as the candidate. John Tyler, of Virginia, was named as the Vice-president. It was the custom afterward to speak of him as an accident. But at the period of the Convention the leaders of the new-formed party had no such confidence of success that they could neglect support anywhere. They wanted the votes of all who were disaffected toward Mr. Van Buren. The State of Virginia threw twenty-three votes at that time. All these had been given to Mr. Clay in the Convention. It was clearly wise to concil-

The Harrison campaign.

iate so strong a State, and the nomination of Mr. Tyler was due to the desire to do so.

The canvass which followed this nomination began a new era in elections. The same changes in travel which had made the Convention possible made possible immense gatherings of ^{Mass-meet-}
^{ings.} the people at central points, for what was called the "ratification" of the nomination of the opposition. Only too late did the leaders of the Administration party learn the value of such mass-meetings, as they came to be called. On the 4th of May nearly twenty thousand young men gathered at Baltimore, the largest assembly ever held in the country. More than one thousand came from a State as distant as Massachusetts. The only object, of course, was to show the attachment of the members to the cause they upheld; they showed it in songs, in the applause of eager speeches, in fervid resolutions, and adjourned to meet in Washington at the inauguration of General Harrison on the 4th of March. At the same time the smaller Convention, authorized by the Democratic leaders to make their nominations, met in the same city. Mr. Van Buren was named as the candidate for President unanimously. But for Vice-president no nomination was made, and the determination was left to the respective States.

The popular canvass which followed was marked with the same differences as those which characterized the two Conventions. The Whigs held everywhere those enormous, jovial meetings, and the Administration party ridiculed them as unworthy the occasion. The parts played by the Jackson men of 1825 and their antagonists seemed to be wholly reversed. In the midst of the canvass, a phrase thrown out by a Baltimore journal,¹ in its ridicule of General Harrison, gave a rallying cry to the opposition which was remembered for a generation. The editor said of Harrison that if anybody would give him a pension of a few hundred dollars and a
<sup>Origin of the
log-cabin
and hard-ci-
der symbols.</sup> barrel of hard cider, he would sit down in his log cabin content for life. Some happy observer in the West seized on the unfortunate sneer. To ridicule the log cabin, in which every Western man was born, ill became the representative of the democracy of Andrew Jackson. From that moment the "log cabin" became the symbol of the opposition. Log cabins were set on wheels and drawn in processions. Large log cabins were built in the midst of crowded cities, to be used as rallying places for the faithful. Ardent politicians wore log-cabin buttons and handkerchiefs, and smoked log-cabin cigars. Even laundresses advertised that they were able to do up shirts in the most approved log-cabin style. Log-cabin songs were

¹ The Baltimore *Republican*.

heard everywhere, — often sung with choruses of tens of thousands, — uniting in enthusiasm for “Tippecanoe and Tyler too.”

Between such popular excitement on the one side, and the decorous methods of the Administration, the prestige which Andrew Jackson had given to Mr. Van Buren vanished. His only considerable strength, as it proved, was that which he had gained by his loyalty to the South. That loyalty even Calhoun — for years his rival and political enemy — could not doubt; for Van

Van Buren's
position.



Martin Van Buren.

Buren, as President of the Senate, had given, in 1836, his casting vote in favor of Calhoun's bill making it a penal offence in postmasters knowingly to permit any anti-slavery matter to be delivered from the mails; and he had assured the South that he “must go into the Presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of any attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slaveholding

States.” And even in this he gave the benefit of a doubt to the slaveholders, for, as he said in the same letter, he was not quite sure that Congress had not complete power over the subject in the District. The nomination of John Tyler by the Whigs did not give them Virginia. That State, with South Carolina and Alabama, voted for Van Buren. His friends only carried Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, in the West, all small States then, — and the ever-faithful New Hampshire, in New England. All the Middle States voted for Harrison, though this was the section to which Mr. Van Buren himself belonged. It was not the first nor the last instance in which a candidate for the Presidency could not gain the support of the region from which

he came. These few States, loyal to the memory of Jackson and the instructions of Calhoun, could only give the President sixty votes; the one hundred and seventy-five electoral votes of the other States were given to General Harrison. His majority of the ballots given by the people themselves was about 146,000 in a vote of 2,403,000, of all the States but South Carolina. In that State the Legislature threw the vote, and no precise estimate, therefore, could be made of the popular preference.

On the 4th of April, after a short illness, the President died, at the age of sixty-seven years—the first chief magistrate of the United States who had died in office. In his brief term he had retained the Western openness of which his friends had boasted:

he had permitted himself to be overwhelmed by visits of those who would congratulate, would advise, or would seek office, and, fairly exhausted by such demands on his good nature, the strong constitution gave way, which had not quailed in frontier life or Indian warfare. His death brought into office, by the united vote of the Northern States, a Virginian, whose whole public life had committed him to the State Rights theory, as Jefferson proclaimed it. The next four years proved that Mr. Tyler was a person with whom self-conceit led to arrogance, while



John Tyler.

it blinded him to considerations of a large, national policy, even if he were capable of grasping one. The control of the Executive office by a bigot to the Southern policy, precipitated, as it proved, what has since been called the irrepressible conflict. At the outset, the Cabinet, and Mr. Clay, who held quite as large a share as Mr. Webster in leading the party, tried to persuade themselves that Mr. Tyler would be true to the power which had made him what he was. He took the oath prescribed for the President "for greater caution," although he considered that no other oath was necessary than that which, as Vice-president, he had already taken. In an address to the people, he expressed the opinion that there should be a radical change in the method of appointing the agents entrusted with the custody of the public moneys. He de-

Harrison's death.

Accession of Tyler.

nounced removal from office for none but political reason, but said that active partisanship was sufficient reason. As to the financial embarrassment of the country and the relation to it of the Administration, he condemned the Sub-treasury Act of Van Buren, and said he should give his sanction to any constitutional measures which

His policy. Congress might propose for the restoration of a sound circulating medium. The address was received with satisfaction by the Whigs, as announcing good Whig doctrine. But the extra session of Congress, summoned by President Harrison to meet in May, soon showed that the President meant to have a policy of his own. In this first message he recognized the veto of the United States Bank as approved by the nation, — the failure of the State bank system was obvious, — but as some “fiscal agent” was necessary, the selection of that agent should be left to the wisdom of Congress, and any constitutional measure, he promised, should receive his approval.

Whether Mr. Tyler then meant to break with the Whig party and its leaders, has never been made known. In truth, he was not a man of whose purposes or intentions much need ever be said, so freely was he moved by impulses, whether of flatterers or of passions. The understanding that he had doubts as to the rights of Congress to establish fiscal institutions anywhere within the States, led to a plan for a central bank in the District of Columbia. The certainty that his views were speculative or theoretic rather than such as were derived from a practical knowledge of finance, and a wish to apply it in a practical way, led Congress to the unusual course of asking the Secretary of the Treasury to submit a plan for a fiscal agent. Mr. Ewing accordingly submitted such a plan. The details are now of no importance. The opposition in the Whig party and out of it was strong enough to change the project materially before the President received it for his signature, and returned it with his veto. He objected especially to the discount power of the proposed branches. Congress was persuaded by the leaders of the Whig party to pass a new bill which did not grant the privilege of discount banks. This also was vetoed by the President on the 9th of September, on the His vetoes. ground that it created “a national bank to operate *per se* over the Union.” With this veto came a final breach between him and the party that had elected him. The Cabinet, excepting Mr. Webster, resigned. They put their resignation on the ground that he had not kept faith with them. They were careful to say that he was entitled, of course, to his opinion on the subject of the Bank. But they declared that he had asked his Cabinet to stand by him and procure the passage of such a bill as he now vetoed.

They had done so, and the President had then failed to keep his promises. To these attacks no reply was made; perhaps none could be made. From that moment to his death, his reputation for political integrity was lost with the country.

The consequences of this first struggle between the President and the Whig party were of much more importance and significance than any that attached to it as a mere financial ^{Financial} ~~affairs.~~ measure. The rapid increase of the country in wealth, soon gave rise to operations in exchange and other details of finance so large that the business of the Government was no longer of special importance; and the simple, almost Arcadian, device of the Sub-treasury proved quite sufficient for the administrations of the next twenty years, which were always spending up to the very edge of their income. Mr. Tyler's declaration of personal independence threw him and the country into the arms of the extreme Southern interest, at a moment when it seemed as if that interest had received its severest check. Van Buren had played the part of a "Northern man with Southern principles," till he had hesitated to open the door of the Union when the slaveholders knocked for the admission of Texas. His recompense was the scanty vote of four Southern States, — while he was deserted everywhere else but in New Hampshire, Illinois, and Missouri. So stern a lesson was given, even thus early, to the alliance between the Northern Democrats and the Southern slaveholders. But the moment when Tyler broke with the party which chose him, he fell back for support upon his own State and the extreme South. He soon made close alliance with Calhoun, and what was left of his administration was devoted to an extreme Southern policy.

Of this change of policy the annexation of Texas to the United States was the first result. The first communication which ^{Philip Nolan} ~~citizens of the United States~~ ^{in Texas.} had with that territory was in a few expeditions made by Philip Nolan, an adventurous Kentuckian, for the capture of wild horses. He made these expeditions in 1801 under license of the Spanish government of New Orleans. But so jealous was the Spanish Crown of encroachments from the United States, that by special order from Spain, the Spanish Governor of Chihuahua surrounded Nolan's party, killed him, and took them prisoners, in entire violation of his pass of safe-conduct. From that time to 1820, a series of incursions were made into the territory by adventurers from the western part of the United States, — all of whom were driven off, or killed, or imprisoned by the Spanish authorities. In 1820, however, Moses Austin, an American, obtained a grant of land in Texas, and his son Stephen Austin in 1822 took a body of colonists to settle there.

By the constitution of Mexico, slavery was prohibited in Texas, and that alone was sufficient reason why the South should wish to control it. Separation was the first step to be taken; the rest would follow. Jackson, when President, tried to buy the province, as Adams had done before him, but this failing, other measures were resorted to.¹ Mr. Poinsett, the Minister to Mexico, wrote home that "we can never expect to extend our boundary south of the Sabine without quarrelling with these people." The quarrel was undertaken by General Samuel Houston, a Tennes-



The Alamo.

seean, and a friend of the President's, who went to Texas, ostensibly as an emigrant, actually as a revolutionist. All this was an open secret hardly disguised, never seriously denied. In the autumn of 1835 the province declared its independence; in the spring of 1836, — about a month after the siege of Alamo, where the Texan garrison was killed to a man, — the decisive battle of San Jacinto was fought,

¹ Adams in his Diary says that "Jackson was so sharp-set for Texas, that from the first year of his administration he set his double engines to work, of negotiating to buy Texas with one hand, and instigating the people of that province to revolt against Mexico with the other. Houston was his agent for the rebellion, and Anthony Butler, a Mississippi land-jobber in Texas, for the purchase. Butler kept him for five years on the tenter-hooks of expectation, negotiating, wheedling, promising, and finally boasting that he had secured the bargain by bribing a priest with half a million of dollars." That method of negotiation, however, Jackson absolutely forbade. The priest was to compass his end by the use of influence; precisely how, can only be conjectured, — but he was the father-confessor of the sister-in-law of Santa Anna, the Mexican President.

Houston being in command of the Texans; Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, was taken prisoner, and he agreed that the independence of Texas should be acknowledged.

When the newspaper report of this event reached Washington, and before any official tidings could be received, the Senate, in indecent haste, took up the question of recognition. Calhoun urged, not merely recognition, but immediate annexation. Calhoun proposes annexation. The times were not yet ripe, however, for that measure, and all that could be done at the moment was to provide by a resolution, offered by Clay, that the independence of the State should be acknowledged when there was sufficient evidence that she could maintain it. Another year passed, and that evidence was not forthcoming. Then, only three or four days before the expiration of Jackson's term of office, an amendment was made to the appropriation bill providing for the pay of a diplomatic agent to Texas, as an independent power, should the lacking evidence of her ability to be one be received by the President. Andrew Jackson was not the man—as the reader has seen in more than one instance—to be hampered by legislative restraints if they stood in the way of his purposes. Almost the last act of his official life was to sign the appropriation bill with this amendment, and immediately appoint the official agent to Texas, thereby acknowledging her independence. The first step in the great conspiracy to get possession of territory large enough for five new slave States, was secure.

From that moment the project of annexation was pushed with great persistence, but without much apparent success till about the middle of Tyler's administration. It was charged that a corrupt interest in well-nigh worthless Texan stocks influenced Tyler's counsels; it can hardly be questioned that speculations Tyler's position. in Texan lands gave great vigor to the proposed measure. But it was the interests of States, not of individuals, that gave to the scheme its importance and strength. An ex-president of Texas, but a native of the United States, — General Mirabeau B. Lamar, — when on a visit to Georgia in 1844, wrote a letter in reply to a request to deliver a public address, in which he sets forth with great frankness the reasons for annexation, — with the more frankness, probably, Lamar's letter. that his letter was addressed to a Southern audience, printed obscurely in a Southern city, and not intended for Northern reading. Annexation, he said, “addressed itself with special and peculiar force to the people of the South.” On the question of slavery their interest and that of Texas were identical, and the “overthrow of the system in either country would lead to its extirpation in the other.” There was great danger of that catastrophe. The majority of the

people were not the owners of slaves; if the independence of the State were much longer deferred,— Mexico under the alleged influence of England refusing it till slavery was prohibited,— this majority of non-slaveholders might soon begin to ask, “How long shall we suffer for the benefit of slaveholders?” And this majority was constantly augmenting by the immigration of free laborers, while the timid slaveholders, with laborers that were property, held back till annexation should settle the question. “I do not see how it is possible,” he said, “in her present unacknowledged condition to maintain it [slavery] against the tremendous efforts which will be made for its subversion. And when slavery gives way in Texas, the ruin of the Southern States is inevitable.” That ruin, he predicted,



Sam Houston

might come within half a century, through the moral influence of a great free republic on the southwest, combining with all the rest of the world “in a sleepless crusade,” while slaves, for whom there was no outlet, would so accumulate that they would exhaust the soil of the Southern States, cease to be valuable to their owners, and become a burden. But if Texas was annexed to the Union, how brilliant a future was presented to the slave States! In that immense and fertile region was an almost exhaustless field of wealth in raising cotton by slave-labor, an al-

most exhaustless market for the surplus crop of negroes at the South. This, in brief, was the argument of this remarkable letter, and no Abolitionist could have stated the case with more frankness or with more truth. It covered the whole ground.

When Texas asked for admission during Van Buren’s administration, and the President declined, it killed him politically. Mr. Webster’s unwillingness to abet it, as Tyler’s Secretary of State, caused his removal from the Cabinet. He tried to persuade his old friends at the North to interest themselves in united opposition to the measure, and failed; and this failure, it was supposed, was one source of the irritation which he afterwards showed when the anti-slavery sentiment of the country sought his help in vain. Before long the country knew that the danger was

The ques-
tion of ad-
mission.

real. Mr. Webster was removed, and Mr. Upshur of Virginia took his place.

Had Mr. Webster's public career come then and there to an end, his memory would have been revered for his devotion to principle. As a statesman he had already signalized his administration of the office of Secretary of State by the adjustment of the boundary question with Great Britain, which had been for more than half

a century a menace to the peace of the two nations. Lord The Ashburton treaty. Ashburton was sent by England to this country in 1842 on a special mission, and the terms of a treaty were agreed upon between him and Mr. Webster. The most difficult question in the settlement related to the northeastern boundary defining the limits of the State of Maine. Between the line claimed by England and that claimed by Maine, — for which her people were at one time anxious to involve the country in war, — lay a territory of over twelve thousand square miles, or larger than the whole of Vermont. Much of it is of little worth, either for agriculture or for any possible military operations. The worst part of the route of Arnold's expedition against Quebec in 1775, lay through this tract, and that operation was never likely to be repeated. The line was agreed upon as it now stands on all modern maps of Maine, giving to the United States seven thousand square miles of the disputed territory, and to Great Britain five thousand, with a stipulation for free navigation of St. John's River. The northern boundary of Vermont and New York was supposed to be the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. But it had been shown that the line surveyed as such was slightly erroneous, and a correction of it would have thrown Rouse's Point, and a narrow strip of land held in good faith by citizens of Vermont, on the Canada side. It was agreed not to make the correction.

On the northwestern boundary, St. George's Island, containing forty square miles, in the passage between Lakes Superior and Huron, was given to the United States; as was also Isle Royale, near the western end of Lake Superior. The line was thence traced from the mouth of Pigeon River up through the chain of rivers and small lakes to the Lake of the Woods, and thence along the forty-ninth parallel to the Gulf of Georgia, on the Pacific coast, — as it now stands on all good maps.

The Treaty also provided for the rendition of fugitives charged in either country with "the crime of murder, or assault to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper," on the production of sufficient evidence to warrant the arrest and trial of the person so accused in the place where he should be found. And it also gave pledges of renewed efforts to sup-

press the African slave-trade. Ratifications were exchanged at London in October, and the Treaty was proclaimed by the President on the 10th of November. It was officially designated as the Treaty of Washington, but was popularly called the Ashburton Treaty. The opposition in England called it "the Ashburton capitulation;" and fault was also found with it in the United States, as conceding too much to England, though it was probably as good a settlement as could then have been made.

By a subsequent Treaty ratified in July, 1846, the boundary-line was continued westward from the Rocky Mountains along the forty-ninth parallel to the middle of the channel between Vancouver's Island and the continent, thence southerly through that channel and Fuca Straits to the Pacific, reserving the right of navigation in the channel and straits to both parties. For more than twenty years Oregon had been, by agreement, in the common occupancy of Great Britain and the United States, subject to termination by either party at twelve months' notice. The expediency of giving the notice was the subject of long and heated debate in both Houses of Congress during the winter of 1845-46. There was much talk of war; patriotic members — as one of them said — "had rather make that territory the grave of his fellow-citizens, and color its soil with their blood, than to surrender one inch of our soil." It was for the boundary of $54^{\circ} 40'$ — "fifty-four forty or fight," was the cant phrase of the hour — that these belligerent members were so ready to lay down the lives of their constituents; but the final settlement of this long vexed question on the forty-ninth parallel was acquiesced in by the people at large with entire equanimity.

The year was marked by another event, which wore, at one time, a threatening aspect. Though technically it was a rebellion, and though it may be questioned whether the object aimed at could not have been attained in a less turbulent way, the reform at last secured was one which should have been granted long before. Rhode Island was still governed by her old colonial charter, by which the right of suffrage was restricted to freeholders, by ownership or lease, and to their eldest sons, and the popular representation, under the old apportionment, had become exceedingly unequal. Thus Providence was given four representatives in the lower house of the Legislature, and Newport six; but in 1840 Providence had twenty-three thousand inhabitants, and Newport but eight thousand. Similar discrepancies existed in other parts of the State, so that in the Legislature of that year twenty-nine thousand of the inhabitants were represented by seventy members, and eighty thousand by thirty-four members. Here was reason enough for popular discontent.

The Dorr
War.

Repeated and vain appeals to the Legislature to take measures for a reform of the Constitution failing, the people at length took the matter into their own hands. A new Constitution was formed by a popular convention in October, 1841, submitted to the people in December, and accepted by a majority of the votes of the male adult population of the State. Under it an election was held the following April, and Thomas Wilson Dorr was chosen Governor. The crisis was reached on the 3d of May, when Dorr, and the other State officers elected with him, attempted to assume the government and were resisted by those who held office under the charter, at the head of whom was Governor Samuel W. King. Both sides took up arms, and an appeal was made to the Federal Government. The Dorr party were twice — May 18th and June 25th — dispersed without bloodshed. Dorr was convicted of high treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, but after three years was released under a general amnesty, and in 1851 was restored to full citizenship. Meanwhile the Legislature — yielding to the inevitable — had called a convention to draw up a constitution; but its work, submitted to the people in March, 1842, was rejected. Another convention was called, and another constitution was formed, which, being satisfactory to the people, was ratified, and went into effect in May, 1843.

The negotiations with Texas, at once opened by Secretary Upshur, were suddenly interrupted by his death.¹ The President then called to his assistance the master to fill the place of the man. In the last of March, 1844, he made Mr. Calhoun Secretary of State. He believed in the annexation at any cost, and no scruples on any man's part now retarded the negotiation. Mr. Tyler justified his invitation to Texas to join the United States by what he thought, or pretended to think, the certainty that Great Britain was engaged in diplomatic intrigue to abolish slavery there. Four times — in verbal assurances to the American Minister at London, Mr. Everett, and in written assurances to the English Minister at Washington, Mr. Pakenham — Lord Aberdeen had declared that his Government had not interfered, and did not intend to interfere with slavery in Texas. It suited Mr. Calhoun to assume the contrary, and to take measures therefore to annex that State to the United States for the protection of slavery, — the one paramount function of the Federal Union. He made a treaty with Texas, which was sent to the American Minister at Mexico to communicate it to the Government. He represented that the efforts which Great Britain was making to abolish slavery compelled the United States to make the treaty without the assent of Mexico. But he offered Mexico ten

Calhoun becomes Secretary of State.

Pretexts for annexation.

¹ He was killed by the explosion of a cannon on board the *Princeton*, in the Potomac.

million dollars as indemnity. On the same day the treaty was sent to the United States Senate, where it was rejected by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen. It had not even the support of the Democratic party. Mr. Benton opposed it hotly, but was supposed to carry an old animosity to Calhoun into his objection. Mr. Van Buren, who was the prominent candidate of the Democrats, in the pending election, publicly opposed it also. Mr. Clay, who was the Whig candidate, led his party with this question as the great issue of the Presidential campaign. The opposition of these statesmen sealed their political fate. The Democratic Convention nominated Mr. Polk of Tennessee, who was in favor of annexation, and Mr. Van Buren's public life was over. Mr. Benton by his opposition lost the favor of Missouri.

Election of
Polk.



James K. Polk.

The Whigs had nominated Mr. Clay unanimously; but the sincerity of his opposition to annexation was not believed in by the anti-slavery voters, and he lost the support of both New York and Pennsylvania. In New York a sufficient number of voters gave their vote to the candidate of the new Liberty Party, James G. Birney, to give Mr. Polk a plurality; and in Pennsylvania he avowed moderate tariff sentiments, just

in time to secure a majority there. These two States, which together gave sixty-two electoral votes, decided the election. Mr. Polk's plurality in New York was only 5,106 out of a vote of 485,000, and his plurality in Pennsylvania was only 6,332 out of 350,000 votes. Though he had not a majority in the popular vote, his electoral vote was 170, against 105 for Mr. Clay.

The certainty of this result stimulated the action of the dying Congress. The new candidate used all his influence to obtain an adjustment of the matter before his inauguration. As a treaty with Texas was impossible, a vote of two thirds of the Senate being nec-

ssary, a joint resolution annexing Texas was introduced. It passed the House after a protracted discussion, which rent in two the Democratic party, to which a section of the Northern part was never again united. A proviso was annexed, necessary to meet some men's constitutional scruples, which provided that the new President might act, if he preferred, by treaty. The Senate, which in April, 1844, had rejected the treaty, by the vote of thirty-five to sixteen, was induced to accept the joint resolution. This was the 1st of March, when President Tyler's term had three days to run. On the same day when the joint resolution passed, Mr. Calhoun sent a messenger to Texas to bring her in under the joint resolution. Mr. Polk had promised that he would act under the treaty proviso, but as Mr. Tyler had taken the responsibility of acting under the joint resolution, Mr. Polk considered himself discharged from his promise. Thus in the confusion of the last moments of a Congress, and of an administration, the annexation of Texas was carried, as under precisely similar circumstances the acknowledgment of its independence had been carried eight years before. So, by a resort to similar tactics, the Missouri Compromise had been forced through the House in 1820, and the Nullification Compromise in 1833.

Polk came into power with the certainty of a war with Mexico on his hands. Before Secretary Upshur was killed, Mr. Van Zandt, one of the Texan ministers at Washington, had addressed him a letter, asking whether, in case of annexation, Texas could rely upon the United States for aid against Mexico? Mexico, it was assumed, would end the armistice then existing between her and her revolted province, and the negotiations then going on for peace, and renew, or threaten to renew hostilities. The inquiry was made in January, 1844, but was not replied to by Mr. Calhoun, Upshur's successor, till the following April. The reply was for some time withheld from the papers sent to the Senate. In the mean time the treaty had been rejected, and it seemed, therefore, of comparatively little consequence then that the Secretary had assured the Texan ministers that in expectation of the ratification of the treaty, a strong naval force had been sent into the Gulf of Mexico, and all the disposable military force ordered to the southwestern frontier. The significance of this preparatory movement was better understood when, in the following March, annexation was accomplished by joint resolution.

The United States army, in 1845, numbered about five thousand men, and three thousand six hundred of them were at Corpus Christi, Texas, under General Zachary Taylor. In March, 1846, Taylor moved southward to a point on the Rio Grande

Annexation
by joint
resolution.

Polk's
policy.

War with
Mexico.

opposite Matamoras, at the same time calling upon the Governors of Louisiana and Texas for five thousand volunteers. On the 1st of May he moved eastward with his main body, to open communication with Point Isabel. To intercept his return, the Mexican General

**Battle of
Palo Alto.**

Arista moved with about six thousand men to Palo Alto, nine miles from Matamoras, and planted his force across the road. Taylor's returning column struck this position on the 8th, and gave battle. Two eighteen-pounders and two light batteries made dreadful havoc in the close ranks of the Mexican infantry, while an attempt to turn the American right was promptly thwarted. The prairie-grass between the contending lines took fire, and behind the curtain of smoke Arista drew back his left. Taylor made a corresponding change, advanced his artillery again, and renewed the fight. A movement to turn the American left was discovered through the smoke, when two guns were wheeled round to meet it, and under their steady fire the attacking column was finally put to flight.

Early next morning the Mexicans fell back to Resaca de la Palma, and took position on both edges of a deep ravine that curved somewhat in the shape of a horseshoe, the open side toward the advancing Americans. The point where the road crossed this ravine was commanded by three batteries, and the whole position was obscured by thick chaparral. Taylor deployed a large part of his force as skirmishers, and Captain May's dragoons overran the most advanced Mexican battery. An American battery was advanced to the crest, while a regiment from the reserves charged down the road in column, crossed the ravine, and, joined by a portion of the skirmishers who had clambered through at other points, seized the enemy's artillery, and after hard fighting in the chaparral, put the infantry to flight. On the 13th of May, before news of these events could have reached Washington, Congress declared war and authorized the President to call for fifty thousand volunteers for one year.¹

¹ President Polk, in his message of May 16, 1846, and in several later ones, labored to show that the territory of the United States had been invaded by the Mexicans, and the blood of her citizens shed on her own soil, whereupon Abraham Lincoln, then a member of the House of Representatives, introduced in that body what became famous as "the Spot Resolutions," wherein the President was called upon to inform the House as to the exact location of the spot where this blood was shed, with reference to the boundaries of the Spanish possessions, and also "whether our citizens whose blood was shed, as in his messages declared, were or were not at that time armed officers and soldiers, sent into that settlement by the military order of the President;" and "whether the military force of the United States was or was not so sent into that settlement after General Taylor had more than once intimated to the War Department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defence or protection of Texas." Mr. Lincoln's speech, supporting these resolutions, and making a sharp analysis of the whole question, is printed in full in *Lamon's Life of Lincoln*, p. 283.

General Taylor was told that the public were impatient, and without waiting for reënforcements he must "take foot in hand, and off for the halls of Montezuma," he being distant from those halls nearly five hundred miles, as the crow flies. Before he could open his campaign, he was embarrassed by conflicting instructions, but gave it as his opinion that the operations from the Rio Grande should only be for the purpose of holding the northern provinces. His movements were also delayed by the necessity of sending for light-draught steamers to ascend the river. These and the volunteers arrived at length, and in July General Worth's division established itself at Camargo, where Taylor organized an expedition to Monterey, ninety miles distant.

While this movement was in progress, one of those revolutions without which her people never seem content, broke out in Mexico, and the garrisons of Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulloa pronounced for the return of Santa Anna to power. Commodore Connor, commanding a squadron that had blockaded Vera Cruz, was ordered to permit Santa Anna, who in 1845 had been banished for ten years, to reënter the country: and President Polk, to create a feeling that his war was just, sent a proposition to negotiate for peace, knowing that, in the disturbed condition of Mexican affairs, it was not likely to be entertained. By the middle of September, Santa Anna reached the city of Mexico and assumed military command as President.



Santa Anna

Monterey is in a valley at the eastern base of the Sierra Madre, on the high road from the Rio Grande to the city of Mexico. It was protected by a strong citadel on the northern out-skirt of the town, by several lunettes on the east, and by two fortified hills that rose on either side of the river just above the town. Taylor, with six thousand six hundred men, sat down before it on the 19th of September. On the 20th, Worth's division passed above the city and planted itself on the enemy's line of retreat. Garland's brigade led the attack, and advancing between the citadel and the first lunette, and enfiladed by both, reached the streets of the city, but with heavy loss. Three companies, moving to his support, attacked the lunette in front, but at the first discharge of its guns one third of

Capture of
Monterey.

their numbers fell, and the remainder retreated. Two other companies passed to its rear, and from the roof of a tannery poured into its open gorge such a fire of musketry that the crowded Mexicans, on whom every bullet told, made all haste to abandon the work, which Quitman's brigade soon occupied. An attempt to capture the second lunette was unsuccessful, as the streets through which the troops advanced were swept by an artillery fire, and the loss was severe.

On the morning of the 21st Worth sent a strong force to capture the fortified eminence south of the river, called Loma Federacion. The enemy not only directed a plunging artillery fire upon the advancing troops, but sent a cloud of skirmishers half way down the rocky slopes to resist the ascent. In the face of this the Americans advanced steadily by companies, with sharpshooters skirmishing on the flanks, till they clambered over the parapet and turned the guns upon the flying Mexicans, who took refuge in Fort Soldado, at the extremity of the ridge. Thence they were quickly driven by two supporting regiments moving along the slope. At night Worth sent out a detachment which at daybreak carried Loma d'Independencia, the hill on the north side of the river, and then dislodged the Mexicans from the ruins of the Obispado, half way down the hill. These two positions commanded the western half of the city, upon which fire was opened, and on the morning of the 23d the troops east of the city fought their way into it; but the streets were barricaded and stoutly defended, and the attempt on that side was at length given up. On the west, however, Worth's men pushed into the town, fully prepared for a slow fight. When they reached a point where the streets were swept by Mexican artillery, the troops of the line broke through the inner walls of the houses, and thus worked their way from square to square, while the sharpshooters mounted to the roofs, and by a continual dropping fire did effective work. This steady advance was continued through the night, and in the morning Ampudia capitulated, and an armistice of eight weeks was agreed upon.

In May a movement was made in a new direction. Colonel Philip Kearny was ordered to organize an expedition for the occupation of New Mexico and Upper California, and by the end of July he had collected eighteen hundred men, at Bent's Fort, on Arkansas River, at the head of whom he marched into New Mexico unopposed, and arrived at Santa Fé on the 18th of August. Here he issued a proclamation declaring the inhabitants absolved from allegiance to Mexico, organized the State as a Territory of the United States, appointed a civil governor, and on the 6th of October, with a small cavalry force, set out for California.

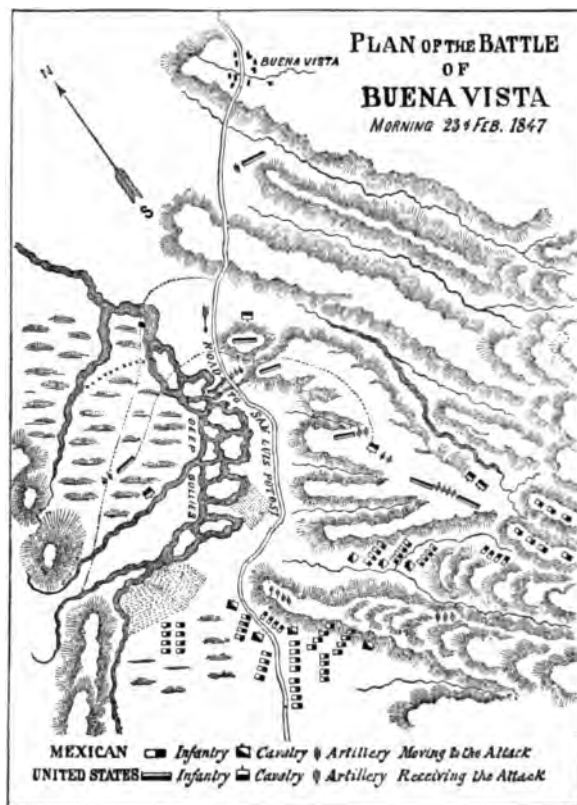
Occupation
of New
Mexico.

An exploring expedition under Captain John C. Fremont was overtaken in May, by a messenger bearing letters from Secretary of State James Buchanan and Senator Benton, where-
Occupation of California.
in it was hinted that he should remain in California, to thwart any designs that foreigners might have upon the territory. As no foreigners but Americans were at all likely to have any such designs, it was not difficult for Fremont to understand what the Administration wanted, though war had not then been declared. He returned to Sacramento, learned that De Castro, the Mexican commandant, was about to expel American settlers, and at once assumed the offensive. On the 15th of June he captured Sonoma, after which he marched into the interior, enlisted men, and returned in time to drive away De Castro. He then called a meeting of settlers at Sonoma, and advised them to declare independence, which they did. Meanwhile Commodore Sloat was taking possession of the towns on the coast. Late in July he was superseded by Commodore Stockton, who organized an expedition, drove De Castro out of his camp at Los Angeles, joined Fremont, and on the 13th of August took possession of Monterey, then the capital of California. Proclaiming his conquest of the territory, he set up a provisional government, with himself at its head. Before the news of this reached Washington, the Government had sent to California a company of artillery, in the storeship *Lexington*, which was two hundred days making the passage round Cape Horn. In this company were Lieutenants William T. Sherman, Henry W. Halleck, and E. O. C. Ord. The ship was commanded by Theodorus Bailey, who, sixteen years later, led the first division of Farragut's fleet when it captured New Orleans.

In pursuance of its purpose to cut off the northern provinces, the Administration planned an expedition to Chihuahua, under command of General John E. Wool; but it went no farther
Movement against Chihuahua.
than Parras, a hundred miles west of Monterey. Taylor's armistice at Ampudia was disapproved by the Administration, and in November he advanced to Saltillo. In the same month, General Winfield Scott was ordered to Mexico, to take chief command and
Scott sent to Mexico.
conduct the war according to his own plan. This was, in brief, to carry an expedition against Vera Cruz, reduce its defences, and then march on the city of Mexico by the shortest route. On his arrival at Camargo in January, 1847, he made a requisition for about ten thousand of Taylor's troops, which left Taylor not quite seven thousand. A duplicate of the despatch was intercepted and carried to Santa Anna, who at once prepared to strike while his enemy was divided and weakened.

Taylor had advanced to Agua Nueva, but learning of the approach

of an overwhelming Mexican force, and knowing that his rear might be gained, he fell back to a strong position south of Saltillo. ^{Battle of Buena Vista.} The now famous battle-ground, which takes its name from the neighboring estate of Buena Vista, is a section of a rugged valley from two and a half to four miles wide, between mountain walls a thousand feet high. The slopes on either side are cut by deep ravines, and in the midst is a broad plateau, whose borders are indented by the bluffs that alternate with the ravines. The fighting



took place on and around this plateau. Taylor had present five thousand two hundred men; Santa Anna's force was probably twelve thousand.¹ The nature of the ground precluded the employment of cavalry, and rendered useless much of the artillery of the attacking party, while it gave special advantages to that of the Americans. Taylor placed his forces—in groups, rather than in line—on the crests of some of the bluffs, at the base of the eastern mountain, and near the front or southern edge of the plateau.

The battle opened in the afternoon of the 22d of February on the left, where the light Mexican troops attempted to flank the position by scaling the steep mountain wall, but were checked by a counter movement. At the same time the Mexican cavalry, under General Miñon, gained the rear by a détour, for the purpose of attacking the

¹ It has been commonly stated at twenty thousand; but there seems to be no other authority for this than the fact that when Santa Anna summoned Taylor to surrender, he boasted that his force numbered twenty thousand.

Americans in their expected retreat. At dawn of the 23d the action was renewed on the left, where the Mexicans had taken possession of the crest during the night. Santa Anna prepared to attack in front with his main force, in three columns, intending that the light troops should at the same time descend from the mountain and fall upon the flank. Under Taylor's personal direction, the Mexican cavalry in the rear was driven back by the dragoons. These being ordered to the plateau, the Mexican horse returned and attacked two unsupported companies of volunteer cavalry, and a fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued, friend and foe being mingled in confusion, around the hamlet of Buena Vista ; but on the return of the regular dragoons, the Mexican cavalry retreated. The Mexican columns attacking in front, came on steadily in spite of all resistance. Two regiments fled before one of them, which then, with a heavy battery, concentrated its fire upon an advanced American battery, and soon compelled its withdrawal. The column next made a junction with another, which had also ascended the plateau, and with the light troops moving down from the mountain, and the combined mass turned the American left. The third column, led against the American right, was shattered by the artillery, thrown into confusion, and compelled to retreat. To meet the flank movement, the Americans had formed a new front. The Mexicans found it impossible to cross the plateau in the face of this, and were attempting to gain the rear by skirting the base of the eastern mountain, when Taylor put in motion two regiments of infantry, supported by artillery and dragoons, who advanced down the plateau in the face of the enemy, steadily firing into the heavy mass as they approached it. The coolness and intrepidity with which this movement was executed, saved the day. The Mexican column broke before it, and Taylor, making a combined attack upon their right, drove it up the slopes of the eastern mountain, and seemed likely to isolate it. But at this moment a flag of truce appeared, and the firing was stopped in expectation of a surrender. It was only a ruse, which enabled the endangered wing to escape. As soon as this was accomplished, Santa Anna formed his whole force into one column, and advanced up the plateau. Several regiments gave way, and some guns were lost ; but most of the artillery was placed where it could plough the column through and through, and was served with great rapidity. At the same time the Americans slowly fell back, and at nightfall they held only the northwest corner of the plateau. When morning broke, the enemy had retreated. The Americans had lost, killed, wounded, or missing, seven hundred and forty-six men ; the Mexicans, about two thousand.¹

¹ Among the slain were Colonels John J. Hardin, William R. McKee, and Archibald

On the 7th of March, the fleet with Scott's army came to anchor a few miles south of Vera Cruz, and two days later he landed his whole force — nearly twelve thousand men — by means of surf-boats. Vera Cruz was a city of seven thousand inhabitants, strongly fortified. About a thousand yards off shore, on a reef, stood the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, commanding the channels of the harbor. This was supposed to be very strong, and the Mexicans had assumed that any approach to the city would necessarily be under its guns. Lines of investment were drawn, and siege batteries erected.

Scott's expedition to Mexico.



Vera Cruz

with little opposition. On the 22d the investment was complete. A summons to surrender being refused, the batteries opened, and the bombardment was kept up for four days, the small war-vessels joining in it. The Mexican batteries and the castle replied with spirit, and with some little effect; but the city and castle were surrendered on the 27th.

Bombardment of Vera Cruz.

The want of draught animals and wagons delayed till the middle of April the march upon the capital of the country, two hundred miles distant. The first obstacle was found at Cerro Gordo, fifty miles northwest of Vera Cruz, where the Mexicans

Battle of Cerro Gordo.

Yell, and Lieutenant-colonel Henry Clay, a son of the Kentucky statesman. Some idea of the desperate nature of the fighting may be gained from the fact that Colonel Clay, disabled by a shot in the thigh, was borne off in the retreat till his men were obliged to drop him, and then lay on his back, fighting with his sword, while his enemies pierced him with lances. Colonel Yell received a lance in his mouth, which tore off his jaw; and Colonel Hardin was also killed with a lance. The Mexican cavalry did a great deal of execution with that ancient weapon. Among the troops that rendered most efficient service on the American side were the Mississippi riflemen, commanded by Colonel Jefferson Davis.

had taken position on the heights around a rugged mountain pass, with a battery commanding every turn of the road. A way was found to flank the position on the extreme left, and on the morning of April 18th, the Americans attacked in three columns. Pillow's brigade advanced against the Mexican right, where three hills, in the angle between the road and the Rio del Plan, were crowned with batteries. Shields's brigade made the détour and, climbing up by a path that Santa Anna said he did not believe a goat could ascend, fell upon the enemy's left and rear. The divisions of Twiggs and Worth left the road at a point within the pass, and, bearing to the right, attacked the enemy on a hill called El Telegrafo, carried it, and then attacked the height of Cerro Gordo, where the Mexicans were most strongly intrenched, and where Santa Anna commanded in person. This being carried by storm, its guns were turned first upon the retreating Mexicans, and then upon the advanced position that Pillow was assaulting in front. The Mexicans, finding themselves surrounded, soon surrendered. Santa Anna, with the remainder of his troops, fled toward Jalapa, where Scott followed him and took the place. Here he waited for reënforcements, the last of which arrived on the 6th of August under Brigadier-general Franklin Pierce.

At this point, Santa Anna opened secret negotiations with Scott, offering to bring about a peace without any more fighting, in consideration of one million dollars to be paid to him personally: ten thousand dollars at once, and the remainder after the establishment of peace. The communications were made through the British consuls. Scott paid the ten thousand dollars; but Santa Anna failed to convince the Mexican Congress that the situation was desperate, and the temper of the country seemed to warrant the determination to hold out in hope of a victory.

*Santa Anna
offers to
make peace
for a price.*

After calling in all the garrisons except that of Vera Cruz, Scott had about fourteen thousand men, and leaving the convalescents to garrison Puebla and to care for the sick, he resumed his march toward the capital. On the 10th of August the leading division passed over the crest of the Rio Frio mountains; the city of Mexico, in the midst of a fertile basin dotted with sparkling lakes, was in sight. Northeast and southeast of Mexico, within a radius of twenty miles, are three lakes. The land immediately surrounding the city was entirely under water at the time of the Spanish invasion, but it had been drained, and the capital was now approached by causeways crossing low and marshy ground. Out of this plain rose numerous rocky hills; and wherever one commanded a causeway, it was fortified. Reaching Lake Chalco, the one farthest from the city, to the southeast, the American forces paused for a choice of

*The march
on the capi-
tal.*

route. It was found that the city was strongest on its eastern side, and weakest on the south and west. Accordingly, Scott passed around Lake Chalco, and thence west, skirting the southern shore of the lake that was nearer the city.

Santa Anna, who had been guarding the eastern approaches, moved southward to intercept the Americans, taking up his headquarters at San Antonio, five miles from the city. His position was flanked on the west by a rugged field of broken lava, called the Pedregal, and on the east by marshy ground. West of the Pedregal another road led to the city, and this road could be reached by a mule-path across the southwest corner. Pillow's division was converted into a working-party to make of this mule-path a road for the passage of the trains. But the Mexican General Valencia had taken up a fortified position on the slope of a hill commanding the junction of the mule-path with the road, and not far from the village of Contreras. In front of this camp was a deep and rugged ravine. When Pillow had completed half the road, the Mexican artillery opened upon him. Twiggs's division passed to the front, and drove in the Mexican skirmishers. Twiggs then ordered Riley's brigade to cross the Pedregal by an oblique movement to the right, to secure a position on the road at the village of San Geronimo, and flank the Mexican left. Cadwallader's brigade was sent to his support, while Pierce's reinforced Smith's at the front. The ground was as bad as troops were ever compelled to clamber over. General Pierce was severely hurt by the fall of his horse, which had stepped into a cleft of the rocks; and later in the day Twiggs, though on foot, received a similar fall and injury. The artillery horses and caissons were sheltered behind huge blocks of stone; but the howitzers, which had been advanced with immense labor, were no match for the heavier guns of the Mexicans.

Valencia had neglected to occupy the crest of the hill in rear of his camp, and Riley proposed to occupy it in the darkness of the ensuing night, and swoop down upon him at daybreak. Meanwhile Santa Anna sent orders to Valencia to spike his guns, destroy his stores, and retreat by the mountain paths; but Valencia refused to stir, and Santa Anna left him to his fate. Riley's movement, delayed till daylight, was discovered, but the men pressed on, supported by the brigades of Cadwallader and Smith. Taking the Mexican intrenchments in reverse, they rushed into them in a body. One regiment cut off retreat southward, while Smith stopped it northward. The Mexicans were thrown into utter confusion; many were cut down on the spot, others escaped through the gaps in the American lines; more were made prisoners by the troops of Smith and

Shields, thrown across the road to the city. The loss of the Mexicans in killed and wounded was estimated at two thousand, while nearly a thousand, including four generals, were captured. Twenty-two guns and all the stores and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors, who had lost sixty, killed or wounded. The Americans followed the flying enemy toward Churubusco, on the main road to the capital, where Santa Anna, retiring before ^{Battle of} Churubusco. Worth, had concentrated his whole force. The river here runs in a straight, artificial channel, protected by levees. The head of the bridge was strongly fortified, and the convent, a large stone building, had been pierced for the use of muskets, and surrounded by a strong field-work. Here all was ready for action, but the remainder of the Mexican force was in much confusion, and the fortification around the bridge was blocked up by the ammunition train which had broken down at this point.

The battle opened, when the advance of Worth's forces, charging the works at the bridge, was stopped by a heavy fire from the convent. At the same time Pillow took position in the corn-fields on the right, and Twiggs made a determined but useless attack on the convent. This building, says an eye-witness, "was one sheet of flame and smoke, and wherever the assailants were exposed, their loss was excessive."¹ The brigades of Pierce and Shields had been ordered to make a détour and come upon the main road in the rear of Churubusco. As they reached it, they struck the Mexican reserves, and all the troops on both sides were then engaged. The fighting was obstinate and bloody throughout. Pierce and Shields were largely outnumbered, and would perhaps have been defeated, but Worth and Pillow carried the head of the bridge in time to save them. Their men, creeping closer and closer, taking advantage of every ditch and dike, yet with sad losses, at last established themselves so close to the Mexican left that it gave way. A detachment of Americans crossed the river and threatened the bridge from the rear, and immediately Worth drew his whole force to the right, across the road, and poured it in upon the broken Mexican line. Through the ditches, waist-deep in water and over the parapets, they went with a rush and a shout, and the battle of Churubusco was won. A captured gun, being brought to bear at close range upon the flank of the reserves, broke it, and relieved Shields and Pierce. A gun at the bridge was then served upon the convent, and a position was discovered where a battery could command the surrounding field-work, but as this battery was about to open fire, a white flag rose above the walls. The American loss in this battle was one thousand killed or wounded, among them seventy-six officers.

¹ Major R. S. Ripley, in his *History of the War with Mexico*.

The Americans now occupied several villages in the suburbs of the capital. At the instance of the English Embassy, who came out from the city, an armistice was agreed upon. Negotiations followed, lasting for a fortnight, till Scott, finding that Santa Anna only aimed to gain time and strengthen his position, put an end to the armistice. The American commander now had about eight thousand five hundred effective men, and sixty-eight guns. His first movement, September 7th, was upon the Molino del Rey (King's Mill), a group of stone buildings where, he had been informed, the church-bells of the city were being cast into cannon.

Battle of
Molino del
Rey.



Winfield Scott

This group forms the western side of the enclosure surrounding the gardens, rock, and castle of Chapultepec. It is eleven hundred yards from the castle, and that is about a mile and a half from the city wall. The buildings, five hundred yards long, had been barricaded and loopholed, and provided with sand-bag parapets. Five hundred yards west of the northern corner was the Casa Mata, a strong, square, stone building, also prepared for defence. Between these positions the Mexicans had planted a four-gun battery, and stretched a line of infantry. When he sent Worth's division, on the even-

ing of the 7th, to destroy the supposed foundry, Scott was not aware that the enemy had occupied the position in force. When Worth discovered this he asked that he might delay the attack till sunrise of the 8th, and extend the operation so as to include the capture of Chapultepec. To the first request Scott assented; the other he declined. His purpose was to enter the city by the south, and he therefore considered the castle of no importance, as it only commanded the western approach.

Scott supposed the fight for the Molino would be but a skirmish; Worth knew it would be a desperate struggle. His plan was, to pierce the Mexican centre, while making strong movements against the flanks. Garland's brigade and two field-pieces were to advance and cut off support from Chapultepec. On the left of these, two

twenty-four pounders were to be supported by a light battalion. Five hundred picked men, under Major Wright, were to storm the battery in the Mexican centre. A brigade under Lieutenant-colonel M'Intosh, with a battery, was to attack the Casa Mata. And the cavalry were to form on the extreme left, under Major Sumner. Cadwallader's brigade formed the reserve. All these positions were taken while it was yet dark, on the morning of the 8th. A little after three o'clock the twenty-four pounders sent their shot crashing through the walls of the Molino, and a few minutes later the storming-party advanced toward the point where the battery had been observed the day before. But its place had been changed, and the first appearance of life in the enemy was when it suddenly opened on the flank of the five hundred, with round shot and grape. A rush was made for it, and the gunners were driven back, but in the face of the infantry fire at once concentrated on the captors, it could not be held. Eleven of the fourteen officers in the storming-party fell, and almost a like proportion of the rank and file. The remainder retreated, while the Mexicans came forward and deliberately killed every wounded man on the ground, save two.

The light battalion advanced through the shattered ranks of the storming-party to renew the assault: and as the Mexicans were at the same time attacked on the flank by Garland's brigade, they fell back. One company, finding shelter under the edge of a low bank, acted as sharpshooters to clear the flat roofs. Drum's battery was run forward to a position where it could rake the Mexican battery at close range, and, with the aid of a steady infantry fire, soon drove away the gunners and their support, and the guns were seized. The fighting on this part of the field then became a struggle for the possession of the Molino. General Leon led a spirited but unsuccessful sortie, in which he was mortally wounded. While the sharpshooters were picking off the men who ventured upon the roof, and Drum's battery was pounding at the walls, parties of infantry surrounding the building were firing in at the windows and trying to pry open or batter down the gates. At last the southern gate gave way, and the assailants poured in, but only to renew the fight inside with bayonet and sword. In this desperate conflict Worth lost a large number of the very flower of his forces. At last the surviving Mexicans retreated to Chapultepec, — all but seven hundred, who being on the roof, with no escape, surrendered.

On the left, Duncan's battery and M'Intosh's brigade advanced against the enemy, but were received with a murderous fire from a low embankment, from the works, and from the Casa Mata. M'Intosh fell mortally wounded: his successor in command was shot dead,

and the next officer was soon disabled. The men had approached within thirty yards of the Casa Mata, and had suffered accordingly. A large portion of the survivors fell back; a remnant still kept up the struggle. At this point in the action, Santa Anna sent cavalry and infantry against the American left; but they were driven back. The whole artillery was then brought to bear upon the walls of the Casa Mata and the surrounding works, which the Mexicans were soon compelled to abandon. A few old cannon-moulds were found inside the Molino, but there was no foundry. Except as an outpost to Chapultepec, it had no strategic value, and Scott's orders positively forbade Worth to take Chapultepec. In fact, after the prisoners were



Chapultepec.

secured, and the American dead and wounded removed, Worth, by Scott's order, drew back his whole command, and left to the enemy the field that had been won at so dear a price. About three thousand five hundred Americans had been actually in the fight, and seven hundred and eighty-seven had fallen, including fifty-nine officers.

Near the eastern end of an enclosure a mile long and one third of a mile wide, rises the rock of Chapultepec, a hundred and fifty feet high, bearing the great castle, once the palace of a Spanish viceroy, now a military school. The northern side was absolutely inaccessible; the eastern and a portion of the southern, nearly so; the southwestern and western could be scaled. The regular access was by a long zigzag road on the southern side, which was swept

by a battery planted in its angle. The crest of the rock was strongly fortified, and the castle had been provided with sand-bag parapets. The grounds around it were broken by walls, aqueducts, and ditches. The southern line of the enclosure was a long, heavy stone wall, with a redan at its central point. The northern side was formed by an aqueduct whose arches had been filled up with masonry. The Molino del Rey was the western side. From the great gate on the east two divergent causeways led into the city of Mexico. The place was garrisoned by two thousand men; thirteen heavy guns were mounted to be used in its defence, two to sweep the main approach. After many reconnoissances it was determined, in a council of war, that the castle must be reduced before the city could be taken.

When a bombardment from three heavy batteries had proved that the place could not be reduced by artillery fire alone, a select party advanced at a run and seized the Molino, — Captain Joseph Hooker having first approached alone, and found that it was unoccupied, — and at night Pillow threw his whole force into it. Then at dawn of the 13th, fire was reopened upon the castle, and upon the Mexican lines south of the city. At eight o'clock the infan-^{storming of Chapultepec.}try advanced. A fire from a light battery was directed across the redan that covered an opening in the southern wall of the enclosure; and when the defenders had sought shelter, a battalion of voltigeurs and a storming-party rushed upon the redan, went over the works in the face of a musketry fire, advanced through the grounds of the enclosure, and took in reverse the intrenchments that crossed it facing the Molino. At the same time a similar force, rushing from the Molino, had assaulted these intrenchments in front. The two forces united, and, using the shelter of the trees, which here formed a large grove, gradually pressed back the Mexicans.

Reënforced by a storming-party, the combined forces pushed up the hill. Its western slope was filled with mines, but the Mexican officer, as he was about to explode them, was shot down. The assailants gained the crest in spite of the plunging fire from a work at that point and from the castle. The scaling-ladders not being at hand, they took shelter in the clefts of the rocks, and employed the interval in picking off the Mexican artillerymen. At the same time a regiment passed around the northern front of the rock to cut off the Mexicans who were letting themselves down the almost perpendicular eastern face. When at length the ladders arrived the walls were rapidly scaled, in face of a destructive fire; and Captain Howard, with a considerable force, safely gained the parapet. Ladders were thrown across the ditch, and the whole force on the western side joined their comrades. Meanwhile another storming-

party had climbed up the southern slope, pushed up the main road, running over the small work at the angle with two guns, entered at the great gate, and joined the other party. The whole castle was now occupied by the Americans, and their fire was directed upon the lower batteries. The enemy was dislodged, and the way was opened for the advance of Quitman's troops through the grounds, who took a large number of prisoners as they fled from the castle.

It only remained to pursue the flying enemy into the city, and Capture of the city. take possession of the capital. But this was still a difficult task. The approach was by two roads; one to the Belen gate, the other to the San Cosme, each along an aqueduct supported on stone arches. Quitman's infantry fought their way slowly from arch to arch, toward the Belen, sheltered by the piers; but the artillery, advancing by the open road, was more exposed and suffered heavy loss. At last the Mexicans were pressed back into the city, and Quitman's whole command entered the first work. Here he confronted the citadel, where Santa Anna commanded, and a fire so terrible swept all approaches, that further advance was impossible.

On the San Cosme road a detachment under Colonel Trousdale, fighting the Mexicans while the storming of the castle was going on, had cleared the first barricade. Worth's column now followed up this advantage, and pursued the enemy to a second barricade, at an angle in the aqueduct. This was assaulted by two advanced parties, —one operating directly in front, under Lieutenant Gore, the other to the left, under Lieutenant U. S. Grant. It was soon carried, and the Mexicans retired into the suburb. As soon as Worth's column could be concentrated, the advance was continued. But it was hard fighting and slow work. When they arrived at the suburb, one brigade passed through the arches, to the right of the aqueduct, and then all began breaking their way through the walls of the houses. The fortunate discovery of a quantity of engineering tools greatly facilitated this work. As the Americans gained possession of one building after another, howitzers were hauled to the roofs, and served upon the main gate, which at last was carried with a charge, by a storming-party under Captain McKenzie.

It was now nightfall. The Mexicans held a council of war in the citadel and determined to withdraw their army from the city, liberate the convicts in the prisons, arm them, and instigate these and the inhabitants to a war from the house-tops, as a last desperate measure. But before morning a deputation from the civil authorities appeared at Worth's headquarters and proposed a capitulation. Scott, considering that the city was already his, refused to grant any terms. At dawn, Quitman found the citadel abandoned, marched to the grand

plaza, and occupied the palace. An hour or two later, General Scott took up his headquarters there. Presently gangs made up of the liberated convicts, deserters, leperos, and thieves began firing upon the soldiers from the houses, and casting down the paving-stones which had been carried up in immense numbers and stacked in convenient piles upon the flat roofs. It became necessary to sweep the streets with grape and canister, and to turn the artillery upon some of the houses, after which they were given up to plunder. By the morning of the 15th, order was restored, hospitals were established, and the



The Plaza of the City of Mexico.

American commander was in quiet possession of the capital of the country.

The treaties which ended the war gave to the United States, not only Texas, the apple of discord, but New Mexico, California, and Arizona. The old question instantly arose, Should these be slave territories or free? David Wilmot, a Democratic Representative from Pennsylvania, had moved, as early as 1846, that, in all territory acquired from Mexico, slavery should be prohibited. So hot was the pressure behind Democratic members of Congress at their homes, that, when Mr. Wilmot introduced this "Proviso" it commanded almost every Northern Democratic vote. As the war went on, the division of the Democratic party became evidently incurable. At the Democratic Convention to name a President in May, 1848, one branch of the double Democratic delegation from New

The Wilmot
Proviso.

York insisted on the "Wilmot Proviso." The Convention proposed to them that they should divide the vote of New York with the rival delegation. This they refused to do, and retired. The field was left to Democrats who opposed the Proviso, and General Cass was nominated.

The Whigs, at their convention, passed by Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, so long the leaders of their party, and nominated General Taylor of Louisiana, the hero of the war just ended. The election of 1848. Mr. Van Buren, who had yielded to the decision of his party four years before, and had canvassed New York for his successful rival, was now named — with Charles Francis Adams as candidate for the second office — as the candidate of the "Wilmot Proviso" men, who took the name of the "Free-Soil Party." Van Buren received more than half of the Democratic votes of New York; Cass came third; General Taylor received the plurality vote of the State, and was elected by the country. New York again justified her name as the "Empire State." The electoral votes were 163 for General Taylor, 127 for General Cass. Of the popular vote General Taylor had 1,360,101; General Cass 1,220,544; and Mr. Van Buren 291,263. So important a factor had the "Free Democracy" already become.

In the short session which followed General Taylor's election, before he assumed office, Calhoun organized a series of meetings of Calhoun's slaveholding members of Congress, which were attended by manifesto. seventy or eighty members. Calhoun, as chairman of a sub-committee, reported an address, which was signed by forty-eight Senators and Representatives. It denied the power of Congress to exclude slavery from California and the other new Territories. Nor did it stop here, for it denied the power of the legislatures or inhabitants of the Territories to exclude it. The South was to hold no connection with any party at the North not prepared to enforce the Constitutional guarantees in favor of the South. Among the failures of the North to do this, was named the neglect to enforce the old Fugitive-Slave Law.



Site of San Francisco, in 1848

CHAPTER XV.

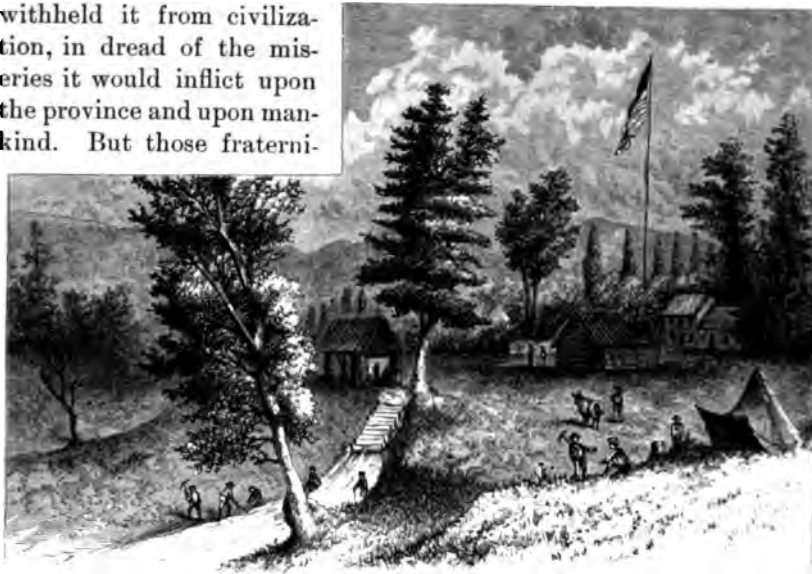
THE COMPROMISES OF 1850.

ELECTION OF TAYLOR TO THE PRESIDENCY. — CALIFORNIA. — DISCOVERY OF GOLD. — THE COMPROMISES OF 1850. — THE NEW FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. — ADMINISTRATION OF FILLMORE. — ELECTION OF PIERCE. — DOUGLAS'S KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL. — REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE. — SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS. — MASSACHUSETTS EMIGRANT AID SOCIETY. — REEDER APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — INVASION OF KANSAS BY "BORDER RUFFIANS."

IN February, 1848, the treaty of peace with Mexico — the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo — was concluded. Almost at the same hour the discovery of gold was made in California. On the ranch of Colonel Sutter, a Swiss emigrant, who had lived for many years in the valley of the Sacramento, some laborers were opening a trench, for conducting water to a mill. They turned up earth, which may be precisely described in the words of Sherlocke, used one hundred and thirty-one years before, "black earth mingled with gold." If any effort was made to keep the discovery secret, that effort was futile. It was soon known that the alluvial deposits of that great river — and as it afterwards proved, of other waters flowing from the Sierra Nevada — were largely charged with gold. The only wonder was, that it had not been discovered before. In 1844, the crew of the United States ship *Peacock*, with the geol-

Discovery of gold in California.

ogist of the exploring expedition to which she had belonged, passed down this very valley to San Francisco, encamping every night upon the *placers*, or gold-dust beds, now known to be invaluable. Similar experiences are related by officers and soldiers who served in the war. But none of these pioneers had discovered gold. The suggestion has been made that Jesuits and Franciscans both had made the great discovery, but had withheld it from civilization, in dread of the miseries it would inflict upon the province and upon mankind. But those fraterni-



Sutter's Mill.

ties have shown no other instances of such timidity. The truth is, that the discovery by Sutter's workmen was a surprise to all mankind.

A tide of emigration immediately set in upon California, from all parts of the world. Its population, including the Indians who had taken up fields, was estimated at 15,000 when the century began. It was not much larger in 1846, at the beginning of the Mexican war. But before the census of September, 1850, it numbered 92,597. By far the larger part of this increase was due to the emigration consequent upon the discovery of gold, and it came chiefly from the northwestern and northeastern States. From the West, adventurers in great numbers went with their cattle and horses, by routes till then scarcely known, through the passes of the Rocky Mountains and the Sierras. From the East, men went round Cape Horn, or by the route till then little used for two centuries, across the Isthmus of Panama.

So large a population as this, of people mostly bred in the United States, was naturally not satisfied without a government of its own.

Emigration
to Califor-
nia.

The new administration of President Taylor eagerly seconded its wishes. The President despatched an agent to California, immediately after his inauguration, urging the people to apply for admission as a State. He felt that such an application would so far relieve Congress from the exciting slave question as to its position while a Territory. General Riley, the military commander, issued a proclamation on the 3d of June, 1849, calling a convention to make a State constitution. This Convention met, prepared a constitution for the new State, and sent it to Washington for approval. All this was done without an "Enabling Act," or provision by Congress for such a convention. The constitution was ^{Admission as a State.} so far made under the influence of the Northern settlers that slavery in the new State was forever prohibited.

By this overture to California the policy of General Taylor may be well enough discerned. He, and a group of men around him, were hoping against hope, perhaps, that the slavery ^{President Taylor's policy.} questions might be "tided over," that they might adjust themselves one by one, without Congressional action. If California could arrange her own matters, if New Mexico could be left to the old Mexican law, and all territory north of the line of 36° 30' left to the Missouri Compromise of 1820, there would be no vacant territory open for the application of the "Wilnot Proviso," which at this time was the embarrassing question to both parties in Congress. For the other territories, Arizona and New Mexico, acquired from Mexico, the President recommended that they should be left under Mexican law. This disposition of the question irritated the Southern members of Congress of both parties. But it was readily accepted by such men as Mr. Seward, the Senator from New York, and by the other Northern statesmen who opposed the extension of slavery.

When the new Congress met in December, 1849, the composition of the House of Representatives showed at once that the ^{Parties in Congress.} sway of the old parties must be modified. Although General Taylor had a decided majority in the Electoral College,¹ he was in a minority of the popular vote, having received but 1,360,101 votes out of a total of 2,871,908. The Free-Soil party had given 291,263 votes for Mr. Van Buren. The strength of this third party showed itself in the House, and at the same time there appeared an unwillingness in Southern members to ally themselves with the Whig party in any measures which seemed to run counter to the interest of slavery. All the elements of discord showed themselves in the election of Speaker. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, the Whig Speaker in the last Congress, was again the candidate of his party.

¹ 163 Electoral votes, to 127 given for General Cass.

But the Free-Soil members were not satisfied with his record, while at the same time five Southern Whigs refused to vote for him. In thirty-eight ballots, therefore, he failed to receive the support of either of the extremes of those nominally connected with the Whig party, and he withdrew his name after the thirty-ninth ballot. Mr. Brown, a Democratic member from Indiana, had received in that ballot a larger number of votes than any other candidate. Some of the Free-Soil members, having received from him an assurance that



Zachary Taylor

he would constitute the committees on the District of Columbia, the Judiciary, and the Territories so as to be satisfactory to them, voted for him on the fortieth ballot. He failed of an election by two votes only. So close an approach to an alliance between the Democrats and the Free-Soil members alarmed the Southern portion of both parties. They united so far as to carry a vote that a plurality should elect. On the next trial, How-

ell Cobb, of Georgia, received one hundred and two votes. Mr. Winthrop received one hundred only.

Standing committees which would protect to the utmost the extreme Southern interest were thus secured. This issue of a long and heated controversy was even less important than the discussion which accompanied it. Southern members of both parties not merely made threats of dissolution, but declared that the Union would virtually be dissolved if slavery were suppressed in the Territories. The steadiness with which this threat was uttered, and the desire of the friends of the Union, as men between the extremes began to call themselves, to avert such an issue, can alone account for the abatement of the zeal of a large number of North-

Slavery in
the Territo-
ries.

ern members. On the fourth of February, 1850, Mr. Root's resolution, prohibiting slavery in the new Territories, was laid on the table by a majority of twenty-six. Only five weeks before, a motion to the same effect had been rejected. Forty votes had been changed in the mean while. So far as men justified this change, it was on the ground that the question was really settled without the prohibitory proviso, and that the preservation of the Union was the overruling necessity. But, whatever the form of the justification, the truth was that the solid front offered by Southern statesmen of all parties alarmed the more timid of the Northern Representatives.

In the midst of the excitement which showed itself every day, Mr. Clay, who had returned to the Senate, offered himself once more as the conciliator of extreme views, as he had done in 1820 and in 1833. He was now to make his last appearance in public life in an attempt to assuage a greater storm than he had dealt with on those two previous occasions. As if by way of preparation for this new effort, he had, in his own State, recently offered a proposal for the extinction of slavery. Kentucky was making a new Constitution, and Mr. Clay tested his own power with the community which was so proud of him, by public expressions that condemned, in principle, the system of slavery. In a letter written in February, 1849, he denounced the doctrine that "slavery was a blessing," and he proposed a gradual emancipation, with the condition that all slaves born after 1855 or 1860 should be made free when they were twenty-five years old, and be colonized in Africa. The scheme was absurdly impossible. The only result of it was a more decisive victory of the friends of slavery in the Kentucky convention than they dared expect. But the occasion had shown that Mr. Clay did not choose to be counted among those extreme adherents of the system of slavery, who, by a certain felicity of colloquial expression, now began to be called "Fire-eaters." He availed himself of his position on the 29th of January, 1850, by introducing eight resolutions which he offered as a compromise on all pending issues. These resolutions were meant to cover all the open questions. They admitted California without restriction. They established territorial governments without conditions regarding slavery. They carried the boundary of Texas to the Rio Grande, providing for her debt "to a limited extent," on condition that she relinquished her claim to New Mexico. They declared it inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but they prohibited the introduction of slaves into the District for merchandise or transportation. They made more effectual provision for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and they declared that Congress had no

Emancipation proposed in Kentucky by Clay.

Compromises of 1850.

power to obstruct the trade in slaves between the States. On these resolutions, and on other measures already before the Senate, a debate sprang up, which really lasted, with little break, until Congress adjourned in September.

General Taylor and his Cabinet were hoping, from the beginning, to hold to a course between extremes, and the President did not look with particular favor on Mr. Clay's efforts at conciliation. Perhaps he thought it would have been better for the country had they not been made. The majority of the Whig representatives of free States in the Senate and the House, were willing to go with the President as far as he went, but no farther. When, therefore, Mr. Clay went beyond him in the compromise plan, and when Mr. Webster joined him, as he did in a speech which became celebrated, on the 7th of March, Mr. Seward of New York, who had steadily represented the Northern sentiment, became really the leader of the friends of the Administration in the Senate. General Taylor did not take kindly the unwillingness of the leaders of his own party in the Senate to support his plan; but it was not the first time, nor the last, when a President has found that the leaders of his party, in Senate or in House, cared little for his policy or his suggestions.

Mr. Webster's course, in supporting the resolutions of Mr. Clay, excited great indignation among his constituents, great surprise among many of his friends, and was, indeed, a crisis in his life.¹ When, in Mr. Tyler's time, he became acquainted with the details of the plan for annexing Texas, he tried, in private, to arouse his friends in the Whig party to the danger which the North would incur in such an enlargement of the country. Undoubtedly he was disappointed, not to say angered, by the reception which was then given to his efforts by men of character and influence at the North. It would seem as if he persuaded himself that the favorable opportunity had then been lost; and he determined that he would not attempt again to sacrifice himself to create a national feeling in communities which had once failed to respond to his wish. If they would not follow when he led, he would not lead at all. When in the spring of 1850 he had to determine whether he would sustain Mr. Clay's system of compromise, or take the side which Mr. Seward took, in resolute support of all measures which would arrest the extension of slavery, this old dissatisfaction probably acted on his mind.² From the memoirs of gentlemen prominent in maintaining the Northern policy, it appears that they were confident of Mr. Webster's support. And when in

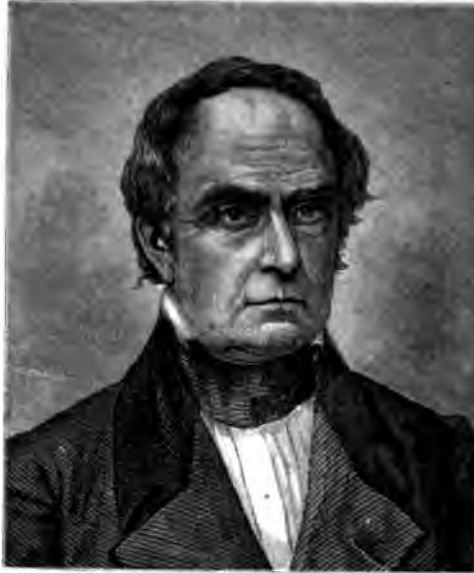
¹ Mr. Adams, however, wrote in his Diary as early as 1843: "Daniel Webster is a heartless traitor to the cause of human freedom."

² See, for details, Wilson's *Slave Power in America*, vol. ii., 241.

When carefully considered, and pronounced with all the dignity
 belonged to a great crisis, he abandoned them and theirs, when
 and he told Massachusetts even that she must "conquer her
 ces," they were personally indignant, — as if a tried compan-
 d deserted them, — while they lamented the loss ^{Indignation}
 the true policy of the country had sustained. They ^{against him.}
 t, and the country thought, that Mr. Webster was consumed

ambitious hope of
 ng President. If the
 of public men may
 judged of, this be-
 regard to Mr. Web-
 is true. It did not
 ren his great sagac-
 ee that thus far in
 ury of the country,
 ither road was the
 power. His green-
 els had been won as
 nder of the Consti-

Every representa-
 Southern opinion,
 alhoun down to the
 of the disciples at
 , was proclaiming
 , and if the Union
 be preserved, it must



Daniel Webster.

Webster thought, on their own terms. Perhaps he would
 eferred that it should be saved for the sake of freedom; but he
 convictions upon the question of slavery that could prevent his
 ng the other alternative, especially if it might give him the
 ney, as well as save the Union. Anti-slavery principles now
 to him only sentimental and morbid prejudices. He would
 ould not see that the question was not simply one of the own-
 f black men, but of the supremacy of an ill-born, ill-bred, un-
 d, and brutal handful of slaveholders over a people of a higher
 f blood, with centuries of gentle breeding, and a high degree
 d and intellectual cultivation behind them. He undervalued
 er in the long run of those "prejudices" which he bade the
 usetts people conquer, — prejudices created, he said, "by the
 roll and rub-a-dub of Abolition presses and Abolition lectur-
 ten every month, every day, and every hour" as an appeal to
 ings of the North.

Mr. Calhoun, the third of the trio of statesmen of another generation, was also in the Senate. But he was dying. A speech written by him on the issues before the country, was read by Mr. Mason of Virginia. This Senator had prepared the bill for the more effectual surrender of fugitive slaves, which, as the result proved, was the most odious measure to the people of the North ever passed by Congress. Mr. Calhoun died on the 31st of March, 1850.

So much power had the various agencies brought to bear in these great debates, that the Wilmot Proviso, which had a majority in the House when the session began, was defeated, as has been said, on the 4th of February, by a vote which showed a change in forty members. Mr. Clay's eight resolutions did not pass Congress in the form in which they were drawn. But bills based upon their principles, worked their slow way through a session which lasted through the heat of summer into September. As that hot summer of excitement passed, the body of Northern statesmen lost such strength as they had gained from the midway policy of General Taylor and his Cabinet. The President died suddenly on the 9th of July, and the Vice-president, Millard Fillmore, succeeded him. General Taylor had the advantage, in any measures of conciliation, of being a Southern man and a slaveholder. He was determined to support the Union, and had said that if any State left it, he would lead the army which should reduce it to submission, and that for this army he would not ask for one Northern man. He and his Cabinet would probably have been as well pleased if Mr. Clay had not lent his influence to measures so odious as the Fugitive Slave Bill of Mr. Mason. By the President's death, which placed a Northern Whig in his chair, any sympathy which the South had with a Southern President was withdrawn from the partisans of a midway policy. Mr. Fillmore took Mr. Webster into his Cabinet as Secretary of State. This was a public notification that the new Administration would support the measures of compromise. They passed Congress, one by one, after debates which went to the very foundations of society and of morals, and excited the whole nation to the quick, and Mr. Fillmore signed them all.

Among these measures was a bill which established the boundaries of Texas, and secured to her, for the relinquishment of her claims on New Mexico, ten million dollars. While all the other States had ceded their public lands to the Union, Texas alone had been permitted to retain hers, an appanage of wealth untold. In addition to this gift, ten million more were now offered to her. This bill passed the Senate by a majority of ten. It was driven through the House by a strong combination, which made it necessary to set

Adoption of
compromise
measures.

Death of
Taylor.

Texas and
New Mexico.

aside even a decision of the Speaker, and finally passed by a majority of eleven. Before this bill was introduced, the public debt of Texas was worth only seventeen cents on a dollar. So soon as the bill passed it rose to par, which it has almost always maintained since that time. The country believed, of course, that the holders of Texan securities bought the passage of the bill. But the President, himself a statesman of personal honesty, signed this with all the others. The other bills admitted California with its Constitution; provided that when Utah should be admitted it should be with or without slavery, as its constitution might prescribe; and provided



the most rigid measures for the surrender of fugitive slaves.

Of these "adjustments" the Fugitive Slave Law was that which most challenged the public indignation of the North, and, from the inquisitorial character inseparable from such an act, provoked the most determined opposition whenever its provisions were put in practice. With the great increase of travel to and fro, which had in a thousand forms changed the whole character of the nation, the frequency and ease of escapes from slavery were largely increased beyond anything possible in earlier times. The events of twenty years, and the persistent labors of the Abolitionists, had shown nowhere else more significant results than in the universal sympathy felt for a fugitive slave. Those known as Garrisonians openly declared that they would not, for conscience' sake, obey the Constitution and the laws on this subject. The exercise of political rights implied an oath to the Constitution, and they would not swear obedience to a government whose laws they defied. They were, therefore, non-voters, and they declared they had no union with slaveholders, for right was higher than law. Others, less scrupulous than they as to the sanctity of an oath, or else persuading themselves that the citizen could put his own construction upon his oath by a mental reservation,—others still who were influenced by mere humane feeling, were equally disobedient. An escaping slave found friends the moment he crossed the border; he was passed openly or secretly, as the exigency of the case required, from friend to friend, finding everywhere aid, shelter, and advice, and was forwarded on his way to Canada, or the more retired parts of the North.¹ Whole villages of

The Fugitive Slave Bill.



¹ It was estimated that more than 30,000 fugitive slaves found homes in Canada during the thirty years of the anti-slavery agitation; and that at the time of the passage of the act of 1850 there were not less than 20,000 in the free States. Advertisements for "runaways" were always illustrated as above in Southern newspapers.

refugee-slaves grew up in Canada, settled by the exodus from the Southern States. To reclaim such slaves from the more distant Northern and Northwestern States, had proved difficult. From the States on the border, they were often brought back by brute force. The men who pursued them relied, in earlier years, largely on the indifference of the inhabitants, who, very frequently, shared in the Southern contempt for those counted of an inferior race. But as the facilities for escaping from slavery increased, and as those who were left behind learned from those who had preceded them that they were comparatively safe when once they had reached a free State, and absolutely safe when they had crossed the Canadian line, so it became more and more difficult, as time went on, and the feeling against slavery at the North increased, to enforce the statute of 1793. A new act, therefore, was demanded, and one was drawn by Mr. Mason, a Senator from Virginia.

The difficulties which surrounded it were pointed out from its birth, in the debates in both Houses. Mr. Webster had prepared Proposed amendments to Fugitive Slave Act. a provision giving the fugitive a jury trial. This amendment was introduced by Mr. Dayton, but failed. When men afterward held that the act was unconstitutional, this failure to grant jury trial was one of the features they relied upon. An amendment, offered by Jefferson Davis, provided that the Government of the United States should be responsible for the expenses of the slave's delivery. This was adopted. Mr. Davis, a Massachusetts Senator, offered an amendment providing that when free colored seamen were imprisoned in Southern ports, the United States District Attorney should sue out writs of *habeas corpus* for their delivery. But this failed. For thirty years South Carolina had imprisoned all colored sailors entering her ports, and they would be reduced to slavery, if by any accident they were not taken away again in the vessel in which they came. England had complained more than once of this outrage upon British subjects; the law had been pronounced unconstitutional, but South Carolina defiantly maintained it, and other States had followed her example. In 1844 Massachusetts had sent Mr. Samuel Hoar to South Carolina, and Mr. Henry Hubbard to Louisiana, to seek redress for this grievance; but both gentlemen had been compelled, by threats of being lynched by mobs, to make their escape from Charleston and New Orleans. Had Mr. Davis's amendment passed, it would only have subjected the North to new indignities.

By the new law the alleged fugitive was denied a trial by jury, was denied the right of testifying to the court that he was not the slave of the claimant, or that he was not a slave at all; but any court of record or judge therein was required to surrender him to the claimant on his word. As courts might not be always accessible, the act pro-

ded for special commissioners, whose decision should be absolute in all cases, and whose fee, when they decided in favor of the claimant, could be double that when the decision was against him. The *posse comitatus* might be called upon, if the officers making the arrest thought necessary; all good citizens were "commanded" to aid the execution of the law, and if they helped the prisoner, they were subject to heavy penalties. When the bill came before Congress there were some Northern members who declined to vote; but it was passed by a large majority, signed by the President, and pronounced constitutional by the Attorney-general.

The last of the five measures, which was meant to meet Northern susceptibilities as to the slave trade in the District of Columbia, authorized the city authorities of Washington and Georgetown to abate the traffic of slaves brought into the District for sale. It did not interfere with the sale between residents in the District, nor prevent their selling slaves to be taken from it. Mr. Seward moved to amend by abolishing slavery in the District, and appropriating two hundred thousand dollars for compensation. But this amendment, of course, failed.



Millard Fillmore.

As if to test the submissiveness of the North, the Fugitive Slave Act was put into immediate operation. The alarm of the colored population was intense, among those who were free as well as those who had escaped from slavery. And as it happened, the first arrest was that of a freeman, for whose surrender to the slave-hunter the Commissioner earned his usual fee, though the slaveholder to whom the alleged slave was taken, was frank enough to acknowledge that he had never seen the man before. But the indignation of the North did not wait upon the execution of the law. It broke out all over the country, and found expression in public meetings, in the pulpit, in the press, in the solemn resolution of many thousands that they would never help in the return of a fugitive from slavery, and that they would endeavor if they could. On the other hand, that large class of conservative people who, like Mr. Webster, valued the Union more

than liberty — at least more than the liberty of those who were poor and helpless — were not silent. Great public meetings were held in New York, in Boston, and in other cities, in which men distinguished in society, lawyers, merchants, clergymen, insisted, with all the weight of influence that wealth, position, and ability could give, that the compromise measures must be sustained, and, chief of all, that requiring the capture of all runaway negroes, or those said to be runaways, in the free States. If the duty had been made obnoxious, so much the more merit in its performance; for it was the price of the Union, and would leave commerce and trade undisturbed. To those who asked what such a Union was worth, and what was to become in the end of government by the people, if the laws of the country were to be dictated by slaveholders for their exclusive benefit, some of the more eminent of the clergy, like Dr. Moses Stuart, a professor in the Theological School at Andover, Massachusetts, Dr. Lord, the President of Dartmouth College, Bishop Hopkins, of Burlington, Vermont, Dr. Nehemiah Adams, a leading evangelical clergyman of Boston, Dr. Taylor, of the Theological Department of Yale College, and Dr. Orville Dewey, a Unitarian clergyman of New York, came forward to enforce the moral and religious obligation of saving the Union by implicit submission. Those who wished to be justified, justified themselves by such teachings; those who thought with Seward that there was “a higher law than the Constitution,” and those who, like the Abolitionists, declared that a rightful property in man was impossible, were shocked at a fanaticism as short-sighted as it was unchristian.

One writer upon the events of this period has estimated that more fugitive slaves were reclaimed under this Act in a single year than had been returned for the previous sixty years of the Government.¹ There are no statistics to warrant any such assumption, and it could only be made through an erroneous estimate of the temper of the times. In the earlier years, the Constitution, — as it was said, in the decision in the *Prigg* case, it might — literally “executed itself.” One searching for and finding a runaway slave, took him, whether in a slave State or a free State, with as little question, generally, and as little formality, as if he were a horse which had strayed from its owner. Philadelphia was the only place in the country, probably, where any feeling upon the subject asserted itself. And there it was chiefly confined to Friends, one of whom, Isaac T. Hopper, in the first quarter of the century, aided and found safe places of refuge for hundreds of the flying bondmen.² But it was because the recapture

¹ Greeley's *American Conflict*.

² See a curious and interesting record of his labors in the *Life of Isaac T. Hopper*, by Lydia Maria Child.

f fugitives was so easy, and the indifference to the subject was generally so great, that the kidnapping of free negroes became so common along the border that Maryland had more than once called the attention of Congress to the subject in the earlier part of the century, and finally had induced Pennsylvania to pass that law under which 'rigg was convicted. As the Anti-slavery movement grew in strength in the North, the facilities for escape and the difficulties of recapture increased; and when, at length, the Act was passed which was to sample Northern "prejudices" and Northern law alike under foot, few, if any, slaves, or alleged slaves, were arrested without arousing immediate resistance. It seemed to the careless observer that this was a new thing, because hitherto it had passed without observation. In reality the cases of capture were few, partly because the fugitives now were less willing to take the risk of remaining in the free States, and partly because the dangers and difficulties of recapture were multiplied a thousand-fold.

The law was simply defied, as not being justified either by reason, or right, or by the Constitution. If the terms of the Union enforced the obligation to surrender fugitive slaves, it was demanded that at least the obligation should be shown to be valid in every given case. The law that refused this was considered a breach of the contract, and the obligation being disregarded on one side was held to be no longer binding on the other. Wherever it was possible to appeal to the laws and courts of the State, the appeal was made. The doctrine of State Rights, hitherto maintained only for the protection of slavery, was declared to be at least of equal virtue for the protection of liberty. When the State courts failed to protect the alleged fugitive, he was, if possible, rescued from the hands of the officers of the law and sent to a place of safety. Not many years before, an Anti-slavery gathering anywhere brought together a mob, and he who gave utterance to a word of condemnation of slavery; did so at risk of life and limb. Now a rumor of the seizure of one accused of being a slave, assembled a multitude of the most thoughtful and most worthy in every Northern community, to resent the outrage and insult which, in the person of that outcast, were offered to the North.

The most significant enforcements of the law were made in Boston. A slave named Shadrach was taken, by a sudden dash of his friends, from the court room of the Supreme Court of the State, when it was plain that there was no hope of help from the law. In the next case in that city the grip upon the fugitive was firmer. The precaution was taken, in the first place, to arrest Thomas M. Simms on a charge of theft, and then to hold him as a fugitive from slavery. The contempt felt for the superserviceable

Fugitive
slave cases.

zeal of the United States officers, who wanted the manliness to refuse to hold offices to be put to such base uses, was not limited to those who were ready to resist them at every turn.¹ That zeal was never-failing, but at no time was it so active as in that deepest humiliation of Massachusetts, and supreme triumph of slaveholding ascendancy — the surrender of Anthony Burns. The attempt to rescue him — in an attack made upon the Court House, in which one man was killed — failed, but the extreme measure, nevertheless, of upholding civil authority by force of arms was resorted to. The militia of Boston were called out, and the Marshal made requisition for all the United States troops in the vicinity, on the day appointed for the surrender of the slave. The events of that day are as mem-

Anthony
Burns sur-
rendered.

orable as some that occurred in those same streets nearly a hundred years before. At the end of one of the wharves lay a revenue cutter, sent by President Pierce to convey this poor fugitive back to Virginia. The streets were cleared and held by the military; the banks and other places of business on the line of march were closed; flags draped in mourning and at half-mast were hung out in many places; at the appointed hour, Marshal Devens, with his prisoner surrounded by more than a hundred civil officers of Boston, marched out of the Court House in a hollow square formed by United States Marines and a company of United States Artillery. Massachusetts was not yet organized for revolution, to repel invasion, or to suppress insurrection, but in the silent multitude, from Boston Court House to Long Wharf, who watched that spectacle, lay the suppressed fire that blazed into a fierce red flame, when seven years afterward the Massachusetts Sixth marched through Baltimore.

Nowhere else was there quite the pomp of enforced submission displayed under the law that the slaveholders, and the creatures who lived on the breath of slaveholders, chose should be made in Boston. For Boston — or rather all Massachusetts — still stood where she had stood for a century, at the head of the host that was gathering to join battle again when the time should come, for freemen and a free government. But the spirit that animated her broke out in many places. Elsewhere as there, when the appeal to law failed, force was resorted to and fugitives were rescued. Arms were put into their hands, and

¹ "How much trouble poor Devens makes for himself. I never had any trouble about these niggers. And I was very careful. Whenever they came to me and said they were looking for a nigger, I would go myself and hunt for him. I would go over to 'Nigger Hill' [a district in Boston] at once, and say, 'Boys, have any of you seen such a man? If you see him bring him to my office.' Many's the time I've gone to look for 'em. But I never found one." Such was the shrewd, amusing, and contemptuous commentary of a Democratic ex-Marshal, on the slave-hunting zeal of Marshal Charles Devens.

they were told to use them. Now and then lives were lost on both sides; arrests were made and sometimes punishments were inflicted for resistance to the law. In some States the use of prisons and the services of State officers in the arrest of fugitives were forbidden by



Rendition of Anthony Burns.

State legislation. Even some of the Southern statesmen were wise enough to see that they had committed an enormous blunder.

But the South was fighting in her own cause. Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster were looked upon as traitors to the cause of the North, and it was neither forgotten nor forgiven. Otherwise, in the administration of national affairs of less moment, the President won some credit. It was under that administration that postage was further reduced, that the Agricultural Bureau

Fillmore's
Administration.

was established, that the first steps toward a Pacific Railroad were taken, and the great enlargement of the Capitol was begun. He sent out Commodore Perry to Japan, on a mission which was the first of the measures that have opened Japan to the world. Had it not been for the black cloud of the slavery question which would not be dissipated, Mr. Fillmore had a fair chance for the honor which he certainly coveted, of being elected directly to the Presidency. But that cloud grew blacker and blacker. The men in public life, or eager in the management of parties, tried to persuade themselves that the "Compromises" had ended the discussion. They had only brought it to the beginning of the end.

Before the thirty-first Congress adjourned, forty-three members, of whom ten were from free States, published a compact in which they pledged themselves not to support for President, or Vice-president, for Congress or any State Legislature, any man not opposed to the renewal of the agitation of slavery. Presidential nominations. Mr. Clay and Mr. Cobb, as leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties, headed the subscription. The record of the Democratic party was sufficiently clear in these matters. The division in the State of New York, which had given her vote to President Taylor and had elected him, was now healed. The "Free Democracy" of that State acted again in sympathy with the party throughout the country.

Each party held its Convention for the nomination of a candidate at Baltimore. Democratic Convention. That of the Democrats met first, on the 1st of June, 1852. The prominent candidates were James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Lewis Cass of Michigan, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and William L. Marcy of New York. On the first ballot Mr. Buchanan had the largest number of votes, one hundred and sixteen. But this was not enough for his nomination. A protracted series of balloting followed, which ended with the forty-ninth, when General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire received all the votes but six. Such distinction as he had, he had earned in the command of the New Hampshire volunteers in the Mexican war; but his name was wholly unknown to the country when he was nominated. In his letter of acceptance he said that no word or act of his life was in conflict with the principles of the resolutions of the Convention. He was adopted as a candidate, on the principle, by this time familiar to the statesmen of the South who controlled these conventions, of choosing "a Northern man with Southern principles." One of the earliest acts of his administration — the rendition of Burns — showed that here, at least, they had made no mistake.

The Whig Convention met on the 16th of June. At the opening of the session of Congress, six months before, it had seemed as if Mr.

Fillmore might be adopted as the candidate of the party, and it was also certain that the friends of Mr. Webster, his Secretary of State, would support him. The Whig party, as a party of voters, could not be confidently counted on, as the Democratic party could, to sustain the Compromise Measures. It was certain that a nomination strictly committed to those measures would lose votes in the canvass in the Northern States. Still the Convention adopted the measures in a resolution which said, "We will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party, and the integrity of the Union." This resolution was adopted by a vote of two hundred and twenty-seven to seventy-six. When the ballot for candidates came, Mr. Fillmore and General Scott had nearly equal numbers, and Mr. Webster twenty-nine, enough to prevent either of the others from receiving a majority. Nor did this state of the vote change materially till the fifty-ninth ballot, when General Scott received a majority, one hundred and fifty-nine votes. William A. Graham of North Carolina, a member of Mr. Fillmore's Cabinet, was made candidate for Vice-president. The hope of the supporters of General Scott was, that his military reputation would rally strength to him, which neither of the recognized chiefs of the party could command.

The third Convention, called by those men who were wholly dissatisfied with the Compromises, and who saw that the slavery question was the only question of vital import in the politics of the nation, was held at Pittsburg, on the 11th of August. They had lost the strength which the breach in the Democratic party of New York gave them four years before. On the other hand, they had the additional power given them by the indignation through the North aroused by the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law. In their proclamation of principles they declared slavery to be a "sin against God and a crime against man;" they denounced the Fugitive Slave Act as a violation of the Constitution, and of the common law, hostile to the spirit of Christianity and in opposition to the sentiments of the civilized world. They declared the Whig and Democratic parties both hopelessly corrupt and unworthy of confidence.

The resolutions were drawn by Mr. Giddings, who had been once virtually expelled from Congress for maintaining these principles which the Abolitionists had laid down as the foundations of their societies twenty years before. Even these resolutions were criticised in the Convention as not sufficiently thorough for the exigency, but they were accepted as its proclamation to the people. The Convention named for the candidate for President John Parker Hale of New Hampshire, who had left the Democratic party on the admission of Texas; for Vice-president, George W. Julian of Indiana.

This election is of historical interest, as the first and the last in which the two great parties presented to the country as candidates men who were not very highly esteemed even by the persons who nominated them. On both sides, the leading statesmen of the parties were set aside, for the nomination of men who were called "available" in the language of party. The result of the election showed that the ingeniously contrived Compromises, joined with the adjustment of the dissensions of the New York Democrats, had really



Franklin Pierce

had some effect in diminishing the vote given at the North for the candidates of "Free Soil," or the Free Democracy. In neither election had the "third party" expected to choose a single Presidential Elector. But in 1848, they gave 291,263 votes for Martin Van Buren; and in 1852 they gave only 156,149 votes for John P. Hale. Their principal loss was in the State of New York, where the Democratic party united in supporting Gen-

eral Pierce, and the vote of the Free Democrats was therefore reduced by nearly one hundred thousand. General Pierce gained, in the popular vote, nearly four hundred thousand on the vote given for General Cass, four years before. General Scott gained only twenty-six thousand on the vote given for General Taylor. In the electoral vote, the defeat of General Scott was overwhelming. He had only forty-two electoral votes, those of Massachusetts and Vermont in the East, with those of Kentucky and Tennessee in the West. Twenty-seven other States, giving an electoral vote of two hundred and fifty-four, pronounced in favor of General Pierce. Never was a more complete victory. The Democrats who had supported the Compromise Measures were thus tri-

Election of
Pierce.

umphantly sustained. The Whig leaders who had supported them, had the mortification of destroying their party, without other advantage for the general welfare than such as could be hoped for from an administration committed to extreme pro-slavery measures.

At the end of Pierce's administration, it was said that he came into office with very little opposition, and went out without any. The language abridges into an epigram the history of four fatal years. It was not, however, the first time that an immense popular success has proved fatal to a man or to a party. In his first message he spoke with a certain doubt of his own power, which only foreshadowed too well a fatal weakness by which, apparently with no will of his own, he became the tool of different managers, and in consequence of which his party was reduced to a minority among the people, and, in a quarter of a century, it has never recovered the ascendancy. In the inevitable conflict of which his administration makes an important part, it happened that its failure belongs to a part of the history of slavery. But the weakness of the man was such that it is impossible that even in the happiest time he could have directed large measures with any success.

His course
fore-
shadowed.

In his inaugural address he used the strongest language with regard to the Compromise measures and the question of slavery. "I fervently hope," he said, "that the question is at rest, and that no sectional or ambitious or fanatical excitement may again threaten the duration of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity." At the end of the same year, in his message he spoke of the repose which had followed the Compromises, and said, "that this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured." Only six weeks after, on the 4th of January, Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, one of the unsuccessful competitors for the nomination in the Democratic Convention, introduced in the Senate a bill for opening the territory of Nebraska to settlement. Before this time all territory west of Iowa and Missouri had been closed against emigrants, that is, it was impossible for them to secure their farms if they should settle. By the word "Nebraska," in this bill, was meant all the territory north of the line of Texas and west of the States named, as far as the Rocky Mountains. On the 16th of January, Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, moved that in the territory thus opened the Missouri Compromise should not apply, and on the 23d, Mr. Douglas introduced a second bill including that provision. These two gentlemen thus reopened the slavery discussion which the President six weeks before had spoken of as closed forever.

Douglas's
Nebraska
Bill.

It is difficult for another generation to understand how entirely the Missouri Compromise, born in excitement and rejected at first by the most steadfast Northern feeling, had come to be regarded throughout the Northern States as virtually belonging to an unwritten Constitution. At the East, "Mason and Dixon's line" between Pennsylvania and Maryland, had been spoken of for a generation as the line between freedom and slavery. At the West, the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, fixed upon in 1820, was regarded as making the same separation. Men even spoke as if a certain eternal line of climate were represented by this imaginary parallel, so that it parted countries in which slave labor could be productive from countries in which slave labor would be impossible. Even the school-books which children read fostered this sentiment without intending it, and among things settled, which conservative people were determined not to unsettle, nothing can be named more fixed than this dividing line. To overleap this boundary now and remove all barriers to the extension of slavery, was the determination of the South, or presently became so.

When on the 4th of January, Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, reported a bill for the organization of Nebraska, the report questioned the original validity of the Missouri Compromise, and declared that the new Compromise of 1850 left all question of slavery to the decision of the people residing in any given territory. This is the doctrine which in the discussions of the next six years was called "Squatter Sovereignty," a phrase originally given to it by General Cass. As announced by Mr. Douglas, it may be considered an illustration of his interest in the new settlers of the West, and his determination to stand by their rights. But it was impossible to say that any abrogation of the Compromise of 1820 had been contemplated by the men who united in the Compromise Measures of 1850. The text of these measures admitted of no such construction, and a careful examination of the debates of the session in which they were passed, actually showed that no allusion to the Missouri Compromise was made, or any proposal to overthrow it. In all the discussions South or North upon the subject, it had seemed to be taken for granted that the Compromise of 1820 was eternal, or, as has been said, that it was now an unwritten article of the Constitution. It afterwards appeared, that in the summer following Pierce's election, a warm discussion had sprung up in the western counties of Missouri among persons who wished to take up the rich bottom lands of what is now Kansas and cultivate them as slave territory; that in that discussion it had been held that the Missouri Compromise was no longer binding.¹ In fact, the Missouri

¹ A pamphlet by "Lynæus" avowed this view, and is now one of the curiosities of American history.

Compromise had been disregarded when the State of Missouri, with the consent of Congress, had added to her territory that triangle in the northwestern part of it which was known as the Platt Purchase. It is probable that the wishes of these Missouri speculators were reflected in Mr. Douglas's proposal. Mr. Douglas, also, though he was a man of large Northern popularity, probably was not exempt from that eager desire to secure popularity at the South which governed so many of the statesmen of the hour. He was in the position of chairman of the Committee on Territories, so that he was obliged to take ground on the one side or the other. He always insisted that the clause which he introduced was neither a pro-slavery clause nor an anti-slavery clause,—that it simply left the institutions of the Territory to the decision of those who were to reside upon its soil.

Whatever Mr. Douglas meant or did not mean, whatever the Southern statesmen who applauded his fatal provision meant or did not mean, the proposed abrogation of the compromise line of 1820 was received throughout the Northern States as a proposal to change by Act of Congress an article of the Constitution would have been received. It was plain that the South, having obtained every advantage it could claim under the Missouri Compromise, in the admission of the States of Florida, Arkansas, and Missouri as slave-holding States, now chose to throw away that agreement, when for the first time any advantage was to come to the North. It was felt throughout the Northern States that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an "uncalled for and unnecessary act, even a violation of plighted faith." These are the words of Mr. Kenneth Raynor of North Carolina, in an address made the next year.

The original bill proposed the creation of a Territory to be known as Nebraska. An early amendment separated the region by the line which still parts Kansas from Nebraska. But the name first chosen still attached to the bill, and the debate was generally called the "Nebraska debate." After a week or two of silent surprise, the whole North showed its indignation at the destruction of the Missouri Compromise. This indignation, if nothing else, united the Southern



Stephen A. Douglas.

Senators and Representatives in its favor, and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed into a law on the 30th of May, after the most excited discussion in both Houses. In that vote, as it has proved, was the last step of that Southern domination which had controlled the country since the election of Jefferson. Many Northern Whigs and Democrats, who had felt bound in honor to support the Compromises, now felt themselves released from that obligation. From this moment there was no longer any reason which could be urged on men of honor for their support. If the South would not hold to these measures except when it suited her, why should the North be bound by them? But it happened, the proposal for "Squatter Sovereignty" started a larger emigration than that of a few partisans from the western counties of Missouri. All the Northwest was eager to furnish "Squatters." The discussion had roused the country, and especially that part of it which furnishes emigrants for new States. Slaveholders with slaves do not care to take them into doubtful regions. Men without slaves can move far more quickly. In the northwestern States, men who had thus far opposed the Southern policy by their votes alone, saw that now they had the opportunity to oppose it more directly.

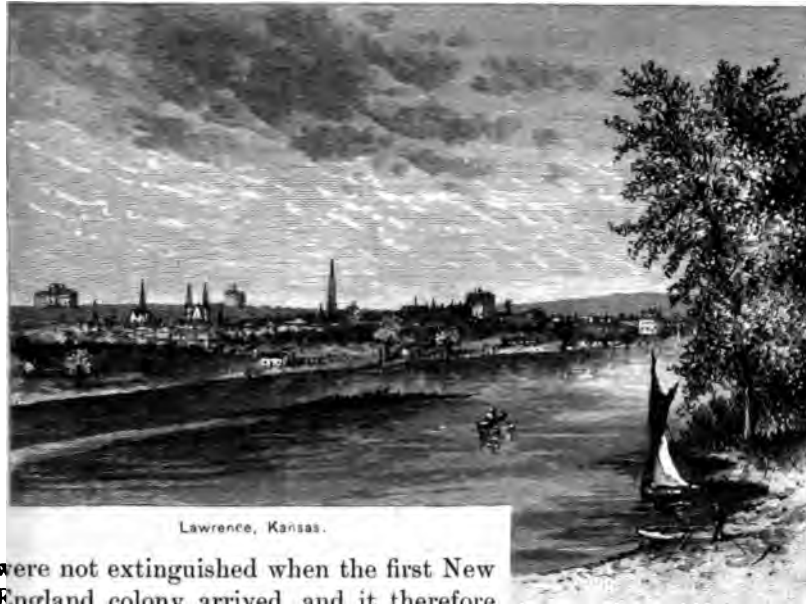
In the Eastern States, Eli Thayer conceived an organization of the emigration of the year, with the view of directing it to Kansas. On the 20th of April, before the Nebraska Act passed Congress, he and his friends were incorporated as the "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company." They were permitted to hold a capital of five million dollars. A ready exaggeration, made in a hostile interest, announced that they had this capital. In fact, that company had not collected twenty thousand dollars, when the year closed. But the fame of its wealth answered the purpose as well as the possession. Undecided men were willing to throw in their chances, where an organization, supposed to be so strong, led the way. The glove thrown down too hastily, in a challenge to the Northern emigrant, was taken up on the instant. On the last days of July, as soon as the Territory was open to settlement, the pioneer party of the Emigrant Aid Company took up claims at the point now known as Lawrence. Before winter, this company had sent from New England five hundred emigrants. From other free States had poured in enough more to make a population of eight thousand. These pioneers had experienced some difficulty in passing through Missouri. The men on the borders of that State—the "border ruffians" as they soon and most appropriately came to be called—had undertaken the task, which soon proved hopeless, of damming the tide. A winter unexpectedly open favored the settlement. On the other

Kansas-
Nebraska
Bill passed.

Eastern
emigration
to Kansas.

hand, no man had dared take into the Territory property so valuable as slaves then were, with the slave's propensity to leave his home. The great contest, the moment it was reduced to rivalry in settling a new region, was evidently an unequal one.

Side by side with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in Congress, treaties had been quietly made in Washington with the half-civilized Indian tribes, already in possession, under which they gave up their lands for settlement. But the Indian titles



were not extinguished when the first New England colony arrived, and it therefore planted itself at Lawrence, the first available point as yet free from Indian claims. Meetings of men in the slave interest were held in Missouri, in which they pledged themselves to remove any and all emigrants who should go to Kansas under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Societies. President Pierce appointed A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, Governor of the Territory, and he arrived in October. From all regions of the Northwest settlers poured in, and met with occasional outrages on the Missouri line, sometimes involving loss of life.

Appoint-
ment of
Reeder as
Governor.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KANSAS STRUGGLE. — BUCHANAN.

THE FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS IN KANSAS. — THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURES. — THE KANSAS CODE. — BORDER RUFFIANS AIDED FROM SOUTH CAROLINA. — SACK OF LAWRENCE. — JOHN BROWN OF OSSAWATOMIE. — DISPERSION OF THE TOPEKA LEGISLATURE. — ELECTION OF BUCHANAN. — LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION AND THE ENGLISH COMPROMISE. — THE MORMONS. — WALKER'S EXPEDITION. — ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH CABLE. — JOHN BROWN'S INVASION OF VIRGINIA. — HIS CAPTURE AND EXECUTION. — ELECTION OF LINCOLN.

ON the 29th of November, an election was ordered in Kansas, to choose a delegate to Congress. Immediately the border counties of Missouri prepared to send over voters. The Senator in Congress from Missouri, David Atchison, gave this direction in a public speech: "When you reside within one day of the Territory, you can send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions." Such directions were literally complied with. The election day was a day of invasion, and the candidate of the slaveholding interest was chosen, by an enormous majority. Indeed, he received eleven hundred votes more than the number of legal voters in the Territory three months afterward.

The census was taken in February. It showed a population of 5,128 men, and 3,373 women; of these 3,469 were minors. A little less than five hundred, as has been said, was the number of emigrants, greatly denounced in Missouri, from New England. Most of the remainder were from the Northwest. Of the whole number, 2,905 had the qualifications for voting. Governor Reeder now appointed a second election, at which the Legislature of the Territory should be chosen. An organized movement was made in Missouri,¹ by which companies of men from that State were sent into every council district of Kansas. Many of the resident voters, in the face of this invasion, refused to sanction at the ballot-box the violence that only condescended to use a legal formality. The result was the fraudulent election of thirteen councillors, and twenty-six members of the lower house, — a portion

Election of
delegate to
Congress.

Second elec-
tion ap-
pointed.

Territorial
Legislature
elected.

¹ See Congressional Report.

of them Missourians — by six thousand three hundred and twenty votes, more than twice the number of legal voters in the Territory, only about half of whom, or exactly thirteen hundred and ten, went to the ballot-box. If history repeats, so it often reverses itself. In this preliminary outbreak of the slaveholders' conspiracy against civilization and republican government the resort was to a fraudulent ballot before the seizure of the bayonet; in the next stage, — the rebellion of 1860, — armed insurrection came first, and that failing, fraudulent voting is relied upon to subvert the government.

But the Legislature thus chosen, the first result of "Squatter Sovereignty," was recognized at Washington. Its first act was to eject the single free-soil councillor who was returned, whereupon the only member of the party in the House resigned. The next step was to quarrel with the Governor, Reeder, who they soon found was not to be counted on to support these outrages. They had met at Pawnee, a hundred miles from Missouri, but adjourned to the Shawnee Mission, which was nearer to their base of operations. Reeder declared them dissolved by this adjournment; but they proceeded to ^{its proceed-} act. A code of laws, of a thousand pages, was passed by ^{ing.} copying the Missouri Statute Book, and changing the word "State" to "Territory." They provided that every officer in the Territory for the next two years should be appointed by themselves, and of course these officers were selected from their own body. They recognized slavery in the most stringent legislation, and decreed the punishment of death for decoying slaves from their masters.

Governor Reeder, indignant at this absurd parody on legislation, reported his views at Washington. But the President did not wish any half-way interpretation of his compacts with ^{Shannon supersedes} the South, and at once removed Reeder, to appoint Wilson ^{Reeder.} Shannon, a man of a different stamp. Meanwhile the people of the Territory, in frequent meetings, disclaimed the whole of the legislation of the usurping body, and a convention was called, to be held at Topeka in September, specially to form a State Constitution, and to ask admission as a State into the Union. Reeder, whose upright course had commended him to the Free-State party, was elected as their delegate to Congress, on a different day, however, from that appointed by the Shawnee Mission Legislature. On that appointed day the slavery party chose John W. Whitfield.

The two conventions of the Free-State party were held at Topeka, one preliminary, one to make a State Constitution. The second Convention prepared a draft of a Constitution, which was accepted by their constituents. The issue was thus joined between the two parties, — the "border-ruffians" and the "Abolitionists," as they designated each other on the spot.

Between these parties a protracted civil war followed, provoked by outrages upon the actual settlers, leading inevitably, not merely to defence but to retaliation. Governor Shannon called out the militia, ostensibly to keep the peace; but his call was answered by numerous volunteers from Missouri, for his sympathies were well understood. The town of Lawrence was threatened in the later months of 1855, but escaped destruction for the time by the readiness of its leading citizens to go into arrest and test in the courts the charges of their accusers. With the spring of 1856, however, a military company from South Carolina under



South Carolina Troops in Missouri.

Major Buford arrived, pledged to war. They bore a red flag with the motto, "South Carolina and State Rights." This year the attack on Lawrence was renewed, under the direct authority of the Government at Washington. It was the policy of the Free-State men never to resist this authority, while they never submitted to border outrage. The Free-State Hotel and the dwelling of Governor Robinson, the Governor under the Topeka Constitution, were burned and the town was sacked. In the mutual attacks of these months many lives were lost on both sides, and the animosity on both sides became, if possible, more and more bitter. The whole influence and power of the Administration at Washington was thrown against the Free-State party, and the United States troops at Leavenworth were often used by Shannon to carry out his purposes, direct

Sacking of
Lawrence.

or indirect, to assist the invaders from the slave States. The grand jury called by the Territorial authorities found indictments for high treason against Robinson and others of the Free-State leaders, and Robinson was kept for four months under arrest. The Free-State Legislature met, and were dispersed by the United States forces, to which, as always, they deferred.

Governor Shannon at length either resigned or was displaced by President Pierce for failing to bring the Free-State party to terms, and John W. Geary was appointed in his place. Atchison, of Missouri, led another army into the Territory. A detachment of his force destroyed the village of Ossawatimie, then the home of John

Brown, who was, however, absent in pursuit of a party of the "border-ruffians," who held as prisoners two of his sons and kept them in chains. Another son of his had been some time before inhumanly murdered. So soon as the Free-State forces approached, Atchison led back his men into Missouri. Geary, on arrival, called on both parties to disarm, but was met by a new invasion from Missouri. A murder having taken place almost in his own presence, he arrested the murderer, and at once lost favor in the eyes of the slavery party.

He reported at length to the President that "peace and order" were established. With the beginning of 1857 the Topeka Legislature met; but the United States Marshal immediately arrested the prominent members, and left both Houses without a quorum. The Territorial Legislature also met at Leecompton and provided on their part for a State Constitution. Meanwhile, on a report from a committee, the National House of Representatives had declared void all the Territorial enactments; but the bill did not pass the Senate. At the same time Governor Geary resigned, disgusted with the failure of President Pierce to support him, and

Geary appointed Governor.



John Brown's Log House

Legislature at Topeka broken up.

Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, was named in his stead. Walker, however, was also deposed, for no reason but the simplest adherence to good faith with the settlers, and J. W. Denver became Territorial Governor. The Free-State men refused to vote for the Lecompton Constitution ; and so completely did it lack popular support that when again submitted ten thousand votes were given against it ; and when Congress renewed the experiment the same result was gained. Governor Denver resigned in turn,

Adverse
votes on
Lecompton
Constitu-
tion.



Border Ruffians invading Kansas.

and Samuel Medary was appointed in his place. The bitter struggle — the real opening of the war of the Rebellion which followed — soon came to an end. The attempt to force a pro-slavery Constitution was given up. Franklin Pierce, the weak creature who filled the chair of the President during the most of these outrages, had retired to his original obscurity. A Constitution which repudiated slavery in Kansas was made and ratified in 1859, and Charles Robinson was the first Governor chosen. But it was not until the slave States had gone out of the Union that Kansas was permitted to come in.

Such are the external turning-points only of a history of bloodshed and terror, then wholly new in the annals of the United States. Every step in it was marked with intense interest. The vacillations of President Pierce, as it went on, were pitiable. One day, he announced that he had no power to preserve the peace; another day he employed the army; another day he left the military commander to take the responsibility of his action. Two days after the destruction of Lawrence, when that atrocity was not known in Washington, an agent who had travelled night and day from that town to explain to him the state of affairs, called upon the President in Washington. He was distressed by the intelligence, and shed tears — possibly maudlin tears — in expression of his sorrow. He drew a despatch which he sent to Governor Shannon at once, bidding him dismiss the "militia" so called, and rely only on the regular forces. This, he declared, had been his intention from the beginning; but when the different parties, eager to justify themselves, produced their several orders, it proved that Governor Shannon had been directed not to employ the regular army unless he found the "militia" insufficient. Such a scene is a fit illustration of the vacillation of a man unfortunately intrusted with power, who may not have been absolutely bad, but who was so weak and so destitute of a political conscience that he was a mere tool in the hands of the stronger men about him.

Weakness of
the Presi-
dent.

As early as the moment when the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise was proposed, a committee of Free Democrats, led by Mr. Vinton of New York, had waited on the President to ask him the disposition of the Administration. The President said in reply that he had certainly calculated on the support of the "softs,"¹ as these men were familiarly called, for he had shown them at least equal consideration in the distribution of patronage. This remark on a question which involved the most serious moral principles, is characteristic of the man. In an interview with Mr. Marcy, on the same day, the committee learned that Mr. Douglas and some Southern gentlemen had had two long discussions with the President. They had at last compelled him to assent to their views, and he had himself put in writing the passage which related to the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. This was the fulfilment of his promise, that the country's repose on the slavery question should "suffer no shock during my official term if I have power to prevent it." The interview between this committee and the President may be compared to the celebrated

¹ The Democratic party of New York was divided into two factions, respectively called the "Hard Shells" and the "Soft Shells." The former were in alliance with the slavery propagandists of the South.

interview between the young Democrats of 1811 and Mr. Madison, when they compelled him to assent to war with England. As always in such cases, the aggressors were able to threaten their victim with the loss of a second term of his office. When the President yielded he falsified every statement he had made up to this period, and, of course, lost the prize which he had coveted. From this moment the Democratic party was again divided. All persons, indeed, who were determined that slavery should never be extended beyond its existing limits, all persons who wished that the new Territories should be forever free, could now act together untrammelled by real or supposed obligations of honor.

At this period appeared a new combination in the politics of the country, of which the full history has never yet been written, and, from its very nature, perhaps never will be. A secret society had been formed in the city of New York in the year 1853, with the purpose of checking foreign influence, especially the influence of the Pope, purifying the ballot, and maintaining the use of the Bible in public schools. Whether these were or were not the only objects of the founders, they have never yet told the world. But these objects alone were such as could be readily made acceptable to most of the rank and file of the native voters of either party, and with the fascination which attends well-organized secret movements would of themselves secure for it a large support. The organization called itself the American Party, but was popularly named the "Know-nothings," one of the habits of its members, under their mutual agreement, being to say to unlicensed inquirers that they knew nothing of its secret proceedings.

The organization was increasing in numbers when the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, in 1854, completely dissolved all old party ties at the North. Men of all shades of opinion, thus set free from old companionships, were glad to use the new machinery. Among these men at the North were some of the more intelligent of the anti-slavery politicians, who thought that here was the opportunity which they had sought in vain before for a national organization friendly to their plans. At the South a considerable number of men who distrusted the extreme measures of the "fire-eaters" joined them, in hope that this organization might be used for the maintenance of the Union. And as always happens in such cases, a large number of discontented men of all views or of no views, who thought they had not been sufficiently considered, offered themselves as leaders in its councils.

So rapid was the enrolment of members, that more than a million and a half of voters had accepted its pledges before the year 1855. In

the elections of the autumn of 1854, they carried the vote of many of the Northern States, and in all well-nigh paralyzed the efforts of the old organizations. The indignation of the North at the overthrow of the Missouri Compromise, and the power of this "American" organization, resulted in the defeat of the Democratic party through the Northern States. The Whig party was broken in pieces. The elections of that year indicated to the President and those who had advised him, that, whatever else was uncertain, it was certain that they had lost the support of the Northern constituencies.

The new organization of the "Americans" was, however, no better able than the old parties to hold together those who wished and those who did not wish to extend slavery. Kenneth Raynor, of North Carolina, had suggested establishing in it a "third or Union degree," by which its members pledged themselves, in what is described as a very serious and impressive ceremonial, "to maintain the Union of the States, against any and all assaults." Before six months had passed, more than a million and a half men, Pledged to sustain the Union. North and South, had taken this pledge. But, after all, the pledge meant, for the most conscientious, the Union as they understood it; for those less conscientious, as events have proved, it seems to have meant nothing.

The frequent alliances between the "American" party and the Free-Soilers at the North, did not escape attention at the South. So far as anti-slavery men were directing the Alliances with Free-Soilers. "American" councils, the friends of slavery at the South saw the direction given. The result of such observation showed itself in Virginia in the spring elections of 1855. Henry A. Wise, one of the most notorious and insolent of the Virginian leaders, had been counted, in earlier times, as one of the most influential men among the Whigs. He now led the Democratic party of Virginia Defeated in Virginia. in a triumphant canvass, the result of which entirely overthrew the new organization there. The hopes of its leaders to become a national party were rudely blighted by this defeat.

Still the "National Council" which represented the organization, was the organ of nearly a million and a half of men who had pledged themselves to support its measures. No President, at this time, had ever received seventeen hundred thousand votes. If the members of the subordinate lodges could be kept united, the National Council could be well-nigh sure of the next President. In that Council almost every State was represented, generally by seven delegates each. The Northern and Southern views at once expressed themselves. The Council proved to be only another Congress, with every element represented in it, which would have been found in the Senate or the

House of Representatives in Washington. Two weeks were spent in the preparation of resolutions; and the majority proved to be in favor of suppressing all discussion of slavery. Of course the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, then fresh in all memories, was discussed. It was then that Kenneth Raynor used the expression which has been already cited. "I have to say," he said, "that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an uncalled for and unnecessary act, an outrage even, a violation of plighted faith; and I would have seen my right arm withered and my tongue palsied before I would have voted for it." He proposed an amendment, declaring that the American party recognized the right of private judgment, of freedom of speech and of the press, on the subject of slavery; that all questions touching its agitation should be ignored and discouraged, but that, should this party "come into power, it would so dispose of that question as to mete out justice to all sections and interests." But this amendment was rejected. The Northern resolutions were also rejected. The Southern resolutions were adopted by a vote of eighty to fifty-nine.

This was the last act of the National Council in which it could be said to represent the whole country. The Northern delegates met, and agreed to an address to the order, which demanded the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as free States, and the protection by the national Government of actual settlers in the free exercise of the elective franchise. The interference with the elections in Kansas by invasion from Missouri suggested the last demand. For, at this moment, the impression in the wavering fancies of President Pierce, was that he had no right to give such protection.

The majority of the order were thus freed from the embarrassments of anti-slavery alliance, while they lost the support of a large number of their Northern constituents. In the autumnal elections of 1855, the party carried the States of New York, California, and Massachusetts; but the division enabled the Democrats to carry New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. In all these cases the victory was that of a plurality, not a majority of voters.

Under such lurid skies, the President met the thirty-fourth Congress in December. So complicated were the partisan divisions, that two months passed before the House organized itself by the election of a Speaker. Two years before, after a similar contest, the extreme Southern candidate was chosen. This year, — under the plurality rule, as then, — Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, was chosen, receiving one hundred and three votes, while William Aiken, of South Carolina, received one

N. P. Banks
Speaker of
the House at
Washing-
ton.

hundred. Nineteen members were absent, eleven scattering votes were given, and there was one vacancy. Meanwhile the President had brought the affairs of Kansas before Congress by a special message on the 24th of January. The affairs of that Territory, already the scene of civil war, attracted largely the attention of Congress through the session. Even Mr. Douglas, the champion of "Squatters and Squatter Sovereignty," in a report from the Committee on Territories, denounced the action of the "New England Emigrant Aid Company," and the President went so far as to characterize the Eastern settlers in Kansas, as persons "foreign" to its interests. A committee of the House visited the Territory in person. They obtained official records which verified the history, now certain, of the constant armed invasions from Missouri on days of election.



Charles Sumner.

In the course of the discussion in the Senate, Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, delivered on the 19th and 20th of May a speech which, when published, he called "The Crime against Kansas." He was replied to by Senators Cass, Douglas, Mason of Virginia, and Butler of South Carolina, in speeches whose tone is indescribable, except by the slang phrase which distinguishes a certain grade of language and of manners: they "blackguarded" the Senator from Massachusetts in terms to which ordinary decency set no limit. Unfortunately, in his reply, he permitted himself to retaliate in something of the same temper.

Sumner's
Speech on
Kansas.

A reference to Mr. Butler was the ground of an assault made on Mr. Sumner two days after. The Senate had adjourned. Mr. Sumner remained at his desk writing. Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, accompanied by Mr. Keitt, another member from the same State, as an accomplice, approached him and said: "I have read your speech twice over carefully; it is a libel upon South Carolina, and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine." While he spoke, he struck Mr. Sumner over the head with a heavy stick, as he sat confined by the desk at which he was writing, and the blows were continued till he fell stunned,

Assaulted in
the Senate.

insensible, and bleeding to the floor. The injuries that he received, seemed to threaten his life at first; and it was, indeed, not till the end of four years, that his medical advisers permitted his return to his active duties. During that period, the State of Massachusetts was not unfitly represented in the Senate by his empty chair.

Mr. Wilson, his colleague, called on the Senate the next day to vindicate its dignity. The temper of the Senate and of the time appears in the fact that the Senate chose a committee of five Democrats to report on the assault. They reported, that as Mr. Brooks was a member of the House, the Senate had no jurisdiction, and should take no action. In a subsequent debate, Mr. Slidell said: "When we heard that some one was beating Mr. Sumner, we heard the remark without any particular emotion. I remained very quietly in my seat. The other gentleman did the same. We did not move." Mr. Douglas said: "My first impulse was to come into the Senate Chamber and help to put an end to the affray, if I could. But it occurred to my mind in an instant, that my relations to Mr. Sumner were such that if I came into the hall, my motives might be misconstrued, and I sat down again." Mr. Toombs said, "I probably said I approved what Mr. Brooks did. That is my opinion."

Such were the manifestations of opinion among Senators. Senator Wilson, Mr. Sumner's colleague, was challenged by Brooks for calling the assault "brutal, murderous, and cowardly." Mr. Wilson declined the challenge on the ground that duelling was a part of the barbarism which dictated the attack. When Mr. Burlingame, of Massachusetts, subsequently accepted a challenge from Brooks and proposed to meet him in Canada, Brooks declined, on the ground that the state of Northern feeling was such that he could not safely travel there. It was generally believed that his real reason was a fear of Mr. Burlingame's rifle.

The House, on a report of its committee, voted to expel Brooks, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-one to ninety-five. For expulsion, under the rules, a vote of two thirds was necessary, so he retained his seat. A vote of censure was adopted by a large majority. In an insolent speech he then resigned his seat. His constituents at once returned him, and in two weeks he took the oaths again. Southern statesmen of the first rank were eager in congratulations. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said, "I know of no representative whose public career I hold more worthy of the full and cordial approbation of his constituents." Jefferson Davis said, "I have only to express my sympathy with the feeling which prompts the sons of Carolina to welcome the return of a brother who has been the sub-

Action in
the Senate.

Senator Wil-
son chal-
lenged by
Brooks.

Action of
the House.

ject of vilification, misrepresentation, and persecution, because he resented a libellous assault upon the representative of their mother." Mr. Buchanan, however, went so far as to say that Mr. Brooks was "inconsiderate." Brooks died within the year. In a eulogy on him in the House Mr. Savage, of Tennessee, said, "History records but one Thermopylæ; there ought to have been another, and that one for Preston S. Brooks. The scene in the Senate Chamber shall carry the name of the deceased to all future generations." History would, indeed, be incomplete without such record of the passions of the time, though the man who at the moment seems a hero to his friends, stands revealed in the future to all men as only a ruffian and a bully of a not uncommon type.

With such excitements, — with the destruction in Kansas even of the theory of Squatter Sovereignty, — with the approval by the Southern leaders of a murderous assault upon a Northern Senator, — all parties made their preparation for another election of President. The "American" Convention had met in Philadelphia on the 22d of February, the anniversary of Washington's birthday. Mr. Perkins, of Connecticut, after an exciting debate on the issues of the day, said, "There are two great questions before the people: one the reform in the naturalization laws, one the restoration of freedom in Kansas." He proposed that, as the Convention would not consider the latter question, those who thought it a real issue should withdraw, and fifty members withdrew. The remaining members gave Mr. Fillmore one hundred and seventy-nine votes, and he was made their candidate. Andrew Jackson Donelson was made candidate for Vice-president.

Presidential
canvass in
1856.

On the same day a convention was held at Pittsburg to perfect the national organization of what was now called the Republican Party, in which name it was hoped the different elements of opposition to the extension of slavery might be united. This meeting proposed a national convention on the 17th of June, supposed to be an auspicious day in the history of American rebellion, because the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill.

The Repub-
lican Party.

On the 2d of June there met at Cincinnati the Convention of the Democratic party. President Pierce, who had come in with little opposition, was to go out with none. It was no longer a time for unknown men or weak men. Yet, with the power which always belongs to an administration, he was brought forward as a candidate. Mr. Douglas was another. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was another. Fortunately for him, he had been Minister in England when the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and in that matter his hands were clean. The Convention balloted, without any

Democratic
Convention.

nomination, sixteen times, the rules adopted requiring a vote of two thirds. On the sixteenth ballot Mr. Buchanan received one hundred and sixty-eight votes, Mr. Douglas one hundred and twenty-one. There were but six others. On the seventeenth ballot Mr. Buchanan received a unanimous vote and was chosen candidate. John C. Breckinridge was made candidate for Vice-president.

The Convention of the new Republican party met at Philadelphia on the 17th of June, just after Lawrence was sacked, Mr. Republican Convention. Sumner beaten in the Senate Chamber, and Mr. Brooks congratulated on the deed of an assassin. Men of very varied antecedents met there. Here was Preston King, of New York, the life-long friend of Governor Marcy. Here was Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, a relative of the great Senator. Here was Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, fresh from the Senate Chamber where Sumner had been assaulted. Here was Francis P. Blair, the friend of General Jackson. Here was David Wilmot, whose good fortune it was to move the Wilmot Proviso. The Convention, on its first ballot, gave to John Charles Fremont three hundred and fifty-nine votes. Judge McLean, of Ohio, received one hundred and ninety-six. General Fremont was thus made the candidate. William L. Dayton received the majority of votes for Vice-president, though one hundred and ten were given to Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

Fremont was well known to the country, and favorably, as the ex-
General Fremont. plorer of the mysterious regions of the West. As early as 1842, a young officer in the army, he had been sent out, at his own request, into the "great American desert" of those days. He had shown rare temper, perseverance, and executive ability, in a series of explorations carried forward by him; he had corrected many grave mistakes in American geography; had opened California to Western emigration; and had, indeed, laid the foundations for the Pacific Railway of after years. For the purposes of the new party organization, it was desirable, not to say necessary, that its candidate should have had no close connection with either political party. It has been a habit of officers in the regular army to keep themselves almost proudly free from any such connection. It was certainly an advantage that Colonel Fremont was the son-in-law of a statesman so distinguished as Colonel Benton, for a generation Senator Senator Benton. from Missouri. This Senator, though a slaveholder, and a slaveholder in the District of Columbia, had in many critical moments refused to act with the Fire-eaters, and, in face of the current of public opinion in Missouri, had shown himself the friend of the settlers in Kansas.

The seceders from the American Convention had met in New York

on the 12th of June. They had proposed for the Presidency, the Speaker of the House, Mr. Banks; and for Vice-president, William F. Johnson, of Pennsylvania. These candidates were afterwards withdrawn.

*Nominations
of the Amer-
ican party.*

Three candidates for the Presidency were thus before the people; and for the first time in many years, each represented a real conviction. Each indeed was a man who had given proof of real ability. Mr. Buchanan stood for the South and its policy. Colonel Fremont stood for the non-extension of slavery.

*Wise calls a
Convention
of Govern-
ors.*

Mr. Fillmore stood for the Union of the States, and for that strong conservative feeling which regarded all questions as little, in comparison with this Union. An incident of the autumn, which foreshadowed what was to follow, was a proposal made by Governor Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, for a conference of the Governors of Southern States, to take into consideration the state of the country. The invitation was on the whole



James Buchanan.

kindly received, but there was no meeting except of the Governors of Virginia and the two Carolinas.

The election resulted in the choice of Mr. Buchanan, which was due wholly to the division of his antagonists. Of the popular vote he received 1,838,169. Here were more than two hundred thousand votes more than President Pierce had received, so intense was the excitement of the canvass. But he was still in a minority of nearly four hundred thousand. Colonel Fremont had 1,341,000 votes. Mr. Fillmore had 875,000. Of the Electoral votes Mr. Buchanan received one hundred and seventy-four. Colonel Fremont had one hundred and fourteen, and Mr. Fillmore the eight votes of Maryland, — which showed itself true to its mid-way position be-

*The elec-
tion.*

tween North and South. Mr. Buchanan owed his election to the vote of Pennsylvania. As the canvass went forward in this State, he had pledged himself to insure to Kansas an honest vote of her own people. With this assurance, Mr. Buchanan obtained a plurality of the vote of Pennsylvania, which proved essential for his election.¹

But when he came into office, the auspices were all against him. No President, except the second Adams, had ever been chosen by so small a proportion of the popular vote.² Of the Northern States, Mr. Buchanan had received the votes of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Indiana. But in two of these he was in a minority. In Pennsylvania, his majority was only one thousand and twenty-five in a vote of four hundred and sixty thousand; and in Indiana it was not two thousand in a vote of nearly two hundred and forty thousand. The days of Northern men with Southern principles were over.

Still Mr. Buchanan was not so weak a man as his forgotten predecessor. He was not a fool, though his political career was Buchanan as President. by no means free from vacillations and inconsistencies. He probably hoped, in his old age, that with the prestige of the name of President, he could control such spirits as he had in his Cabinet; such men as Howell Cobb, and Floyd, who afterward abused their official position under his eyes, to prepare for war against the nation which they pretended to serve. The President's first message repeated the assurances that the discussion of slavery had come to an end. It was remembered afterward for its attack on the clergy of the country, whom he charged with fomenting the disturbance which had so endangered its institutions. But in that message, he declared himself friendly to the admission of Kansas into the Union with a constitution agreeable to a majority of the settlers. He referred to a decision of the Supreme Court, — soon to be made, — and asked for acquiescence in it, whatever its character. Such a reference, from a President to an undelivered opinion of the Supreme Court, was a novelty. It soon appeared, however, that he had reason for going outside of precedent.

The decision referred to, of which the new President had had some The Dred Scott case. early intimation, was the decision in the "Dred Scott" case. An action had been begun by Dred Scott, a negro, in the circuit court of Missouri, for his freedom and that of his children. His claim was that he had been removed, in 1834, to Illinois, then a free

¹ The details of this transaction are given in a very curious speech by Mr. J. W. Forney, who obtained the pledge from Buchanan, — read at the Quarter Century celebration of the settlers of Kansas, at Bismarck Grove, September 20, 1880.

² Mr. Adams's vote in 1824 was only 29.92 per cent. of the popular vote. In 1844, Mr. Polk's was 49.55 per cent. In 1848, General Taylor's was 47.36 per cent. Mr. Buchanan's was 45.34.



ate, by his master, and afterwards taken into territory north of the compromise line; that in 1838 only had he been taken back into Missouri and sold again to his present master. To this Sanford, his master, replied that Scott was not a citizen of Missouri, and could not bring an action; and also that he and his children were Sanford's slaves. The lower courts had differed, and the case came before the Supreme bench. The case was twice argued with care. When the decision came, for which the new President asked attention and concurrence, it swept the whole ground indeed. The opinion of the Court was prepared by Judge Taney, the Chief Justice. It dismissed the case on Sanford's first reply, namely, that Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri. Black men could not be citizens, the Court said virtually. The opinion went historically back to the origin of the Constitution. Referring even to the words of the Declaration of Independence, that all *men* are equal, the Court said it was plain that its authors did not embrace the negro race, which, by common consent, had been excluded from the civilized governments, in the family of nations, and devoted to slavery. In the Constitution, the Court said, no idea could not be entertained that negroes were citizens, "as the only two provisions which point to them and include them, treat them as property."

With this statement the case itself ended. The Chief Justice, availing himself of the fact that the plaintiff rested his plea for freedom on the ground that his owner had taken him into territory made free by the Missouri Compromise, went beyond the record to declare the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional. From the decision Judge McLean and Judge Curtis dissented; but it was in itself sufficient, as Mr. Benton said, to make a new departure in the working of the Federal Government. It made slavery the organic law of the land. No longer the exception with freedom the rule; but slavery the rule, with freedom the exception." Such a decision moved the heart of the whole North, and showed to the most conservative that the whole of argument and of action was forever changed.

The new Congress met in December, 1857. The Democrats were able to choose their own Speaker, the division between the American and the Republican parties giving a House in which the Democrats had one hundred and twenty-eight votes, the Republicans ninety-two, and the Americans fourteen.

To the difficulties of a minority in the popular vote, and a general distrust through the North, were now added those of a great commercial revulsion. One of those ebb-tides of trade for which no man has yet fully accounted, and which have been ascribed by bold physicists even to changes in the heavenly bodies,

Commercial
disasters of
1857.

swept over the world. Such crises always follow periods of great commercial activity and supposed prosperity. In this case the immense treasure drawn from the mines of California had greatly enlarged the banking operations of the country. The great railroad system, which secured for the agricultural States the markets of the world, was developed with rapidity that would have once seemed fabulous. New institutions of credit, on a scale gigantic to the enterprise of earlier times, were established in the larger cities. It was the failure of one of these — the "Ohio Life and Trust Company" — which precipitated the fatal discovery. The world of commerce found how large was the "inflation" and how hollow the promise, on which this great prosperity had been reared. The civilized world felt the shock, and commerce did not recover from it for many years. The Treasury of the United States was emptied in the crash, and the new Government was not even able to pay its officers.

The vote on the Lecompton Constitution in Kansas was the test of that pledge of a "fair election" which Buchanan had given to the Pennsylvania Democrats. He said that now the question was a mere point of honor, which the North could afford to yield; that all men knew that Kansas would be free; that, so soon as admitted, the State could change its Constitution, and the South could not then complain that her rights had been abandoned. In this declaration he broke faith with a large portion of the party which had till now sustained him. In the Senate a bill was passed to admit Kansas under this Constitution. But the old Democratic majority could no longer be relied upon. Bell, Broderick, and Stuart, and, most fatal sign of all, Douglas, voted for a substitute offered by Mr. Crittenden, but not adopted: that the Constitution should be submitted to the people of Kansas, who, should they reject this, would be authorized to take the preliminary steps for the formation of another. In the House the substitute was again presented by a Democrat, Montgomery, of Pennsylvania, and adopted, and the two Houses disagreeing, a committee of conference was appointed which drew up a compromising bill, Seward of the Senate and Howard of the House dissenting. From the name of its author, this plan was called the "English Compromise." It proposed a submission to the people, but only on the hard conditions that, if they refused, they should lose their allotments for education and for internal improvements, and should not be admitted until their population numbered ninety-three thousand three hundred and fifty inhabitants, the quota at that time for one Representative. This "compromise" passed. The Constitution was sent to Kansas, and, as has been seen, the people absolutely rejected it. The vote was 1,788 in its favor and 11,300 against it.

Buchanan's
faithless-
ness.

Admission
of Kansas
proposed.

The "Eng-
lish Com-
promise."

In the autumn of 1857, the defiant resolution of the Mormons in Utah compelled the President to remove their Governor, Brigham Young, and appoint Alfred Cuming, an officer of the army, his successor. Young was the "prophet," so called, the immediate successor of the founder of the Mormon Church. As the tide of emigration rolled westward, the colony of this remarkable people had become of national importance, with vitality enough in their faith to gather together a church of from thirty to forty thousand people, and, as the Church was the State, with strength enough to defy the Federal Government. Driven first from Missouri to Illinois, in 1838,

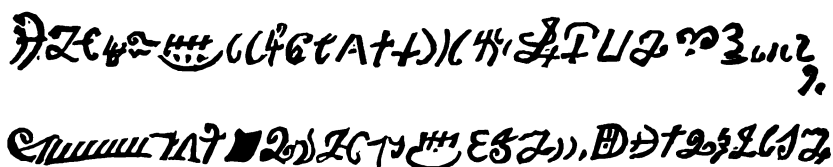


Salt Lake City.

and thence, ten years afterward, into the wilderness, they sought a resting-place and refuge in what was then called "The Great American Desert," and pitched their tents and built their tabernacle on the shores of Salt Lake. Their government was, and is, a hierarchy; their faith was founded on the pretended discovery of a new revelation written on golden plates that had lain buried for centuries in a hill at Manchester, New York, and were dug up by Joseph Smith; on this, in after years, the lecherous temper of their chief saints had imposed the system of polygamy as a later revelation to Smith; and it is hard to say which is the greater marvel — that there should be credulity and ignorance enough among the civilized peoples of the nine-

teenth century for the formation of such a sect, or that an enlightened government should have so long tolerated organized immorality under the guise of a religion. "The twin relic of barbarism," as it was called by Owen Lovejoy, could not, like slavery, seek protection under the sheltering compromises of the Constitution.

With an army of only three hundred, the new Governor was sent to his destination. The Mormon prophet forbade his entrance into the city, and it was only by a mortifying submission that this force was allowed to remain unmolested, in its encampment. With the next summer the army was reinforced, the Mormons yielded; and since that time, the national Government has appointed a "Gentile," so called, to the government of the Territory.



Fac-simile of Characters of the Mormon Plates.

President Pierce had permitted the departure from the country of an adventurer named William Walker, who attempted to make himself master of Nicaragua, with a force of four hundred men. He had even held some communication with an envoy of Walker's. Once and again Walker had been forced to return. But on the 24th of November, 1857, he landed at Greytown again, in sight of a vessel of the United States navy. Commodore Paulding arrested him and sent him back for trial. The jury, however, when he was tried at New Orleans, failed to agree.

In the summer of this year, on the 4th of August, the first telegraphic message passed from America to Europe. The cable had been laid successfully with the assistance of the governments of England and the United States. The communication was soon interrupted by an accident, but before long the regular transmission of public and private news between the continents was established.

The elections of 1858 taught even the President that he had relied too far on the large vote which elected him. In the State of New York only four Democrats were returned to the House of Representatives. The extreme Southern party, however, brought forward, at the short session, a bill to permit the Government to purchase Cuba for thirty million dollars. It met the full Republican opposition, and was at last abandoned by its friends.

William
Walker's
Expedition.

Atlantic
Telegraph.

Proposal to
purchase
Cuba.

In the midst, however, of the victories and defeats of the men who were prominent before the country, careless of the hopes and fears of politicians or of statesmen a poor man, un-^{John Brown.} known to them all, was, in his wild way, concerting the plans which precipitated the crisis of the nation's history. John Brown had already devised a movement of those whom he called the "True Friends of Freedom." It has been remembered that he was of Puritan blood. His whole life was characterized by Puritan enthusiasm, as well as by the personal purity and stern will which belong to the Puritan character. Among the early emigrants from New York to Kansas who determined to make it a free State, he was one. Among all the brave and devoted men of that struggle, none were braver or more devoted, and none more dreaded by the "border-ruffians," than John Brown, of Ossawatimie. He no more forgave than he forgot the atrocious murder of one of his sons, and that another had been driven to insanity by cruel treatment when a prisoner. From that moment he devoted his life, all that he was, and all that he had, to one single purpose,—the extirpation of slavery. He believed that God hated it, and he believed that he was God's messenger to destroy it. Early in 1858 he called together at Chatham, in Can-^{The meeting at Chatham.} ada, a quiet convention of the "True Friends of Freedom," where, with the utmost secrecy, was drawn up a "Provisional Constitution for the people of the United States." It is not probable that more than two or three persons were present, but they chose Brown commander-in-chief, Richard Realf Secretary of State, and J. H. Kagi Secretary of War. As early as the autumn of 1857 Brown had organized a small body of men, and had undertaken to give them military instruction.

From this time forward he proposed the invasion of Virginia by a small military force, with the expectation of arousing the slaves in that State so that they should assert their own^{His plan of invasion.} freedom. He was able to control some small part of the arms which had been freely provided for the use of the Free-State men in



John Brown.

Kansas; and he was in communication, from time to time, with the truest friends, in New England, of the Kansas settlers. From a secret committee in Boston he received about four thousand dollars in money, and about twice that value in arms. Of these gifts the larger part were made by George L. Stearns, a conscientious and unflinching friend of Kansas through the whole period of troubles. An Englishman named Forbes, a retired officer of the British army, who had been employed as a military drillmaster of recruits for Kansas, informed Senators Seward, Hale, and Wilson, in May, 1859, that



Arsenal at Harper's Ferry.

the arms furnished for the Kansas settlers had been obtained by Brown, who would use them unlawfully. This information the Senators sent to the Massachusetts Kansas Committee, who at once wrote Brown that the arms must not be used except for the defence of Kansas. His plans were thus for the moment checked. But as the summer passed, Mr. Stearns obtained possession of that portion of the arms which were his own, and transferred them to Brown, with four hundred dollars. Brown at once went to Maryland and established himself five miles from Harper's Ferry, at the Kennedy Farm. Of this the Secretary of War was apprised as early as August, but he took no notice of the information. On the 16th of October, with fourteen white men and four negroes armed and equipped for war, Brown took possession of the United States Armory buildings at Harper's Ferry, stopped the railroad trains, cap-

Moves into
Virginia.

and several citizens, liberated several slaves, and held the town about thirty hours. Virginia was in a paroxysm. The whole country thrilled to the heart. The invasion of Kansas from Missouri to establish slavery did not create anything like the excitement aroused by this invasion of Virginia by fifteen white men and four negroes, to give freedom to the slaves. Brown's own hope was, that the slaves of Virginia would immediately rally about him and assert their freedom. But there has never been any evidence that he had negotiated with them, nor did they ever show any intention of sustaining him.

The Government of the United States at once sent troops to Harper's Ferry. Brown retired to the "engine-house," where he was attacked and captured by a detachment of United States marines. They were under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee, soon to be himself the commander-in-chief of an insurrection, at that time on the staff of General Scott. Brown was wounded in several places. Thirteen of his band, including two of his sons, were killed or mortally wounded. Brown and his six followers were at once tried, convicted, and executed.¹

Capture at
Harper's
Ferry.

Three days after his execution the new Congress met at Washington. Every effort was made to convict the leaders of the Free-State party of complicity with Brown in this effort. Through the whole country it gave occasion for the friends of the Union to point out the danger which they thought latent in all efforts to arrest the course of slavery. At the South it conveyed the impression that the Free-State men of the North meant insurrection and liberation. From this time, at least, the intention to divide the Union at any moment when Southern supremacy ceased to be absolute, became the universal Southern idea. In the minds of most of the Southern leaders such had been the intention long before, and there can be hardly a doubt that had Fremont been elected in 1856 the attempt would then have been made to dissolve the Union, which the election of Buchanan postponed only for four years.

Effect of his
attempt.

The new Constitution of Kansas, ratified by the people in October, was laid before Congress at this session. So strong was the Northern sentiment in the House that a bill admitting

John Brown's body was given to his friends and was buried at North Elba, New York. "his soul goes marching on" was the refrain of a song, to the music of which many Northern regiment marched in less than two years to suppress the Southern rebellion.

the new State passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-four to seventy-three. But, what may be called the dying act of the party of slavery was the refusal of the Senate, on the 7th of June, to take up the bill, by a vote of thirty-two to twenty-eight. The next winter, when, on the 21st of January, 1861, the Southern Senators, with some characteristic effort at dramatic effect, withdrew from the Senate, the first Senators from Kansas entered it as the representatives of a free State.

Kansas
question
disposed of.

The country approached the canvass for the next Presidential election with a distinct understanding of the threat of the extreme Southern leaders that the success of the Republican party should be the signal for disunion. So far as this threat was believed, it induced conservative men to withdraw their support from the Republican party and to attempt, at least, some midway course. But it was not generally believed through the Northern States. Arrogance was considered to be a habit of the plantation, and to govern by threats to be the policy of masters who were used to slaves. As a token of conciliation the Democratic party held its convention, not at one of the central cities, but at Charleston, South Carolina. Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, was the member of the party who carried the most popularity at the North, but, as has been already said, he had refused his support to the Le-compton Constitution. He would have lost his own constituency by any other course; but from that moment the Southern leaders opposed him with bitter but undeserved hatred.

Presidential
campaign of
1860.

Democratic
Convention.

When the Convention met, its committee on credentials had to decide at once on the claims of two delegations from New York, and those of two delegations from Illinois. In both cases they decided in favor of Mr. Douglas's friends. For nearly a week a debate raged on the resolutions to be presented as the "platform" of the Convention. The result showed that the Douglas faction were in the majority. They had been satisfied with the platform of four years before, while the Southern delegates insisted "that there was no power to prevent slavery in the Territories," and that Government ought to "protect the rights of person and property on the high seas." The last statement was supposed to cover the African slave-trade. So soon as this vote was announced, the delegations from Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas, withdrew, and a part of those from Louisiana, South Carolina, Arkansas, Delaware, and North Carolina. The seceders were encouraged by the most extravagant approval of the citizens of Charleston. On the ninth day of the Convention a vote was reached. It had been decided that two thirds of the votes should be necessary to a nomination. In fifty-seven bal-

lotings Mr. Douglas's vote reached a clear majority. A motion was then made to adjourn to Baltimore on the 18th of June. By this adjourned Convention Mr. Douglas was named the Democratic candidate, and Mr. Fitzpatrick of Alabama,¹ the candidate for Vice-president. But this was not till the delegates of seven States, and a part of those from Massachusetts, had withdrawn. The seceding delegations held a Convention on the 28th of June, and named J. C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane of Oregon, as their candidates for President and Vice-president.

On the 9th of May the "Constitutional Union National Convention" met. It was called in good faith by the remnants of the old Whig and American parties, who still hoped to avoid the inevitable conflict. On the second ballot, John Bell of Tennessee was made the candidate for President; Edward Everett

Constitu-
tional Union
Convention.



Lincoln's Early Home — Elizabethtown, Ky.

of Massachusetts, who had expressly charged his friends in the Convention not to permit his nomination as President, was nominated for Vice-president, because he had neglected to say he would not be second when he had refused to be first. He did not, however, decline the nomination.

On the 16th of May the Republican Convention met. The choice lay between Mr. Seward, who had wisely led the Republican forces in the Senate, and Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln was not so well

¹ Fitzpatrick declined, and H. V. Johnson, of Georgia, was named in his place.

known as Mr. Seward at the East, but in the West he had distinguished himself in a canvass of profound interest, in which Republican Convention. he had been opposed to Douglas. For Vice-president the Convention named Hannibal Hamlin of Maine. The four candidates were not unworthy of the crisis. They represented the principles of the voters who supported them. The days of available or make-shift candidates were in the past and the future.

The canvass was intensely earnest and anxious. All felt it to be the most momentous the country had ever known; some understood that it was a question of war, of free government at the North, and of liberty in the Southern States. In the Southern States no votes were given to the Republican candidates, excepting in Virginia, where Mr. Lincoln received less than two thousand, and in Kentucky, where he received thirteen hundred. Of the popular vote he received Election of Lincoln. 1,866,000, the largest vote which had then ever been given for any President. But even this vote was not a majority of the whole. Mr. Douglas received 1,375,000 votes; Mr. Breckinridge, 848,000; Mr. Bell, 691,000. But in the division of the Electoral vote Mr. Lincoln had one hundred and eighty — being that of all the free States, except New Jersey, who gave him, however, four out of her seven, — being a clear majority of fifty-seven over all. Mr. Breckinridge had seventy-two votes; Mr. Bell thirty-nine; Mr. Douglas twelve.



Fortress Monroe.

CHAPTER XVII.

OPENING OF THE WAR.

FULFILMENT OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS' PURPOSE. — SOUTH CAROLINA LEADS. — SEWARD'S MISTAKEN PHILOSOPHY. — BUCHANAN'S POLICY. — ACTION OF CONGRESS. — PROPOSED PEACE COMPROMISES. — ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFEDERACY. — SEIZURE OF FORTS AND ARSENALS. — TWIGGS'S SURRENDER. — OCCUPATION OF FORT SUMTER. — ITS FALL. — THE FIRST CALL FOR TROOPS. — THE MOB IN BALTIMORE. — FIGHT AT BIG BETHEL. — OPERATIONS IN WESTERN VIRGINIA. — BATTLE OF BULL RUN. — REBEL ATROCITIES. — BALL'S BLUFF. — REBELLION IN MISSOURI. — DEATH OF GENERAL LYON. — FREMONT IN MISSOURI. — FIRST EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. — SECESSION OF TENNESSEE. — NAVAL EXPEDITIONS ALONG THE COAST. — THE TRENT AFFAIR.

THIS volume has missed its aim if it has not shown the central fact of the history of the United States to be, from the beginning of the century to the beginning of the slaveholders' rebellion, a determination of a class to get possession of the Government for its own purposes. The men belonging to that class sincerely believed, no doubt, that the best and truest government was an oligarchy founded upon property in man; and the more thoughtful among them accepted the logical conclusion, that the most perfect state of society must be that where the many, who labor with their hands, should be, without regard to color or to race, in the absolute ownership of the few. As, however, their system was so far imperfect that their slaves were of one race only, marked by a distinctive hue, they would make the most of that. They undoubtedly accepted the Union at its formation for the common good. But it soon became their fixed policy, that the moment the Union was diverted from the support of slavery

as its chief function, and they, therefore, ceased to be the ruling class, its mission was fulfilled and there must be an end of it.

The moment had come in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. They accepted that fact as a new declaration of independence at the North; as evidence that, thereafter, the chief end of the Union would be the protection of those social and political relations which belong to the condition of society where men are free; that free men who did not believe in slavery would thereafter administer the government, and not slaveholders who believed in nothing else. For half a century they had watched



Mr. Lincoln's Home in Springfield.

with anxious eyes and with their tent-ropes in their hands, the first glow of the coming of this new and portentous star in the East; and now that it had risen full and fair above the horizon, the tents were folded.

South Carolina did not wait for Mr. Lincoln's election before taking the first steps to secede from the Union. Why, indeed, wait?

Of the result of the

election there could be no doubt. It was not the character of the man or of his probable administration that was in question at the South; it was enough to know that the party behind him was a purely Northern party, which would yield nothing to slavery beyond the demands of the most rigid interpretation of the Constitution. The coming conflict was inevitable, and the marvel is, that men could so misunderstand the history of the past, and the character of the South, as to believe it could be avoided. Mr. Seward said, in private, in the spring of 1860, — before the delegates to the National Convention were chosen, and when he admitted no doubt of his own nomination and election to the Presidency, — that with him as President, there would be no trouble with the South. The South knew him and trusted him; knew that in the administration of affairs he would

ever overstep the boundaries of the Constitution, while she knew how sincerely he believed that in the providence of God slavery must perish from the earth. He thanked God for the devotion of the Abolitionists to the cause of humanity and of civilization, but as an officer of the Government he was necessarily confined to a narrower field, beyond the limits of which he could not go. But that great statesman was no more mistaken in his expectation of being President than he was in the supposition of what the South would do in the event of his election to that office. The South looked beyond men to the anti-slavery North behind them, and would have as certainly seceded at the election of Seward as at the election of Lincoln. It would have been, doubtless, greatly to Mr. Seward's perplexity. Providence, he believed, would deal with slavery as it dealt with other things which came to an end in the course of time, without confusion and without violence. And so firmly persuaded was he of this providential scheme, which admitted of no sudden and violent remedy, that it was with great reluctance he could bring himself to admit that the war, when it came, was anything more than a temporary disturbance.

Mr. Seward's philosophy.

The simple question, when Congress convened in December, was, whether the United States was a Nation or a mere congeries of thirty-three nations, each one of which was at liberty to withdraw from the confederacy at its own pleasure, without regard to the wishes or interests of the rest. But not yet, even, with the Southern States falling away, one by one, from the Union like the dropping timbers from a burning house, could that question get itself considered. Rather another question usurped its place, — whether the union of the States was not of so much greater value that any sacrifice of free thought, free speech, and the government of freemen should not be made for its preservation.

To this latter question Congress, and to some degree the whole country, addressed themselves through the anxious months of that gloomy winter. At Washington vacillation and indecision ruled in the executive branch of the Government. In the conduct of Congress there was neither wisdom nor courage, except among the few pronounced anti-slavery men, like Wade or Hale in the Senate, Lovejoy or Stevens in the House. These men followed the example of the old Puritan divine of Massachusetts, of whom it was said two centuries before, that "he was a bold man and would speak his mind." The threat of disunion had for them no terrors. They were quite ready to try, even with arms if it must be, the issue, whether sovereignty was in the Nation or in the separate States. Otherwise, all the courage was on the part of the Southern represent-

Action of Congress.

atives, the courage often of insolent audacity as they saw the spirit of ready subserviency with which they were met by so many of the Northern members. The extreme men of the South knew what they wanted, had determined upon the way by which they meant to get it, and turned with undisguised contempt from all offers of compromise, though the offers embraced all that the South had ever contended for.

The "Crittenden Compromise," as it was called from its author, a Senator from Kentucky, was before the Senate all winter, and was once lost for want of Southern — not Northern Republican — votes, because the South preferred disunion. Yet it gave up to slavery all territory south of $36^{\circ} 30'$; it forbade Congress to abolish slavery, even in places under its exclusive jurisdiction within the States, or in the District of Columbia so long as it existed in Virginia and Maryland; it provided for the legal transportation of slaves, as slaves, through the free States; it secured to the slaveholder payment by the United States for his fugitive slave if his capture had been obstructed; and it prohibited Congress from interfering with slavery anywhere. It was not till in the confusion of the closing hours of the session, that this measure was defeated by a single vote; but then it mattered little what was done by a body whose members from the seceded States had been permitted to withdraw with much ceremony of leave-taking, instead of being ordered into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms.

In both Houses, committees were appointed to devise some other way of meeting the threatened troubles than the direct one of the immediate suppression of insurrection and the punishment of treason. One of these committees reported a joint resolution, which passed both Houses, proposing an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting Congress to interfere with slavery anywhere, without the consent of all the States. The House passed resolutions — reported by the same committee of one from each State — affirming that all State legislation interfering with the capture of fugitive slaves should be repealed; that slavery should not be prohibited in New Mexico; and that the North disclaimed all intention of meddling with it in the States.

In February, a Peace Congress, suggested by Virginia, convened at Washington. In it were represented all the Northern States except Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, and Oregon, and all the Southern States except the eight that had already seceded. The result of its three weeks of deliberation was, as Mr. Sumner said, to propose "to give slavery positive protection in the Constitution, making it national instead of sectional." The

The Com-
promise
proposed.

Peace Con-
gress.

resolutions it adopted were conceived in essentially the same spirit that suggested the Crittenden Compromise, and the resolutions of the committee which the House had adopted. It was the North that was arraigned as criminal; the North that must repent of her evil ways; the North that must clothe herself in sackcloth, and sprinkle ashes upon her head.

If the South needed encouragement to secede, she had far more than she could have ever hoped for. Party leaders at the North were as ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of peace and of union, or to avow openly their sympathy with the slaveholders, as the majority of Congress were to offer a submission that was almost abject.

Position of
Northern
politicians.

The Mayor of New York, Fernando Wood, proposed to the Common Council early in January, that, should there be a separation of the States, the city should declare itself independent of them all. How sincerely he hoped for the success of disunion he showed before the end of the month, by avowing his regret that he had no power to punish the police, who seized a quantity of arms about to be sent to the rebel State of Georgia. A Democratic Convention assembled, about the same time, at Albany, whose object was to protest against the use of force for the suppression of an insurrection of slaveholders. The party was represented at that meeting by its



Jefferson Davis.

most eminent leaders in the State, and no expression of opinion there met with so hearty a response as the declaration, that if force were used it should be "inaugurated at home," — an echo of the assurance given by ex-President Pierce to Jefferson Davis, some months before, that should there be fighting, it would be "within our own borders, in our own streets," between the anti-slavery people and their opponents. In December, a great meeting in Philadelphia passed resolutions of submission as absolute as if Pennsylvania were already a conquered province. An ex-Governor of New Jersey, in a letter to

the people, declared that that State would join the Southern Confederacy. The more influential of the Democratic press talked loudly and continuously against any attempt to coerce the South: it must be conciliated. Many of the Republican journals were not less remarkable for their conspicuous want of manliness. Thurlow Weed, the editor of one widely known, proposed a Convention of Northern States to show the South how they had mistaken Northern character, and how much the North was ready to concede for the sake of union. The editor of the most influential of all Republican journals, Horace Greeley, said that "if the Cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless; and we do not see how one party can have a right to do what another party has a right to prevent."¹

All this exercised an important influence at the South. It convinced the secession leaders that there was no courage for a fight in the Northern people, or that, if a portion of them should undertake to suppress a rebellion, the Northern allies of the rebels were strong enough to hold that portion in check. But it did not convince them that the Northern people would give up henceforth their opposition to slavery, and quietly submit to whatever rule the slaveholders chose to impose upon them. No compromise that the wit of man could devise would bind them to such a bargain. The South knew this, and was immovable, therefore, in its determination to establish an independent confederacy. But she was quite as wrong in that other conclusion, — that the North would not fight; that it would permit the Republic to go to destruction; permit it, that slavery, in one half of it, might be made perpetual. Herein was the true issue, whatever party politicians might think of it, — the inevitable war for the Union was to be a war for the integrity of a nation and for a free republic.

On the 20th of December South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession. In January and February, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas followed her. A convention of delegates from these seven States met in February at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a provisional government for "The Confederate States of America;" and on the 9th of that month Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, were chosen as provisional President and Vice-

¹ It should be added, however, in justice to Mr. Weed, that the war, when it came, had no more ardent supporter than he. Mr. Greeley never receded from the illogical position taken in the article quoted — that insurrection and the right of revolution were one and the same thing; and his efforts after the war broke out were devoted, not to making it effectual, but to bringing it to an end by negotiation, which necessarily involved disunion.

Organiza-
tion of the
Southern
Confed-
eracy.

nt, to hold office for one year. The first steps taken by the new ment were, to possess itself of the arsenals and forts within itory over which it claimed tion. Some of these had been seized by the authori- the seceding States. The arsenals, which Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, had ully supplied with arms be- to the United States Gov- t,¹ were easily taken. The the Mississippi, below New t, and those at the entrance ile Bay, were also secured : a struggle. But when the la navy-yard was seized, ant Adam J. Slemmer, com- g at Fort McRae, trans- his small garrison to Fort t, a stronger work, on Santa land, where he was subse- reënforced by troops t in two United States ves- d the post was held by the l forces throughout the war. rts at Key West and the as were also held. The part of the regular army nited States was in Texas, commanded by General David E. Twiggs. Three sioners from a rebel Com- of Public Safety met him Antonio, February 18th, they demanded and re- the capitulation of the en- ce, and a surrender of all itary property of the United



Street Banner in Charleston.

ad recently sent to the South, from Pittsburg, one hundred and twenty heavy from the Springfield and other arsenals more than a hundred thousand of the ets the Government possessed. The attempt has been made to exonerate Floyd, idence of his deliberate treachery is to be found not only in the official report of sional committee, but in the boasts of Southern writers at the time.

States in Texas, valued at about a million and a half of dollars. The troops were permitted to retain their arms and march to the coast unmolested, to embark for the North.

But the chief interest centred in the defences of Charleston harbor. Commanding the channel, stood Fort Sumter, on an artificial island built up with large blocks of stone and chips from Northern stone-yards. It was not yet finished, and the garrison maintained at this point¹ occupied Fort Moultrie, on the northern side of the harbor. This small force was under command of Lieutenant-colonel John L. Gardner, a veteran of the War of 1812, who in



Montgomery, Ala.

November was relieved by Major Robert Anderson, a Kentuckian. In December the question of reënforcing Fort Moultrie was discussed in the Cabinet, and the project was opposed by the President, who carried his point. Thereupon Mr. Cass resigned the Secretaryship of State, and Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, succeeded him. The fort, which had become somewhat dilapidated and was overlooked by immense sand-heaps that had accumulated near it, was put into better repair; but it was evident that it could not be held with so small a force — if at all — against any serious attempt to take it by the thousands of armed men gathering at Charleston and clamoring for the expulsion of every United States soldier.

¹ Seven officers, sixty-one men, and thirteen musicians, of the First United States Artillery.

Left to his own resources by an Administration that was afraid to withdraw him for fear of exasperating the North, and afraid to re-enforce him for fear of precipitating war, Anderson determined to leave an untenable work for one that at least promised safety. In the night of December 26th, he secretly removed his command to Fort Sumter, taking with him all his portable supplies, dismounting the guns of Moultrie, and burning the carriages. On the same day, three commissioners from South Carolina arrived in Washington, to



Evacuation of Fort Moultrie.

negotiate for the surrender of the forts and other public property. By order of Secretary Floyd, a force of workmen had been previously sent to Fort Sumter, to put it in repair, and mount the guns, evidently to enhance its value for the insurgents when they should have seized it. Many of these laborers were found wearing secession cockades when the garrison landed, and angrily asked "What are these soldiers doing here?" They were driven into the fort, and made prisoners. There was great excitement in Charleston next morning, and that day a body of State troops took possession of Fort

Moultrie and of Castle Pinckney, a small round fort in the harbor, near the city.

The removal of his force to Fort Sumter was in accordance with the instructions sent to Major Anderson from Washington. It was accepted by the insurgents at Charleston as a measure of hostility, though the same orders which justified it also instructed Anderson to refrain from all hostile acts unless compelled to resort to them in self-defence. The Commissioners at Washington had telegraphed to Governor Pickens to hasten the preparations for war, and the insolence of



Robert Anderson.

their tone, in their communications with the President, was enough to arouse even him to take some vigorous step. The sloop-of-war *Brooklyn*, then at Fortress Monroe and ready for sea, was ordered to Charleston with three hundred men to reinforce Sumter. But delay occurred for a day or two, in deference to the courtesy which the President thought due to the South Carolina Commissioners, from whom he awaited some further communications, and then the order was countermanded at the suggestion of General Scott, who feared that Fortress Monroe would be dan-

gerously weakened by taking from it so large a portion of its garrison. That this could have been avoided, however, and the *Brooklyn* sent upon her errand, is certain. An offer was sent from New York to provide an equal number of men from the military organizations of that city, but the offer was rejected. In place of the *Brooklyn*, a side-wheel merchant steamer, the *Star of the West*, was sent, laden with provisions and recruits. On the 9th of January she entered Charleston harbor, and was repulsed by fire from the rebel batteries, against which she was powerless, nor was a single shot fired in her defence from Fort Sumter. No attempt had been made to conceal the object of this expedition; nor, indeed, would it have availed if there had been, for the offices of the Government at Washington were filled with Southerners who acted as spies.

The condition of the isolated fort, surrounded by watchful enemies, remained unchanged for the remainder of the winter, except that it

was growing, day by day, less able to make any effectual resistance by the rapid consumption of its provisions, while the rebels grew stronger by the erection of new batteries, and the accumulation of the munitions of war. A new commission of two, one from Major Anderson and one from Governor Pickens, was sent, by agreement, to Washington, but it only served to add one more influence to the general policy of indecision and delay. It was not, however, to be regretted; the real danger was, that the rebellion would not be left to be dealt with by the incoming Administration, but would be condoned by some disgraceful and disastrous compromise.

On the 23d of February, Mr. Lincoln arrived at Washington, having escaped a concerted plot for his assassination at Baltimore, by taking an earlier train than that in which he was expected to arrive. On the 4th of March he was duly inaugurated, to confront a civil war which Mr. Buchanan wanted either the will or the nerve to avert or to meet. With the steadiness and deliberation which characterized every step he took from that moment till the day of his death, the new



G. P. T. Beauregard.

President waited a month before taking decisive action. On the 8th of April he notified the Governor of South Carolina that the Government had determined to provision Fort Sumter at all hazards. General G. P. T. Beauregard—who had resigned a commission in the United States army, to join in the rebellion—being now in command of the works erected for the destruction of the fort, at once telegraphed to the government at Montgomery for instructions, and on the 10th was ordered to open fire. He first sent two of his staff to demand a surrender; this Major Anderson declined, needlessly volunteering the information that he would soon be starved out. That evening another messenger came, to ask what day he would evacuate, if he were not attacked, and he answered, at noon of the 15th, unless he was previously relieved or received fresh instructions.¹ Before daylight on the morning of the 12th, Beauregard

The bombardment.

¹ As we had pork enough on hand to last for two weeks longer, there was no necessity

sent word to Anderson that in one hour he should open fire. The first shot was fired from the Cummings Point battery, by an aged secessionist, Edmund Ruffin, of the most rabid type, who had come from Virginia to beg that privilege.¹ It was answered by a gun fired at that battery by Captain (afterward General) Abner Doubleday, and the civil war was actually begun.

The bombardment continued, with little intermission, from daylight of the 12th till midday of the 13th, and was replied to as well as the condition of the fort and its armament would admit. Nineteen batteries rained shot and shells upon it, from every direction except



Scene of the First Bloodshed — Baltimore.

that of the open sea. The barracks and officers' quarters were set on fire, and to prevent an explosion ninety barrels of gunpowder were thrown overboard, and the magazine was closed. The ammunition being thus exhausted, and the fort filled with stifling smoke, a capitulation necessarily followed, and the garrison marched out next day, with the honors of war. In saluting the flag, one of

The capitulation.

for fixing so early a day. It left too little margin for naval operations, as, in all probability, the vessels, in case of any accident or detention, would arrive too late to be of service. This proved to be the case. — Doubleday's *Reminiscences*.

¹ When the war was nearly over, and the result was easily foreseen, Ruffin hanged himself, unwilling to survive the "lost cause" in which he believed with a devotion which, had that cause possessed a single element of humanity or political virtue, would have been pathetic.

their number was killed by the premature discharge of a gun. The fleet, outside the harbor, had witnessed the conflict, but were powerless to take part in it. All the buoys that marked the channels had been removed, and the principal vessel was aground on a shoal.

On the 15th of April, two days later, the President called for 5,000 troops. The first to arrive in Washington were 600 Pennsylvanians, who were there on the 19th. On that day

The first call for troops.

— the anniversary of the fight at Lexington, at the beginning of the revolution — portions of the Sixth Massachusetts and Seventh Pennsylvania regiments, passing through Baltimore to the defence of the national capital, were attacked by a vast

Fight with the mob in Baltimore.

mob of insurgents, which had the sanction of many of the wealthier and more respectable citizens. Two hundred Massachusetts men, becoming separated from their regiment, were surrounded by a dense throng of rioters, estimated to number nearly 10,000. The troops marched slowly, headed by the Mayor and a detachment of police, and exhibited admirable discipline in refraining from retaliation when pelted with brick-bats and paving-stones and fired at with revolvers; the missiles coming not only from the crowd but from windows of the houses. At last, when three of their number had been killed,¹ and eight wounded, the troops fired into the mob, of whom they killed seven and wounded an unknown number. One rioter was killed by the Mayor, who had begged that the soldiers might not be permitted to fire, but seeing, at length, the necessity of defence, seized musket and shot the most conspicuous leader of the assailants.

The indignation aroused by this outrage was intense all over the country. The Seventh Regiment of New York, under Colonel Leferts, had already volunteered their services for one month, and were under arms when the news from Baltimore reached the city. They marched down Broadway amid the cheers of an immense multitude, and embarked the next morning at Philadelphia for Annapolis. There they joined General B. F. Butler, with the Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts, who had also avoided Baltimore, at Perryville had seized a steamboat, and reached Annapolis on the 21st. The combined force, under General Butler, took up the line of march for Washington. A portion of the railroad track had been torn up, and locomotives disabled, by the insurgents, but they were repaired with little delay. The officers called for men who understood track-laying, or bridge-building, or the construction and management of locomotives, and such men at once stepped out from the ranks of the Massachusetts Eighth, many of whom were mechanics.

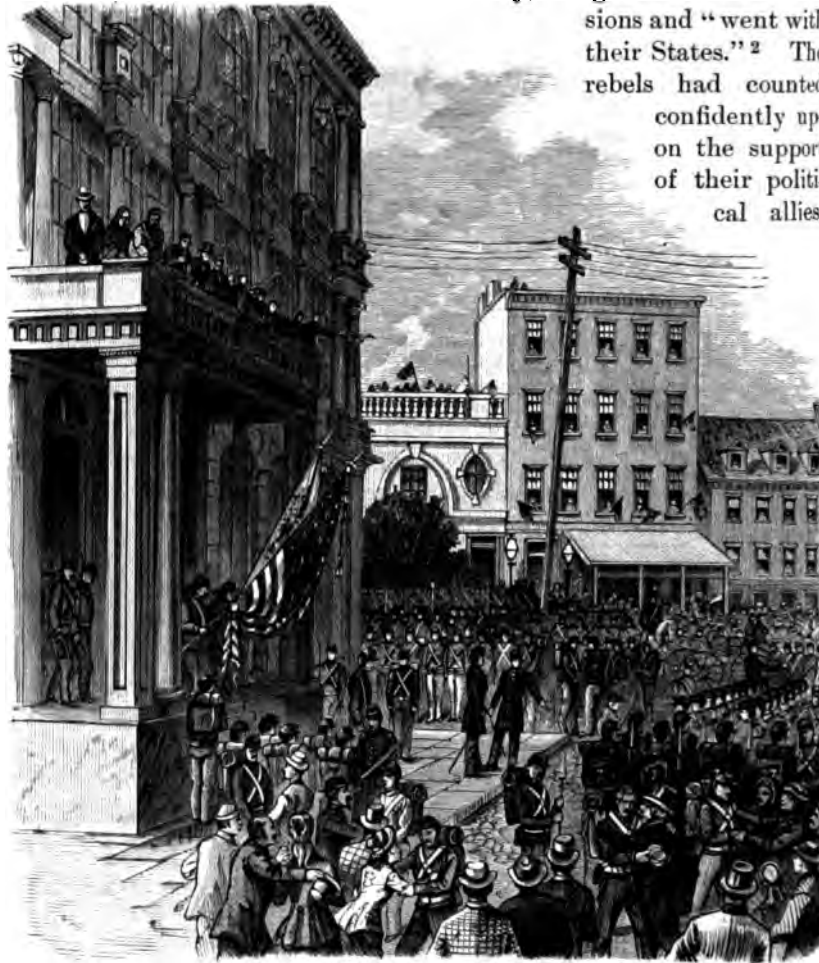
Events followed one another with startling rapidity. On the 3d

¹ The names of the killed were Luther C. Ladd, Sumner H. Needham, and Addison O. Whitney.

of May, the President called for 42,000 volunteers for three years, 23,000 regulars, and 18,000 seamen. Virginia, Arkansas, and North Carolina joined the Confederacy,¹ and a large number of Southern men who had been educated at the expense of the United States Government, as officers for its army and navy, resigned their commis-

The second
call for
troops.

sions and "went with their States."² The rebels had counted confidently upon the support of their political allies,



Departure of the Seventh Regiment from New York.

¹ The dates at which the several States seceded, and the votes on the ordinance in convention, were as follows. Most of the conventions refused to submit the question to the people; the only case in which any real opportunity was given for a popular vote, was that of Texas. South Carolina, December 2, 1860, unanimous; Mississippi, January 9, 1861, 84 to 15; Alabama, January 11, 61 to 39; Florida, January 11, 62 to 7; Georgia, January 19, 208 to 89; Louisiana, January 26, 103 to 17; Texas, February 1, 166 to 7; Virginia, April 17, 88 to 55; Arkansas, May 6, 69 to 1; North Carolina, May 20, unanimous.

² Out of nine hundred and fifty-one army officers then in service, two hundred and

the Democratic party of the North; and the tone of many Democratic orators and presses had given them apparent reason for this confidence. But when the crisis came, many of the most prominent men in the party announced themselves in favor of maintaining the integrity of the country by force of arms, and they and their followers acted henceforth with the Republicans and were known as "War Democrats." The party they abandoned preserved its name, its organization, and its sympathies with slaveholders and rebels.

The Confederate capital was now removed from Montgomery to Richmond, the first meeting of the Congress there being appointed for July 20th. It was not till the 14th of May that mail service in the rebellious States, on the existing United States contracts, was discontinued. But the lines were be-

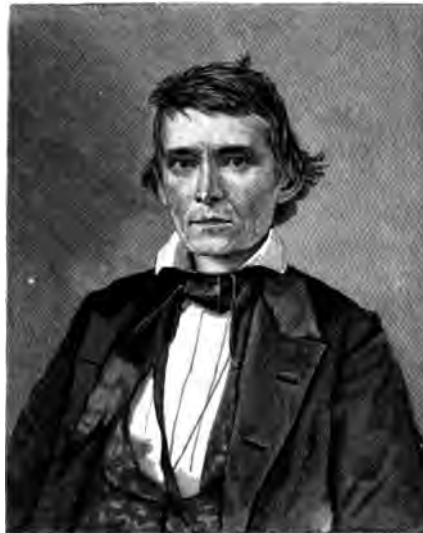
Payment of
Northern
debts for-
bidden.

ing rapidly drawn. Southern tradesmen refused to pay their Northern debts, anticipating the act of the rebel Congress of May 21st requiring that such debts should be paid into the Confederate treasury. All the ecclesiastical organizations, the Masonic and other benevolent fraternities, and the Bible and missionary societies, that extended over the whole country, snapped in twain on the line between the free and the slave States.

The President issued, on the 19th of April, a proclamation declaring a blockade of the Southern coast, and all kinds of vessels were bought by the Government to be used as gunboats till others more suitable for such service could be built. On the 21st a number of naval vessels were destroyed at the navy yard at Gosport, Virginia, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels.

Blockade.

It is a remarkable proof of the peaceful character of the Southern negro, that neither in the confusion of the beginning of hostilities, nor in all the subsequent years, when opportunity was even greater, was there the slightest attempt at the insurrection in mortal dread of sixty-two went into the rebellion. A considerable number who had been educated at West Point, but had left the service for other pursuits, also proved disloyal.

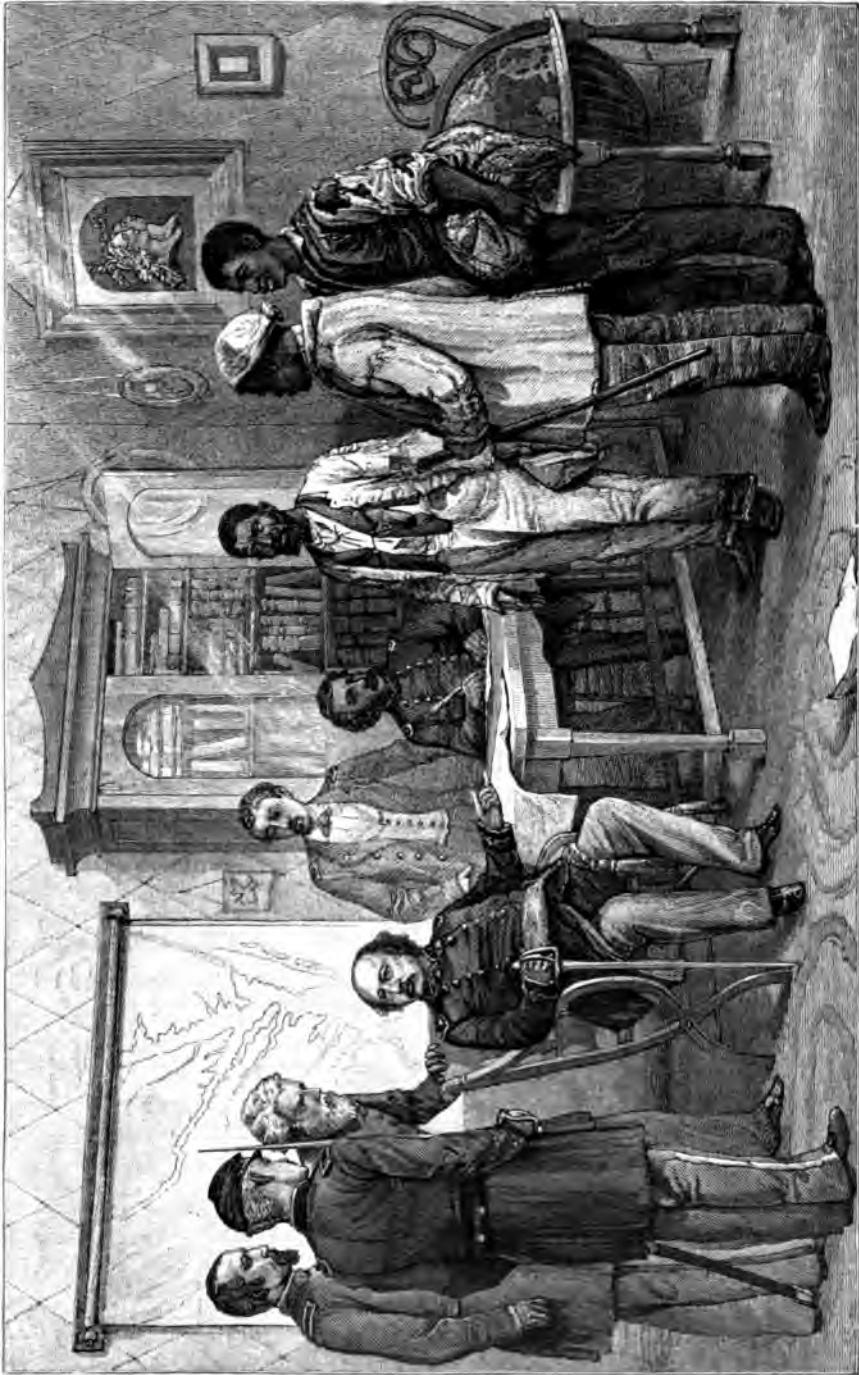


Alexander H. Stephens.

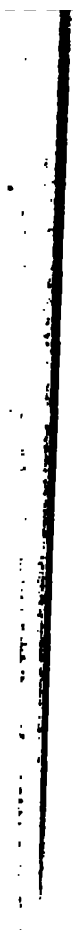
which the South had always professed to be living. As the Northern armies approached the border, many of the slaves sought protection and liberty within the Union lines, only to be given up by Union officers, when their masters appeared and demanded their property,—so imperative for a while was the habit of Northern subserviency. Fortunately a wiser precedent was soon given for meeting such emergencies, by General Butler, then in command at Fortress Monroe. Some fugitives and their claimant were brought before him, and he decided that this species of property, like any other which could be of use to the enemy, was contraband of war, and ordered them to be fed and clothed and put to work upon his fortifications. Thereafter the fugitives were universally called “contrabands.”

The rebel forces on the peninsula between York and James rivers were under command of General J. B. Magruder. General Fight at Big
Bethel. Butler, at Fortress Monroe, commanded the national volunteers in the same territory, for whom he had established camps of instruction at Newport News and near Hampton village. These being annoyed by raids from Big Bethel, where Magruder had intrenched himself with a considerable force, General Butler planned an expedition against that place, which was but a dozen miles distant from Fortress Monroe. It was placed under command of General Pierce, and was to march by night, on the 9th of June, in two columns, which were to unite at Little Bethel, rout any force that might be there, and push on to Big Bethel, four miles farther, and capture the place. The expedition was mismanaged from first to last. As portions of the two columns came in sight of each other at daybreak, they opened fire, and did not discover their mistake till ten men had fallen. No enemy was discovered at Little Bethel, and at Big Bethel he was found so strongly intrenched, with a clear space in front and a thick wood behind, that any attack was imprudent, unless some way could be found to take him in flank. Nevertheless, a front attack was made with much spirit, but was repulsed. The Union loss was fourteen killed, forty-nine wounded, and five missing. Among the killed were Lieutenant John T. Greble, of the regular army, who served a piece of artillery with great gallantry and effect, and Major Theodore Winthrop, an aid of General Butler, who had volunteered to go with the expedition, and was shot as he rushed forward and put himself at the head of the men in a desperate charge on the left. After the fight was over, the rebels fell back to Yorktown.

One of the first acts of General Robert E. Lee, when placed in command of the Virginia troops, was to send a force into War in West-
ern Virginia. western Virginia, under Colonel Porterfield, to obtain recruits and suppress secession from the Confederacy in that portion



CONTRABAND OF WAR.



of the State. General George B. McClellan, in command of the Federal Department of the Ohio, who had hitherto remained on the free-State side of the river, met this movement by promptly crossing over with a considerable force in pursuit of the enemy. In a brief campaign, the rebels lost about 250 killed, over 1,000 prisoners, and five guns, while the Union loss was but 20 killed and 60 wounded. These actions were small affairs, from a military point of view; but they had considerable importance in saving western Virginia to the Union. The reputation they gave to General McClellan raised him soon afterward to the chief command, in place of Scott.

Meanwhile the material for a considerable army had gathered at Washington, and was in camp across the Potomac, where The Army of the Potomac. the recruits were instructed and drilled under the eye of General Scott, with General Irvin McDowell in immediate command.

Impatience at the long inaction of what seemed to be a powerful army, at length broke forth in the cry of "On to Richmond!" and preparations were made to attack the force which, under General Beauregard, had taken up a position around Manassas Junction, about thirty miles west by south from Washington. Harper's Ferry, abandoned and burned by the national forces on the 18th of April, was now evacuated in turn by the Confederate force, of Patterson's movements. about 9,000 men, under General Joseph E. Johnston, who in June retired toward Winchester, so as either to coöperate with Beauregard or be able to unite their forces. General Robert Patterson, who had been gathering a force at Chambersburg, mainly of Pennsylvania troops, for the recapture of Harper's Ferry, now occupied that place. He afterward advanced to Martinsburg, and thence to Bunker Hill. Here he was expected to hold Johnston in check, though Johnston was nearer than he to the grand centre of operations. The army under General McDowell, of about 30,000 men, contained less than 1,000 regulars. The rest were volunteers, and most of them three-months' men, whose term of service would soon expire. "On to Richmond." Being assured by General Scott that Patterson, with his 18,000 men, would either hold Johnston in check or attack him, McDowell planned an advance movement. His plan was, in general terms, to march to Fairfax Court House, there turn southward, and crossing Occoquan Creek, place his army on Beauregard's line of communication.

The army broke camp in the afternoon of the 16th of July, and marched in four divisions, under Generals Tyler, Hunter, Heintzelman, and Miles, leaving one division to protect Battle of Bull Run. Washington. They moved in four columns, by nearly parallel roads,

found Fairfax Court House abandoned, and next day reached Centreville. Beauregard's army was in position on the line of Bull Run, — a stream running in a channel sharply cut through red sandstone, — occupying for about five miles the southern bank from Sudley Spring to Union Mills, where the Orange and Alexandria Railroad crosses. Within this distance are six or seven fords, and a stone bridge where the Warrenton turnpike crosses. General McDowell found that his plan of turning the enemy's right flank was not practicable, from the nature of the ground. Two days were spent in reconnoitering. On the 18th, Tyler's division had an engagement at Blackburn's Ford, across the stream, each side losing half a hundred men. A new movement was planned, by which the divisions of Hunter and Heintzelman were to move up stream, cross at Sudley Ford, and sweeping down the right bank, uncover the other crossings. The other divisions were then to cross, and all together advance upon the enemy.

At three o'clock on Sunday morning, the 21st, the Union army was in motion. Tyler's division took the main road to the stone bridge. Hunter and Heintzelman diverged to the right, and crossed at Sudley Ford about nine o'clock. Beauregard, ignorant of this movement, ordered an attack on the Union left; but his order miscarried. Colonel Evans, however, holding the extreme left of the rebel line, whose suspicions had been aroused, marched up stream with half a brigade, and confronted the turning column beyond the turnpike. Instead of deploying in line of battle, and sweeping away



Irvin McDowell.

the obstruction at once, Hunter sent successive detached regiments and brigades against it. Time was lost, during which Evans was heavily reënforced, and took up a new position a little in the rear. Hunter was also reënforced by Sherman and Keyes's brigades. The combined force steadily drove back the enemy to the plateau. They were in great confusion, and Beauregard and Johnston,¹ besides making personal efforts to rally them, ordered up all their reserves, and formed a new line of battle of six thousand five hundred men, with thirteen guns and two companies of cavalry. McDowell attempted to work

¹ This General was the ranking officer, and real commander, but had adopted Beauregard's plans.

round the enemy's left, and ordered the batteries of Griffin and Licketts to take position on a ridge overlooking a height which formed the strongest point of the rebel line. Gen. T. J. Jackson (afterward known as "Stonewall" Jackson) sent a regiment to take this battery, and the movement succeeded, the cannoneers supposing it to be a New York regiment coming to their support. The guns were speedily retaken, however, when fresh supports were brought up, and the fight renewed around these batteries. But at this moment General Early arrived by rail with 3,000 more of Johnston's troops, and was ordered to fall upon the right flank of the Union army. Early, assisted by a battery and five companies of cavalry, ^{The defeat.} obeyed with promptness and vigor, and this decided the battle. About half-past four o'clock the right wing broke and retreated



The Retreat over Long Bridge.

in wild confusion, soon followed by the centre and left, though in less disorder. The retreat soon became a panic; infantry, artillery, trains, ambulances, members of Congress, and private citizens, who had come out on horseback or in carriages to see the fight, were mingled in a confused crowd upon the roads to Washington. No pursuit was made, except by small bodies of cavalry, who took some prisoners. The regulars, forming the left of the line, brought up the rear in good order, while the reserves under Colonel Miles also preserved their organization and were ready to repel pursuit.

The official report of Union losses by this battle is 2,952, which included 1,460 missing, most of them being prisoners. General Johnston gives his losses as 1,897.

The first effect upon the North was consternation and humiliation; the second thought was a determination to raise larger armies. On the day after the battle, General McClellan was assigned to the Department of the Potomac. He assumed command on the 20th of August, and set about reorganizing the defeated army; and when on the 1st of November General Scott, at his own request, was retired from active service, McClellan succeeded him.

In October an affair hardly less discouraging than that of Bull Run, occurred at Ball's Bluff, on the upper Potomac. General Charles P. Stone, commanding a corps of observation, ordered Colonels Devens and Lee, with the Fifteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts Regiments, to cross the river — here divided by Harrison Island — on the night of the 20th, and surprise a rebel camp said to have been discovered in the direction of Leesburg. The crossing was made in three scows, a life-boat, and two skiffs, all of which would hold but 150 men at a time, and the force was nearly 700. No rebel camp was found; but in the morning the troops were attacked by a heavy force concealed in the woods, and driven back. In the forenoon Colonel E. D. Baker, of California, crossed the river with a supporting column of 1,900 men, and assumed command. But the enemy was reënforced; Baker was killed, and at dusk his men were driven back over the bluff. Three of the boats were sunk, and under an unrelenting fire the remnant of the Union forces straggled back in one way and another to the Maryland shore. They had lost 1,000 men.

In the West the progress of events kept pace with those of the East. The Governor of Missouri, Claiborne F. Jackson, said in a letter to Judge Walker: "I have been, from the beginning, in favor of prompt action on the part of the Southern States, but the majority of the people have differed from me." But the will of the people had no influence upon his determination to take the State out of the Union. On the 6th of May, the Police Commissioners of St. Louis demanded of Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commanding at the arsenal, that he remove the United States troops from all other places in and about the city. Lyon — who was a native of Connecticut, a West-Pointer, thoroughly loyal, and abundantly energetic — for answer, summoned the home guards, mostly Germans, to his aid, armed them, and marching out to the rebel camp surrounded it, demanded and received its surrender within half an hour. Nearly 1,200 prisoners were disarmed and taken to the arsenal. A mob that attacked the troops on their

Effect of the battle.

The affair at Ball's Bluff.

The rebellion in Missouri.

Capture of a rebel camp.

return to the city was fired upon, and twenty-two persons were killed or wounded. St. Louis was for two or three days in imminent danger of destruction by a secession mob, who were especially bitter against the German people. On the morning after the affair at Camp Jackson, the bodies of four murdered Germans were found in the streets, and two more were killed during the day. Lyon was made a brigadier-general of volunteers and given command of all the national forces in Missouri, relieving General William S. Harney.

Sterling Price, who had been made Major-general of the State forces, was ordered to Booneville and Lexington, on the Missouri River. Governor Jackson issued a proclamation, calling out 50,000 of the State militia to repel what he called an invasion of Missouri by United States troops. Lyon organized an expedition of about 2,000 men, found the enemy at Booneville, and dispersed them. While he was thus occupied on the Missouri, Colonel Franz Sigel, with 1,100 men, encountered Generals Rains and Parsons, with a much larger force, on the 5th of July, near Carthage, in the southwestern part of the State. The superiority of the enemy in cavalry compelled Sigel to fall back. But reaching a point where the road ran between two bluffs, he made a feint of moving around them, drew the rebel cavalry into the pass, and then by a quick manœuvre of his guns poured into them a terribly destructive fire of canister. After another sharp fight, he gained the cover of the woods north of Carthage, whence he continued his march to Springfield. In this action, which gave General Sigel a national reputation, the Union loss was but thirteen killed and thirty-one wounded, all of whom were brought off, while the rebels lost nearly 200 killed or wounded, and 250 prisoners.

Lyon moved southward and joined Sigel near Springfield, confronting a large rebel force from Arkansas under General Ben McCulloch, of about 20,000 men. The Union force was about 5,000, but Lyon, after waiting in vain for expected reënforcements, determined to attack rather than attempt a retreat,



Nathaniel Lyon

Fight at
Booneville.Sigel at Car-
thage.Battle of
Wilson's
Creek.

which could hardly fail to be disastrous in the face of a force four times his own. On the night of the 9th of August Sigel moved to gain the right flank of the enemy and fall upon it at daylight. Lyon, with 3,700 men and ten guns, gained the enemy's left, and at five o'clock in the morning attacked it vigorously, continually gaining ground and advancing his line against greatly superior numbers. Sigel was also successful at first; but his men fell to plundering the camps, when the enemy rallied and defeated him in turn, capturing five of his guns and many men. Lyon was twice wounded early in the action, and was afterward killed at the head of the

First Iowa Regiment, which was brought up to repel a movement on his flank. "Who will lead us?" said the men, for their Colonel was absent. "I will lead you! On-

ward, brave boys of Iowa!" answered Lyon, as he rode forward waving his hat. He fell soon after with a bullet through his heart. The enemy, despite his great superiority of numbers, was driven from the field. But retreat of the national forces was also necessary, and Major Sturgis, upon whom the command devolved, brought them to Rolla in the course of a week.

John C. Fremont, who in May had been appointed a major-general in the United States army, was assigned to the Western Department, including Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas, early in July. He reached St. Louis on the 23th of July — four days after the battle of Bull Run — to find the rebels hopeful and jubilant, the Unionists depressed, and guerilla bands springing up all over the State. A large portion of the troops in his department, being three-months' men, were on the eve of disbanding, and discontented for want of pay. The remainder were only partially armed and equipped. On the 1st of August, he had in all about 23,000.¹ With these he was to hold St. Louis, Cairo, Jefferson City, Ironton, and Cape Girardeau, and to bring Missouri into subjection. For, although the State Convention, reassembled in July, had removed the rebel government, and appointed Hamilton R. Gamble Governor in place of Price, the rebel Congress had recognized Missouri as one of the Confederate States. On the 31st of August, Fremont issued a proclamation placing Missouri under martial law, prescribing the death-penalty for bridge-burners and telegraph-cutters, and containing this clause,

His Emancipation Proclamation.

which became famous as the first emancipation proclamation in America: "The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active

¹ By the 14th of September they had been increased to nearly fifty-six thousand.

part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use; and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men."

Two days after the proclamation was issued, the President wrote a private letter to Fremont, taking exception to the two main points. "Should you shoot a man," wrote Mr. Lincoln, "according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. . . . I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property, and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends, and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the Act of Congress entitled, 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,' approved August 6, 1861." This act confiscated only such property and slaves as were, with the consent of the owner, used in any hostile service to the United States. Fremont declined to change his proclamation "as of his own motion," and suggested that if it was to be modified, the President himself should do it openly, — which he did.



John C. Fremont.

Meanwhile the General was doing his utmost to organize his department, in the face of enormous difficulties and discouragements. The defeat and death of General Lyon were charged to him, when the fact was that, though he had men enough in St. Louis to reinforce him, they were without arms. Lexington, on the ^{Fall of} Missouri above Jefferson City, held by a small Union force Lexington. under Colonel James Mulligan, was besieged by a large rebel force under Price, and after a gallant defence was compelled to surrender on the 20th of September. Fremont was informed on the 13th of the state of affairs at Lexington; but was powerless to prevent its fall. On the 14th orders came from Washington to send 5,000 of

his troops to that city immediately. On the 16th, moreover, General John Pope telegraphed from Palmyra, that he had sent reinforcements of 4,000 men to Mulligan, — which, however, did not reach him. At the same time, General Grant at Cairo and General Anderson in Kentucky were begging reinforcements of Fremont, their immediate superior. But the fall of Lexington added to the clamor which had been raised against him, especially by the Democratic press, on the issuing of his proclamation.

This was so far heeded at Washington that Secretary Cameron was sent on a visit to Fremont, carrying an order for his removal, with discretion to present it or not. He found the General at Tipton, October 13, preparing to pursue Price, and did not present the order, but carried back a gloomy account of the state of affairs. A week later, Fremont led his army across the Osage, which had first to be bridged, and was struggling, against the effect of the autumn rains, to concentrate all his forces for driving Price into and out of southwestern Missouri. Several of his detachments, unincumbered, pushed forward and fell upon small portions of the enemy with success. The most brilliant affair was that of Major Zagonyi, who with only 300 cavalymen attacked 2,000 rebels at Springfield. As they rode, sabre in hand, seventy of his men fell before they could reach the enemy. The remainder dashed into a body of 400 rebel cavalry, cut down many, and scattered the remainder. They then attacked the infantry in the face of a heavy fire, and routed it also. Ashboth's division reached Fremont on the 30th, and Pope's — marching seventy miles in two days — joined him on the 1st of November. He was reinforced about the same time by Hunter and McKinstry, and at length had made such disposition of his troops that Price and Jackson were so completely out-generaled that they must inevitably have been driven from the State or fallen into his hands as prisoners. At this critical moment, and on the eve of what could have hardly failed of being a decisive victory, he was relieved from command, and General Hunter appointed to succeed him.

On the 26th of August a small expedition left Fortress Monroe, and in two days arrived at Hatteras Inlet, the principal entrance to Pamlico Sound. Here earthworks had been thrown up mounting fifteen guns. The expedition — five war-vessels, two transports, and a tug, with 800 soldiers — was commanded by General Butler and Commander Silas H. Stringham. Fire was opened at once on the works, principally with shells, and after a bombardment of two days the enemy surrendered. Their loss was thirty or forty men killed or wounded, and 700 prisoners. Blockade-runners had already begun to swarm along the coast, and this inlet

The Hatteras expedition.

was one of the most convenient approaches. The secret of the expedition had been so well kept that for several days these vessels continued to come in, and of course fell into the hands of the Federals.

But of the several grand expeditions by which some of the best ports of the Confederacy were to be permanently closed, and footholds obtained for expeditions into its interior, the first sailed from Hampton Roads, with sealed orders, on the 29th of October. It consisted of a heavy frigate, the *Wabash*, fourteen gunboats, thirty-four steam transports, and twenty-six sailing vessels. As the United States scarcely had a navy when the war broke out, most of these vessels were taken from the merchant marine, including some of the largest and swiftest, among which were the *Great Republic* and the *Vanderbilt*. Altogether there were about 10,000 troops, and, including the crews, about 22,000 men in all. The ships were commanded by Commander Samuel F. Dupont, the troops by General Thomas W. Sherman. In a storm off Cape Hatteras four transports were lost, and two vessels, rendered useless by throwing their armament overboard, put back to Fortress Monroe. When it cleared, but a single sail could be seen from the deck of the flag-ship; but the scattered craft came up one by one, and three war-ships left blockading stations to join the fleet, till all had gathered at the rendezvous off Port Royal, South Carolina. The entrance to this harbor, two and a half miles wide, was commanded by heavy earthworks — Fort Walker on Hilton Head, the southern shore, and Fort Beauregard on the northern. The channel buoys had been removed, but soundings were made, and new buoys placed, under fire from the rebel fleet of five small steamers, under Josiah Tatnall, a former officer of the United States navy. The attack was made on the 7th, by the naval force alone. The gunboats ran into the harbor, holding Tatnall in check, while the larger war-ships, sailing round and round in an ellipse between the two forts, for four hours poured in an incessant fire till the guns of both forts were silenced, and the garrisons compelled to abandon them, leaving their flag flying. The loss of the fleet was only eight men killed and twenty-three wounded. The rebel loss is unknown. Not only were the forts abandoned, but every white inhabitant fled from Beaufort.

The act of a naval officer came near, a few days afterward, to creating a serious complication in the relations of the United States with England. James M. Mason and John Slidell — both of whom had left the United States Senate, to join in the rebellion — being appointed Commissioners to the courts of London and Paris, escaped on a blockade-runner from Charleston harbor, and reached Havana, whence they took passage for England on the Brit-

The Port
Royal Ex-
pedition.

The affair of
the Trent.

ish mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Charles Wilkes, in the United States steamship *San Jacinto*, watching for this vessel, overhauled her on the 8th of November in the Bahama Channel, took off the rebel Commissioners and their secretaries, and then allowed the *Trent* to proceed on her voyage. By the law of nations, and in accordance with the British proclamation of neutrality,¹ he might have brought the *Trent* into port as a prize. His reason for not doing so was, that he could hardly spare men for a prize crew, and he especially desired not to inflict injury upon innocent persons by delaying the mails and the passengers. On receipt of the news in Liverpool, a meeting was called at the Cotton Exchange, where the most violent harangues were loudly applauded, and two speakers who counselled moderation could scarcely get a hearing. The excitement spread to all classes, and the feeling was general in England, that there must be an immediate release of the prisoners, and an apology for this interference with an English ship on the high seas, or a declaration of war.

Secretary Seward instructed Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister in London, to assure the British Government that in the capture of the Commissioners Captain Wilkes had acted without any instructions, and that the American Government would be ready to discuss the matter in a friendly spirit when the ground taken by the British Government should be made known. The official communication of Earl Russell, under date of November 30th, after reciting the statement of the Captain of the *Trent*, — in which the fact that the men seized were known to him and to everybody else to be rebel emissaries, was suppressed, — proceeded to say, “It thus appears that certain individuals have been forcibly taken from on board a British vessel, the ship of a neutral power, while such vessel was pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage, an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law,” after which it demanded “such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation,” namely, the liberation of the prisoners, and a suitable apology. At the same time England began naval preparations for war, and ordered troops to Canada.²

¹ The Queen’s proclamation, dated May 13th, 1861, warned her subjects that “if any of them shall presume to do any acts in derogation of their duty as subjects of a neutral sovereign, or in violation or contravention of the law of nations, as . . . by carrying officers, soldiers, despatches, arms, military stores, or materials, or any article or articles considered and deemed to be contraband of war, according to the law or modern usage of nations, for the use or service of either of the contending parties, all persons so offending will incur and be liable to the several penalties, etc. . . . And all our subjects who may misconduct themselves in the premises, will do so at their peril and of their own wrong, and they will in no wise obtain any protection from us against any liability or penal consequences.”

² It is a ludicrous fact that the transports bringing these troops found the ports of Canada frozen up, and the British Government was under the humiliating necessity of asking

Mr. Seward's answer, dated December 26th, discussed the subject at considerable length, in all its bearings, arguing : First, that the persons named and their despatches were contraband of war ; Second, that Captain Wilkes might lawfully stop and search the *Trent* for them ; Third, that he exercised the right in a lawful and proper manner ; Fourth, that he had a right to capture the Commissioners ; but, Fifth, that he did not exercise that right in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations, because he decided for himself the question whether the prisoners were contraband, and voluntarily released the vessel, instead of bringing both vessel and prisoners to port for adjudication in a prize court. On this ground he ordered the release of the prisoners, who had been confined in Fort Warren, Boston harbor, and they were at once transferred to a British war vessel which was waiting for them at Provincetown.



William H. Seward.

If the American people felt a momentary chagrin at the surrender of the rebel Commissioners, they could not fail to see that Secretary Seward had skilfully averted what could have hardly failed to be, in the condition of the country at that moment, a disastrous foreign war. Calmer second thought suggested that England could have hardly permitted such an act as that of Captain Wilkes to pass unchallenged. But the sympathy of the more influential part of her people for the slaveholders' rebellion had been so loudly and so offensively avowed, that this incident gave intensity to a resentment already deep and keen. The result of the affair, however, was a bitter disappointment to the secessionists, who had hoped for a war between England and the United States, to lead to an alliance between England and the Confederacy.

permission of the American Government to land at Portland and convey across American territory the very troops with which it was preparing to make war on the American people. The permission was graciously granted.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

EXPEDITION TO NORTH CAROLINA.—THE "MONITOR" AND "MERRIMAC."—BOMBARDMENT OF FORT PULASKI.—GENERAL HUNTER IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—MOVEMENT TO THE PENINSULA.—THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN.—BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.—THE CHICKAHOMINY.—JACKSON ON THE SHENANDOAH.—BATTLE OF HANOVER COURTHOUSE.—BATTLE OF SEVEN PINES.—BATTLE OF FAIR OAKS.—LEE IN COMMAND OF THE CONFEDERATES.—BRIDGE-BUILDING.—STUART'S RAID.—THE SEVEN DAYS.—BATTLE OF BEAVER DAM CREEK.—BATTLE OF COLD HARBOR.—THE CHANGE OF BASE.—SAVAGE'S STATION.—LEE'S STRATEGY.—BATTLE OF FRAZIER'S FARM.—BATTLE OF MALVERN HILL.—THE FLIGHT TO HARRISON'S LANDING.—WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PENINSULA.

ON the 12th of January, 1862, a fleet of fifteen gunboats, eight propellers, and fifty-seven transports, commanded by Commo-
Roanoke Ex-
pedition. dore Louis M. Goldsborough, left Fortress Monroe under sealed orders. On the transports were about 11,000 troops, under General Ambrose E. Burnside, divided into three brigades, commanded respectively by Brigadier-generals John G. Foster, Jesse L. Reno, and John G. Parke. On Roanoke Island were three heavy earthworks, mounting altogether twenty-four guns, behind which were about 3,000 men. To reduce these was the preliminary work of the expedition, and that was done early in February. On the 12th of March the fleet ascended the Neuse River, and the next morning landed the troops on the west bank seventeen miles below the city of Newbern. A well-constructed breastwork stretched from
Battle of
Newbern. the river to a swamp; batteries were placed along the bank, and the stream was filled with formidable obstructions. All day the troops were moving slowly up toward the city, by roads heavy with long rains, while the gunboats, commanded by Rowan, preceded them, silencing the batteries and removing the obstructions in the river. The real battle was fought at the breastwork, three miles below the city, on Sunday, the 14th. This was well provided with artillery, and behind it were about 3,000 men. The assault in front was determined but not successful, though a few guns were temporarily captured; but when the Union left wing had flanked it at

the weakest point, and swept down the line, taking everything in reverse, while a little later the right wing burst upon the rebel left, the defenders took to flight, availing themselves of a train of cars to hasten their escape to the city. To prevent pursuit, they set fire prematurely to the railway bridge over the Trent, and those who were left behind became prisoners. The Union troops, crossing the river in the gunboats, followed to the town, and pushed the enemy to still further flight; but not till they had kindled a fire which destroyed large quantities of cotton, turpentine, and military stores, the court-house, a hotel, and some private residences. The Union loss in this battle, killed and wounded, was over 500. The city was permanently occupied, and General Foster was made military governor. On the 20th of March, Burnside, with Parke's brigade, marched into Beaufort. A small detachment was sent at the same time to occupy Washington, on Tar River, where the inhabitants were for the most part still loyal to the Union. Fort



Bugler at Fort Macon.

Fort Macon, which commanded the entrance to the harbor of Beaufort, was taken on the 25th of April. The faithfulness of many of the people of North Carolina to the National Government was shown in a picturesque incident at the surrender of the fort. When the rebel flag was struck, and the national standard took its place, an old man, with a long white beard, leaped upon the ruined rampart, with a silver bugle in his hand, and blew the notes of the "Star-Spangled Banner."¹

Reduction of
Fort Macon.An incident
of the flag.

When the Gosport Navy Yard was destroyed the year before,

among the ships set on fire was the frigate *Merrimac*. But as she was also scuttled, she sank before the fire had damaged more than her upper works. This ship the rebels raised and repaired, covering her with a sloping roof, plating her with railroad iron, and giving her an iron prow. This formidable vessel, re-named the *Virginia* — though the name would not stick to her — was ready for action in March, her first appointed task being to clear Hampton Roads of the Federal fleet.

The *Merrimac* and *Monitor*.

The vague and often contradictory reports which reached the North concerning the plan and progress of this vessel, created serious apprehension, and probably hastened the Government in its movements for the construction of armored war-ships. One made by John Ericsson, was a novelty in naval architecture. The deck of this vessel — whose length was one hundred and sixty-six feet, with a beam of forty-two feet — was almost even with the water's edge, but surmounted amidships by a revolving turret carrying two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns.¹

About noon on the 8th of March the *Merrimac* — or *Virginia* — with three gunboats, came out of Gosport to attack the shipping in Hampton Roads. The principal vessels there were the steam frigates *Minnesota* and *Roanoke*, and the sailing frigates *Congress*, *Cumberland*, and *St. Lawrence*. The *Minnesota* and *Roanoke* went up to meet the *Merrimac*, the *Minnesota* intending to run her down; but both got aground. The *Merrimac* made straight for the *Congress* and *Cumberland*, near Newport News. Passing the *Congress* — receiving a harmless broadside, and returning it with one or two telling shots — she approached the

Destruction of the *Congress* and *Cumberland*.

Cumberland swung across the channel. The frigate fired six broadsides, at close range, but the balls from her nine-inch guns fell as harmlessly as hail upon the sloping iron roof which covered the *Merrimac's* decks. Coming on with full speed, the iron prow of the ram crushed through the *Cumberland's* bow below the water-line, while her unprotected decks were swept by a terrible fire. The leak in her bow was irreparable, and in three quarters of an hour the frigate sank in fifty-four feet of water, carrying down all the sick and wounded. Of the remainder, some swam ashore, and some were picked up by small boats. Of a crew of 376 men, 121 lost their lives.

The *Congress*, which by this time was aground, was next attacked. After losing her commander and about a hundred men, and being set on fire, she surrendered, and soon blew up. The iron-clad, because of her heavy draft, could not approach within a mile of the *Minne-*

¹ Victor's *History of the Southern Rebellion*.

² The revolving turret was the invention of Theodore R. Timby, of Dutchess County, N. Y., who had filed a caveat and exhibited an iron model as early as 1843.

sota ; but the rebel gunboats took a nearer position and maintained a sharp fight, till the boiler of one of them was exploded by a shot. The *Roanoke* and *St. Lawrence* escaped. The iron-clad had lost only two men killed and eight wounded. In the morning she again came out and was met by the *Monitor* — as Ericsson's turreted iron-clad vessel was called — which had arrived during the night from New York. Over her low decks the shot of the *Merrimac* passed, but a few struck squarely against the turret and the pilot-house. The latter was built of solid wrought-iron beams, and a shot broke one of these and threw some particles

The Monitor
and Merri-
mac.



Interior of the Monitor.

of cement into the eyes of Lieutenant John L. Worden, so blinding him that he was compelled to give the command to his next officer. The *Monitor*, being of lighter draft than her antagonist — she was only about one fifth as large — steamed round and round her as she lay aground, firing at close range. They soon parted, the *Merrimac* steaming up the bay to her anchorage at Craney Island, the *Monitor* down the bay to Fortress Monroe. These were the first and last exploits of a ship whose seemingly formidable character excited, for the moment, the gravest apprehensions in Northern ports.

While these events were taking place in Hampton Roads, General Quincy A. Gillmore had been ordered to reconnoitre Fort Pulaski,

which commanded the channels at the mouth of the Savannah. The walls of the fort were twenty feet high and seven feet thick, mounting forty heavy guns, and defended by nearly 400 men. The General reported that it could be reduced by batteries on Big Tybee Island and Venus Point, and received orders to carry out his plan. A portion of February and the whole of March were spent in the erection of the works and placing the guns, which, from the softness of the ground, could only be accomplished with enormous labor, and from the nearness to the fort could only be done at night. Thirty-six rifled guns and heavy mortars were at length in position,



David Hunter.

some of them having been dragged for miles, on movable platforms, over deep morass, requiring 250 men to move them. The distance of the batteries from the fort was from less than a mile to two miles. On the 10th of April fire was opened. The rifled guns made enormous breaches in the walls, and soon reduced them to ruins. In the afternoon of the 11th, the fort was surrendered. Ten guns had been dismounted, one of the garrison killed and a few wounded. The assailants lost one man killed.

Major-general David Hunter, who on the last day of March

had been placed in command on the South Carolina and Georgia coast, issued a general order on the 9th of May, wherein he said, "Slavery and martial law in a free country are incompatible. The persons in these States — Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina — heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free." Ten days later the President issued a proclamation annulling Hunter's, and adding: "I further make known that, whether it be competent for me, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free; and whether at any time, or in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field."

Hunter's
emancipation
order.

In May, General Hunter organized an expedition against Charleston. More than 3,000 men were landed on James Island, and, in an unsuccessful assault on the enemy's position at Secessionville about a sixth of them were sacrificed.

Movement
against
Charleston.

A much more important movement by General Hunter was the organization of the First South Carolina Volunteers, a regiment of black troops, the first in the service. A representative from Kentucky introduced in Congress a resolution asking for information on this subject. The Secretary of War referred the resolution to Hunter himself, who returned a clear and conclusive answer.¹ Jefferson Davis thereupon issued a proclamation declaring General Hunter an outlaw, who, if captured, was not to be treated as a prisoner of war, but as a felon. The appointment of General Rufus Saxton as superintendent of plantations in the sea-island district, put it out of Hunter's power to extend very largely the enlistment of colored troops.

First enlist-
ment of ne-
groes

Early in March, 1862, it seemed that the inactivity of the Army of the Potomac was to come to an end. The Confederates foresaw this, and began to move away from the positions whence they had threatened the national capital. By the 9th it was known that they were leaving Centreville and Manassas. On the next day McClellan started in that direction. He thought it, he said, a good opportunity for his men to learn something of marching, and he took care not to move while there was any danger of that exercise being interrupted. The infantry halted at Centreville, but McClellan rode on to Manassas, and a body of cavalry was pushed a few miles farther. They found that the Confederates were falling back rapidly, but in good order.

The Army
of the Poto-
mac.

At Fairfax Court House McClellan and his four corps-commanders — Sumner, McDowell, Heintzelman, and Keyes — agreed upon a plan of operations; and on the 13th the President put forth an order directing the mode of its execution: "First, leave such a force at Manassas Junction as shall make it entirely certain that the enemy shall not repossess himself of that position and line of communication. Second, leave Washington entirely secure. Third, move the remainder of the force down the Potomac, choosing a new base at Fortress Monroe, or anywhere between here and there; or, at all

¹ He said, among other things, "No regiment of fugitive slaves has been or is being organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are fugitive rebels — men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the national flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift as best they can for themselves. . . . In the absence of any fugitive-master law, the deserted slaves would be wholly without remedy, had not their crime of treason given the slaves the right to pursue, capture, and bring back these persons of whose protection they have been so suddenly bereft."

events, move such remainder of the army at once in pursuit of the enemy, by *some* route."

On the 14th, McClellan issued an address to the army, in which he said that the period of inaction had passed, and that he was now about to lead to the battlefield "a real army, magnificent in material, admirable in discipline and instruction, excellently equipped and armed." It was intelligence which the country, discouraged by the long delay, amused for so many months by the assurance that "all is quiet along the Potomac," heard with gladness. There would have been less satisfaction had it been then known that the direction of the proposed movement was against the wishes and the judgment of the President and the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, who



George B. McClellan.

had succeeded to that office in January, in place of Simon Cameron. The President's plan was "to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas," as involving less expenditure of time and money, as more likely to break the enemy's line of communication, and lead to success, and as insuring an easier line of retreat in case of disaster. In deference, however, to General McClellan, who insisted upon moving upon Richmond by going down the Chesapeake, Mr. Lincoln had ordered, about the middle of February, a council of war, determined to abide by its

decision. At this council the two plans were carefully discussed, and although the older Generals — the wiser and the better soldiers — agreed with the President and the Secretary of War, the younger men agreed with their commanding General. It was a majority of numbers against weight of judgment; and Mr. Lincoln, unfortunately, permitted himself to be governed by the popular rule of decision by mere numbers.

McClellan's general plan was to capture Yorktown, where the rebels had thrown up strong works, held by men under General Magruder; thus to open the York River, as West Point was to be the base of supply for his army in its march toward Richmond; for the more direct route, by way of the James, was thought to be barred by the *Merrimac*. Had he ascertained how

Siege of
Yorktown.

weak was the force in his front, he might easily have marched up the Peninsula without even touching Yorktown. He did indeed make a feeble movement in this direction; but vastly over-estimating the enemy, he determined to lay regular siege to Yorktown. This cost a month. Herein lay the initial error in the campaign. Richmond was at this time, and for four weeks and more afterward, utterly without defence.

Much was to be done before the siege could even be begun. Leagues of road were to be made through forest and swamp. Miles of trenches were to be dug, redoubts raised, and batteries constructed. All this time the army suffered more severely in health and condition than it would have done in confronting the enemy in the field. But at length on the 3d of May the engineering work was considered as fin-



Yorktown.

shed. Three days more were to be devoted to final arrangements, and on the 6th fire was to be opened from every battery.

In the mean time, however, Johnston had sent down the force from Manassas, arriving himself on the 17th of April. He brought with him 35,000 men, raising the Confederate force ^{The forces.} to 53,000. McClellan's information was again at fault. Ten days before Johnston's arrival, he telegraphed to Washington: "Johnston arrived at Yorktown yesterday with strong reënforcements. It seems clear that I shall have on my hands the whole force of the enemy — not less than 100,000 men, possibly more. When my present command all joins me, I shall have about 85,000. With this army I could assault the enemy's works, and perhaps carry them; but were I in possession of their intrenchments, and assaulted by double my numbers, I should not fear the result." The President replied:

"When I telegraphed to you on the 6th, that you had more than 100,000 men, I had just obtained a statement, taken from your own returns, making 108,000 with those going or on the way. You say that you have but 85,000. Where are the other 23,000?" A month before he had written, "There is a curious mystery about the number of troops now with you." It continued for some weeks longer.

Johnston had no idea of holding Yorktown. On the afternoon of

Evacuation
of York-
town.

May 3d, a desultory but harmless fire was opened upon the advanced works of the Union army, lasting until midnight.

On the morning of the 4th, it was reported from the front that there was a great fire in the town. Heintzelman went up in a balloon, from which he could overlook the Confederate lines. Their camp-fires were nearly all out, and the guns at Yorktown were gone. Johnston with his whole force had retired, taking with him everything worth carrying away. McClellan telegraphed jubilantly

to Washington: "We have the ramparts; have guns, ammunition, camp equipage. We hold the entire lines of the enemy's works. I have thrown all my cavalry and horse-artillery in pursuit. No time shall be lost. I shall push the enemy to the wall."



George Stoneman.

The Confederates had a good start, and before the retreat was fairly known, their trains and artillery were well on the way to Richmond. Stoneman's cavalry followed them, and a little after noon came in view of some works near Williamsburg. They halted for

the infantry to come up. Meanwhile Hooker, of Heintzelman's corps, had set out in pursuit, through a heavy rain, which made the march slow and difficult; but he pressed on until midnight, and then halted for rest. An hour after daybreak the next morning they were in front of Fort Magruder, into which the Confederates were driven. Hooker sent back word that he had the enemy in a vise, and could hold him there until more men should come up. But there was no actual commanding officer at Yorktown. McClellan was doing quartermaster's duty in directing the movements of Franklin's corps, which had just arrived by water. Heintzelman had been put in charge of the movements in front; but in the evening Sumner came up, and although he brought no troops with him, he took the command by right of seniority.

The works near Williamsburg had been lightly held; but Longstreet, who commanded the rear of the Confederate retreat, saw that the pursuit must be held in check until the trains and artillery were beyond reach. He turned back, and on the morning of the 4th took the defensive. He was hotly assailed by Hooker, with inferior numbers, hoping every hour to be reënforced. Sumner, misunderstanding the position, sent Hancock in another direction, where he gained a decided advantage over the enemy. Hooker kept up the fight from daybreak until late in the afternoon, when his ammunition began to fail. At this moment Kearny came up. For six hours he had been struggling along a single miry road. He outranked Hooker, who gladly yielded the command to him. Kearny's opportune arrival turned the wavering balance. The Confederates, having gained their points, abandoned the field. Late in the day McClellan came up, and "pushed the enemy to the wall," by orders that the pursuit should not be resumed in the morning, as he had other arrangements in mind. The cavalry picked up a few stragglers, and four or five guns, which had stuck fast in the mud. The Federal loss in the battle was 456 killed, 1,400 wounded, and 335 missing, of whom more than two thirds were from Hooker's division. Johnston puts the Confederate loss at "about 1,800." Probably this is too low, for a large number of wounded were found in and near Williamsburg, and he gives his entire loss, from sickness and casualties, between Yorktown and Richmond, at about 6,000.

The Confederate army moved rapidly toward Richmond, about fifty miles distant. The march of the Union army was very slow; beginning on the 8th of May, the advance did not reach the Chickahominy until the 20th. During this month stirring events had occurred. New Orleans had been captured by Farragut. Norfolk had been surrendered, and the *Merrimac*, "the iron diadem of the South, worth 50,000 men," had been blown up. From the moment when it was known that the Federal army had landed on the Peninsula, dismay had reigned at Richmond. The Confederate Congress adjourned on the 21st of April, and the government archives

Battle of
Williams-
burg.



Samuel P. Heintzelman.

Panic in
Richmond.

were packed up for transportation to South Carolina. All places of business were ordered to be closed at two o'clock in the afternoon, and all able-bodied men were ordered to drill for four hours daily.

But the condition of Richmond was not so desperate as it seemed. In three or four days Johnston arrived from Yorktown, bringing with him 47,000 men. The *Merrimac* had been blown up on the 11th of May; but the Federal gunboats, among which



Panic at Richmond.

was the *Monitor*, in attempting to ascend the James, were checked at Fort Darling, eight miles below the city, and could go no farther. Huger had come up from Norfolk with 7,000 men, and Branch and Anderson were coming down from the Rappahannock with 13,000 more. So that when, near the end of May, McClellan reached the Chickahominy with about 135,000 men, the Confederate force at Richmond numbered 67,000. The real defence of Richmond at this time was the Chickahominy, which rises in swampy uplands northwest of Richmond, flowing southward for fifty miles, parallel with and nearly midway between the James and the York. Below Richmond its course from six to ten miles is little more than a

The Chickahominy.

brook. In dry summer seasons the channel is only a few yards broad, and hardly four feet deep; but a continuous rain-fall, or a sudden shower, floods the swamp and bottom-land. This season had been an unusually wet one; the low lands were flooded, so as to be impassable for cavalry or artillery, though infantry, if unopposed, might have picked their way across at one point or another. Thus the narrow Chickahominy, with its bordering swamps, was more formidable as a military obstacle than a broad river would have been, over which pontoon bridges could be thrown. McClellan's army had now been organized into five corps: the old ones of Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes; a new one under Fitz John Porter; and Franklin's, which had arrived on the day of the Confederate abandonment of Yorktown. Its base of supply was for the present established at West Point, or rather at the White House, five miles up the Pamunkey.¹

On the 20th of May the advance of the Federal army reached the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge, which had been partly destroyed, but the abutments remained, and in a few days the bridge was restored. Keyes's corps, and a part of that of Heintzelman, 80,000 men in all, were sent over, and their advanced posts on the west side were within half a dozen miles of Richmond. They met with no opposition, for Johnston's force was some miles farther up, watching points which it was expected would be attacked. As McClellan's other divisions came up, they were posted for a distance of some fifteen miles along the east side of the Chickahominy. The army was thus practically divided into two parts. Between them lay the Chickahominy, with its flooded swamps. The entire position was in shape somewhat like the letter V, only the right arm was two or three times longer than the other. This was a grave military error, which is nowhere better set forth than by McClellan himself, not long after. He says: "The only available means of uniting our forces at Fair Oaks for an advance upon Richmond was to march the troops from points on the left bank of the Chickahominy down to Bottom's Bridge, and thence over the Williamsburg road to a position near Fair Oaks, a distance of about twenty-three miles. In the condition of the roads at that time this march could not be made with artillery in less than two days."

McClellan had all along urged that McDowell's corps should be

¹ This White House stood upon the site of the residence of the widowed Martha Parke Custis who became the wife of Washington. It and Arlington House, on the Potomac, were inherited by G. W. P. Custis, her son by her first husband. His daughter was now the wife of General R. E. Lee, and the White House was the usual residence of the Lee family. It was afterward burned, when McClellan made his "change of base" from the York to the James.

sent to him on the Peninsula. On the morning of the 24th of May a despatch announced that this corps would soon be with him; but in the afternoon another despatch informed him that the execution of the order to McDowell had been suspended.

Jackson on
the Shenan-
doah.

The reason for this sudden change is to be found in the bold and skilful operations of "Stonewall" Jackson in the valley of the Shenandoah. When Johnston moved towards Yorktown, Jackson had been left behind in the valley, with about 6,000 men, and Ewell with as many more on the Rappahannock, their forces being soon after united. By the 23d of May, Jackson had driven the Federal forces from the valley, and was supposed to be marching upon Washington. On the 25th the Secretary of War telegraphed to the Governors of the Northern States: "Intelligence from various quarters leaves no doubt that the enemy in great force are marching upon Washington. You will please organize and forward immediately all the militia and volunteer forces in your State;" and on the same day the President took possession of the railroads, to be used for transmitting troops and munitions of war. McDowell, with 40,000 men, and Fremont with 20,000, were sent by different routes against Jackson, who had barely 16,000. By rapid marches he eluded both for a while; but on the 8th of June the three armies came within sight of each other at Port Republic, a little hamlet near the junction of the north and south forks of the Shenandoah. Here ensued a desultory engagement, known as the battle of the Cross Keys. Both sides claimed this as a victory; but the real advantage lay with Jackson, who gained his object of escaping across the South Fork of the Shenandoah. He remained here for a fortnight, when he was summoned to the Chickahominy.

The Presi-
dent and
McClellan
differ.

To the order depriving him of McDowell's corps, McClellan mainly ascribes the disastrous result of his campaign. The President explained in reply that Banks had been driven to Winchester, and from Winchester to Martinsburg; that the advance of the enemy seemed a general one, and not as "if he was acting upon the purpose of a very desperate defence of Richmond." He adds: "I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defence of Washington." However willing the rebels might be to exchange Richmond for Washington, Mr. Lincoln was not disposed to take that risk by leaving the capital defenceless for the sake of reënforcing the army in the swamps of the Chickahominy.

One or two gleams of apparent success preluded the dark days to come. Intelligence was received that a considerable force of the enemy were near Hanover Court House, a few miles to the northeast

of McClellan's right, and partly in his rear, "in a position," he says, "either to reënforce Jackson or to impede McDowell's junction, should he finally move to join us." It was supposed that this force had been sent from Richmond, whereas it really consisted of Branch's North Carolinians, who were coming there. Fitz John Porter was sent against them. On the 27th he found them well posted near the Court-house. They were driven from the field; but most of them made their way to Richmond. The results, as given by McClellan, were, "Some 200 of the enemy's dead buried by our troops, 730 prisoners sent to the rear. Our loss amounted to 53 killed, 344 wounded and missing."

Battle of
Hanover
Court House.

Johnston — the wariest, and some think the ablest, of the Confederate generals — could not fail to perceive the faulty disposition which McClellan had made of his army. The left wing, across the Chickahominy, apparently invited attack. Johnston

Battle of
Seven Pines.

thought that only Keyes's corps was over, whereas a part of Heintzelman's was there, making the whole number not less than 30,000. Upon this the rebel general undertook to throw his whole disposable force, consisting of the divisions of Huger, Longstreet, D. H. Hill, and G. W. Smith, numbering in all nearly 50,000. Longstreet and Hill



The White House.

were to attack in front, Huger on the Federal left, and Smith on their right. But Huger lost his way, and did not come up, so that the actual attacking force was something less than 40,000. The attack was to be made on the 31st of May. On the preceding afternoon a furious storm set in, which retarded the movements. This Johnston thought an advantage.

The attack was to be made at daybreak; but it was eight o'clock before Longstreet and Hill were in position on the front. They waited until a little past noon for Huger to strike upon the Federal left. He did not come, and Longstreet opened the fight. The bulk

of Keyes's corps was slightly intrenched at Seven Pines, on the Williamsburg road, half way between the Chickahominy and Richmond. Casey's division had been pushed a mile farther; but he was soon forced back to Seven Pines, where the fighting was hot for two hours, when Casey's troops gave way, and fell back in some disorder. Couch's division took a road to the right, where it soon found itself engaged in the quite separate battle of Fair Oaks. At dusk Heintzelman and Keyes, with mere fragments of regiments, formed a new line. This poured in so hot a fire that the rebels recoiled. The Federal troops then fell back a mile or two, and both armies lay upon their arms. The battle of Seven Pines, although indecisive, had been in favor of the enemy, Longstreet and Hill having forced back the left and centre. If things had gone as well with Smith on the right, a



Erastus D. Keyes.

complete victory might be expected the next day. Johnston had taken his place with Smith's division, in order, as he says, "that I might be on a part of the field where I could observe and be ready to meet any counter movement which the enemy might make against our centre and left. Owing to some peculiar condition of the atmosphere, the sound of the musketry did not reach us. I consequently deferred giving the signal for General Smith to attack until four o'clock." By this time an unexpected Federal force had come upon that part of the field.

The noise of the opening action at the Seven Pines, inaudible to Johnston, four miles away, was heard at McClellan's headquarters on the other side of the Chickahominy, eight or ten miles distant in a straight line. McClellan was ill, but he ordered Sumner, who had constructed two shaky bridges over the stream, to hold himself in readiness to cross. Sumner was more than ready to obey. The water had begun to rise, and the approaches to the bridges were like floating rafts. Sumner, with a single division, that of Sedgwick, crossed, and guided by the noise of the firing marched toward the battle-field. At Fair Oaks Station on the railroad, he met Couch, who said that in falling back from the Seven Pines his division was separated from the rest of the corps, and that he was in momentary expectation of being attacked. Before Sumner could bring his troops into line, the enemy attacked. The

Battle of
Fair Oaks.

action lasted two or three hours. "The strength of the enemy's position," says Johnston, "enabled him to hold it until dark." Sumner then ordered a charge, by which the assailants were driven back, and both armies bivouacked on the field so close to each other that their sentinels were within speaking distance.

The battle of the Seven Pines had gone in favor of the rebels; that of Fair Oaks in favor of the Union forces; yet neither was decisive. All depended on what should be done the next day. Just at sunset Johnston was struck by the fragment of a shell, and was borne away, it was thought fatally wounded. The command devolved upon Smith, by right of seniority. After the action was over, Richardson's division of Sumner's corps came up, and was posted so that it could take part in the expected fight of the next day. In the morning Smith found that Longstreet at the Seven Pines was in no condition to renew the battle in that quarter; but it was resumed at Fair Oaks, where Sumner had been further strengthened by Hooker's division of Heintzelman's corps. In an hour all was over, and the entire Confederate force fell back in disorder to Richmond. About noon McClellan came over. He was quite satisfied with what had been achieved, and had no special orders to give. In the judgment of all his corps-commanders, if the pursuit had been pressed, Richmond would have fallen. The Federal losses in this double battle are officially given as 890 killed, 3,627 wounded, and 1,222 missing, — 5,732 in all. The Confederate loss is not certain, but probably the actual losses upon each side were not far from equal.

Smith's command of the Confederate army lasted only three days. He had, it is said, a slight paralytic stroke, and the command was given to General Robert E. Lee. Lee was now fifty-five years of age. He graduated at West Point in 1829, with high honors. At the outbreak of the war he was serving in Texas as a colonel of cavalry, but his name stood first on the list for promotion to the rank of general. When Virginia acceded to the Confederacy, he was made a brigadier-general and commander of the State forces, though outranked by several others. He was first sent to Western Virginia, but when the Federal forces began to menace Richmond he was called thither, nominally as superintendent of the defences of the capital, but really as acting Secretary of War. He surrounded Richmond with defensive works, organized and disciplined the rapidly increasing army, and kept a watchful eye upon the action of his opponent.

After the battle of Fair Oaks McClellan occupied himself for nearly a month in building bridges across the Chickahominy. There were eleven of them; but only eight seem to have been necessary. For a week after the battle of Fair Oaks, the General

Losses.

Lee in command.

Bridge-building.

complained of the weather. The river rose and flooded the entire bottom, and the country was impassable for artillery and cavalry except upon the narrow roads. No movement, he said, was possible against the enemy, but he asked that detachments should be sent him from Halleck's army. Halleck's army in the Mississippi Valley had gained signal successes, and was now engaged in operations which rendered it unadvisable that it should be weakened. But McDowell's corps, or at least McCall's division of it, had been again promised to McClellan. He had apparently been satisfied with this, for on the 7th of June he wrote: "I shall be in perfect readiness to move forward and take Richmond the moment McCall reaches



Military Bridge on the Chickahominy.

here, and the ground will admit the passage of artillery." McCall's division, 10,000 strong, arrived on the 12th; about the same time some regiments, numbering 5,000 men, had been sent up from Fortress Monroe, raising the force under McClellan's immediate command to the highest point which it reached during this campaign. The returns for June 14 showed 158,838 men, of whom 115,152 were present for duty.

On the 13th of June headquarters were moved across the Chickahominy. On that day Stuart, with 1,500 cavalry, set out upon a bold raid clear around the Federal lines. He crossed the Chickahominy some distance above McClellan's extreme right, then, turning southeastwardly, he dashed to the White House, de-

Stuart's
raid.

stroying some depots of provisions, and recrossed the Chickahominy some miles below the extreme Federal left. He brought with him one hundred and sixty-five prisoners and twice as many horses, having lost only one man.

The corps of Heintzelman, Keyes, and Sumner were already across the Chickahominy; that of Franklin was soon brought over, leaving only Porter's corps and McCall's division on the north side. On the 18th of June McClellan telegraphed to the President: "Our army is well over the Chickahominy. The rebel lines run within musket range of ours. A general engagement may take place at any hour. After to-morrow we shall fight the rebel army as soon as Providence permits. We shall await only a favorable condition of earth and sky, and the completion of some necessary preliminaries." Another week passed, marked mainly by occasional picket-firing. On the 25th, he said, "the bridges and intrenchments being at last completed, an advance of our picket line on the left was ordered, preparatory to a general advance movement," the ob-



Hanover Court House.

ject being to ascertain the nature of a belt of swampy ground a mile beyond the Seven Pines. The movement was opposed, and there was a desultory conflict, lasting from eight o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon. The insurgents called this the battle of King's School House. Each side lost five or six hundred men. McClellan says this "was not a battle, but merely an affair of Heintzelman's corps, supported by Keyes, with some aid from Sumner." At five o'clock he telegraphed to Washington: "The affair is now over, and we have gained our point. All is now quiet."

Within less than two hours he put upon the wires a quite different despatch. Jackson's advance, he said, was at Hanover Court House; Beauregard was at Richmond; a rebel force of 200,000 men was op-

posed to him, and he would probably be attacked the next day, and should have to contend against vastly superior numbers. McClellan's fears. He would do all he could, but if his army was destroyed, he could at least die with it, and share its fate. There was no use of asking for further reinforcements. If the result should be disaster, the responsibility could not be thrown upon his shoulders. There was not in all this, that entire accuracy to be looked for in affairs of great importance at decisive moments from officers in posts of great responsibility. Beauregard was, in fact, hundreds of leagues away in Alabama, and had been removed from his command in the Mississippi region. This only was true, — that Jackson was not very far from Hanover Court House, and McClellan was to be attacked the next day. But there was no overwhelming force against him. The numbers on each side were about equal, neither varying much from 100,000 men; the national force being, probably, a little more, the rebel a little less.

Thursday, June 26th, had been fixed upon by both Lee and McClellan for a decided offensive movement. Lee took the Battle of Beaver Dam Creek. initiative. According to his plan, Magruder and Huger were to remain in front of Richmond, and Holmes at Fort Darling, ready to cross the James when ordered. On this side of the Chickahominy were about 33,000 men, besides cavalry. On that side McClellan had fully 70,000. The divisions of A. P. Hill, Longstreet, and D. H. Hill, 34,000 in all, were to cross the Chickahominy above the Federal right, unite with Jackson, and then, about 60,000 strong, to press down upon Porter, whose corps, with McCall's division, numbered 30,000, besides cavalry. Longstreet and the Hills began their march during the night of the 25th. Early the next morning they reached the river and waited until afternoon for the coming of Jackson, whose march had been delayed. At four o'clock A. P. Hill crossed and attacked the extreme right of the Federal army, thus beginning the actual fighting of the historic Seven Days.¹ The Federal position, held by two brigades of McCall's division of 6,000 men, was a strong one. In front was Beaver Dam Creek, five or six yards wide, and four feet deep, with steep banks, beyond which was an open field that the assailants must cross under the fire of the Federal artillery. The attack made by the Hills was with about 12,000 men. They were repulsed at nightfall, and withdrew, having lost about 1,500 men, the loss on the other side being not more than 300. This

¹ The actions during this period have been variously designated. That of the 26th has been styled the battle of Beaver Dam Creek, or of Mechanicsville; that of the 27th, the battle of Cold Harbor, Gaines's Mill, or the Chickahominy; that of the 30th, the battle of Frazier's Farm, or of Charles City Court House.

position was held merely to check the advance of the enemy, and during the night McCall was withdrawn to join Porter in his position at Cold Harbor, five miles below.

Early the next morning, D. H. Hill bore a little northward to unite with Jackson, under whose command his division remained for the rest of this campaign. A. P. Hill and Longstreet moved down the bank of the Chickahominy. Their advance was slow, for they might come at any moment upon the Federal troops. At noon, Hill, who was in the advance, reached Gaines's Mill, where a slight skirmish ensued. A little beyond the Federal force was drawn up on the opposite side of a shallow creek, in front of which was a swampy plain a quarter of a mile broad, bordered by a tangled undergrowth. Porter's line was drawn up semi-circularly, so as to cover the bridge across the Chickahominy.

At half-past two Hill began the attack. His brigades dashed across the plain, floundered through the swamp, and pressed up the opposite slope, under a fierce fire of artillery and musketry. For two hours the contest was obstinate; then the Confederate troops gave way, and fell back in apparent rout. Longstreet was now ordered to support Hill, by making a feint on the left; but he found it necessary to bring on his whole force, and make a real attack. At this moment Jackson's command came down, and Lee ordered a general advance along the whole line. It was now past four o'clock. Two hours before this Porter had sent over to McClellan for aid. McClellan, foreseeing the probable necessity of this, had ordered early in the morning a part of Franklin's corps to cross; and soon after countermanded the order. But they were now directed anew to cross, and came upon the field 8,000 strong, soon after the general attack had begun. Still the Confederates had fully three to two, their whole force, with the exception of a single brigade, 1,400 strong, kept in reserve, being hotly engaged. An hour before sunset the great pre-

Battle of
Cold Harbor.



James Longstreet.

Hill's re-
pulse.

Attack by
Longstreet
and Jackson.

ponderance of the assailants had enabled them, though at a fearful cost, to pass the swamp and thus place themselves upon equal ground. The Federal line was severely pressed, and began to give way at every point. It was not yet a rout, though fast threatening to become one. The core of every division was still solid, but fragments were breaking off. All, whether soldiers or fugitives, were pressing towards the bridge. Just at dusk the brigades of French and Meagher appeared from the other side. Dashing up to the crest of the bluff, they moved straight upon the Federal rear, now to become the front. Those who had been retreating faced around, and a firm line was formed. The Confederates paused in the pursuit, gave a few volleys, and fell back, as darkness was setting in.

When morning broke, the Union forces were safely across the Chickahominy. Their loss in killed and wounded was about Losses. 4,000, besides some 2,000 prisoners, consisting mainly of three regiments, who had been isolated during the Confederate rush. They also lost twenty-two guns. The enemy, attacking under a heavy fire, suffered far more severely. Their loss in killed and wounded was about 9,500.

While this battle was in progress, McClellan had fully 70,000 men on his side of the Chickahominy. Between him and Richmond were only Huger and Magruder, with barely Across the Chickahominy. 25,000 men. But this force was so handled that even Sumner and Franklin thought that it was as much as they could do to hold their positions. The ground in front of them was cut up by ridges, wooded swamps, and ravines, which shut out all sight of what was passing a few hundred yards away. A body of the enemy appearing at any point might be a single regiment, or the head of a division. The Confederates showed themselves at one point and soon after at another, thus apparently doubling or trebling their real numbers. There was, however, no real fighting on this side of the river until about sunset, when Toombs undertook with two small regiments to drive in a Federal picket station. Out of 650 men he lost nearly 200.

Towards midnight McClellan held a council of war. It was decided to make a "change of base," by abandoning the Chickahominy and retreating to the James. He then wrote McClellan to the Secretary of War. a bitter letter to the Secretary of War. He now knew, he said, the whole history of the day. On the left bank of the Chickahominy his men had done all that men could do, but they had been repulsed by vastly superior numbers. On the right bank he had repulsed several strong attacks. If he had 20,000 or even 10,000 more fresh troops he could take Richmond to-morrow; but he had

not a man in reserve, and he should be glad to retreat and save the men and material. "And now," he concludes, "if I save this army, [tell you plainly, that I owe no thanks to you or to any other persons in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army." To this the patient President replied: "Save your army at all events; you are ungenerous in assuming that reinforcements have not been sent as fast as possible. Your repulse is the price we pay for the safety of Washington." The impulsive Stanton, if left to himself, would hardly have been so forbearing.

If Richmond could only be taken by a long siege, the James was the best position. But it must have fallen in a few hours had McClellan made a direct assault upon the 28th. To ^{Peril of Richmond.} defend the long line of works there were only Magruder and Huger, with about 25,000 men. Lee, with less than 50,000, after his losses, was on the other side of the Chickahominy, and could not make the march back by the way he had come in less than two days. Right between the two Confederate bodies was McClellan's whole force, fully 95,000 strong after its losses. A force of 25,000 men could have prevented any passage of the river by Lee, and 70,000 could have been hurled in a body upon the Confederate capital. Magruder was fully aware of the peril of the situation. He says: "Had McClellan massed his whole force in column and advanced it against any point of our line of battle, though the head of the column would have suffered greatly, its momentum would have insured him success, and the occupation of our works about Richmond, and consequently of the city, might have been his reward." Richmond lost, it is not easy to conceive how the Confederate army could have failed to go to pieces, for Lee had marched out with rations for not more than four days, and within a hundred miles of him there was not, out of Richmond, food enough for a week's supply for his army. Richmond was not taken, but why, nobody but General McClellan is competent to answer.

Keyes moved first and took up a position on White Oak Creek, so as to protect the passage of the trains, guarded by Franklin's and Porter's corps. Heintzelman and Sumner, who lay near- ^{Savage's Station.} east Richmond, came down to Savage's Station, destroyed such stores as could not be taken away, and then moved on toward Malvern Hill. They were followed by Magruder, with two or three brigades. An attack was made upon Sumner, Magruder losing about 400 men, the Union General about 600. At midnight Sumner abandoned this point, leaving behind him 2,500 sick and wounded in the hospitals.

Early in the morning of that day Lee had become assured that McClellan's entire army was retreating to the James. He resolved

upon a bold but hazardous movement. Jackson was to cross the Chickahominy by the New Bridge, which Magruder had already repaired, and fall upon the rear of the retreating army. Longstreet and A. P. Hill were to cross by Sumner's Grapevine Bridge, make a long detour almost to Richmond, and then, joined by Magruder, Huger, and Holmes, fall upon the flank. It was estimated that 70,000 men were available for this combined movement. It failed mainly because only A. P. Hill and Longstreet performed the part assigned to them. Jackson crossed the Chickahominy on the morning of the 30th, and at noon came up with the rear of the Federal force at White Oak Creek. The bridge had been destroyed,



Cold Harbor.

and all the approaches were covered by artillery. His men could not be brought to face the hot fire to which they were exposed, and all that afternoon he was compelled to listen idly to the noise of the battle at Frazier's Farm, hardly two miles distant. Holmes had crossed from Fort Darling, and early in the morning came in sight of the head of the retreating Federal column. A few rounds of artillery and a few shells from the gunboats in the James, scattered his raw troops. This was the only part which they took in the operations of the Seven Days.

Longstreet and Hill crossed the Chickahominy on the morning of the 29th, and at night encamped near the head of the White Oak

Swamp. They had made a forced march under the hot midsummer sun, and many of the men dropped from sheer exhaustion. Resuming their march in the morning, at noon of the 30th they came close upon the centre of the Federal column, the head of which had already reached Malvern Hill, the rear being in the White Oak Swamp. The rebel generals waited for three hours the arrival of Huger, who did not come up at all, having lost his way, as he had done at the Seven Pines. At four o'clock, the onset was begun by Longstreet, Hill soon following. The fight lasted until dark, but owing to the nature of the region it was a series of combats between brigades, rather than a regular battle, yet raging almost continuously along the whole line, each side alternately gaining and losing ground. Of few battles are the accounts given by the various trustworthy actors so discordant. Sumner says: "After a furious contest, lasting till dark, the enemy was routed at all points and driven from the field." But there was no rout, and the Confederates at the close remained in possession of the field. A. P. Hill gives a clearer account. He says: "On our extreme right matters seemed to be going badly. Two brigades of Longstreet's division had been roughly handled, and fallen back. Archer was sent in, and affairs were soon restored in that quarter. About dark the enemy were pressing us hard along our whole line, and my last reserve was directed to advance cautiously. Heavy reserves of the enemy were brought up, and it seemed that a tremendous effort was made to turn the fortunes of the battle. The volume of fire that, approaching, rolled along the whole line, was terrific. Seeing some troops of Wilcox's brigade, who had rallied, they were rapidly re-formed, and being directed to cheer long and loudly, they moved again to the fight. This seemed to end the contest, for in less than five minutes all firing ceased, and the enemy retired."

Battle of
Frazier's
Farm.



Edwin V. Sumner.

As soon as it was clear that there would be no more fighting, the Federal troops resumed their march, and in the morning the last of them arrived at Malvern Hill. The Confederates remained upon the battle-field, and so won a formal victory. But the divisions of Longstreet and Hill were so shattered and exhausted that

Results.

they were not called upon to take part in the great battle of the next day. Hill had marched from Richmond four days before with 14,000 men; here and at Beaver Dam and Cold Harbor he lost 3,780 killed and wounded. Longstreet had marched with 10,000; here and at Cold Harbor he lost 4,182 killed and wounded, and nearly 300 missing. The losses are not given separately for each action. At Frazier's Farm the loss of the Confederates was, probably, about 2,000 killed and wounded. The Federal loss was about



Gunboats at Malvern Hill.

1,800 killed and wounded, besides 30 prisoners and 20 guns, captured at the beginning of the action.

Malvern Hill is an elevated plateau, a mile and a half long and half as broad. Along the front are ravines passable only where they are crossed by roads. As the troops came up, they were assigned positions by General Barnard, the chief engineer; for McClellan had gone to select a position upon the river to which the army might continue its retreat. Sumner, by seniority of rank, was left in command, without having been formally invested with it,

Battle of
Malvern
Hill.

or receiving instructions. The entire force was nearly 90,000. Both flanks rested upon the James, and were protected by gunboats, on one of which, it is said, McClellan had sought a place of safety. On the crest of the hill were seven heavy siege guns, and the remainder of the artillery was so posted that the fire of sixty pieces might be concentrated upon any point from which the enemy could approach.

Jackson moved on as soon as the Federal position on White Oak Creek was abandoned. His command had suffered severely at Cold Harbor, and now, including D. H. Hill's division, it could not have numbered more than 30,000. Hill's advance brought him at nine o'clock in front of the Federal line. "Tier after tier of batteries," he says, "were grimly visible on the plateau, rising in the form of an amphitheatre. We could reach the first line of batteries only by traversing an open space of three or four hundred yards, exposed to a murderous fire of grape from the artillery, and of musketry from the infantry. If that was carried, another and another, still more formidable, remained in the rear." He thought an attack would be hazardous, and urged Lee not to make the attempt. But Lee was not ready to abandon his elaborately conceived plan, although he could not bring many more than 50,000 men to its execution, and Jackson was ordered to begin the assault. At ten o'clock Hill advanced Anderson's brigade so that it came within reach of the Federal artillery. "This brigade," he says, "was roughly handled; the division was halted, and the Union position was reconnoitered."



Robert E. Lee.

Magruder, in command of his own division, and virtually of that of Huger, came up. Upon him the real work of attack was to fall, preparations for which were completed at four o'clock in the afternoon. Lee wrote to each of his division commanders, "Batteries have been established to act upon the enemy's lines. If they are broken, as is probable, Armistead, who can witness the effect of the fire, has been ordered to charge with a yell. Do you the same." Each of these forty words cost him a hundred men. Fire was

opened by the Confederate batteries at six o'clock, and the real battle of the day began.

Hill says that "Instead of one or two hundred pieces, only a single battery opened, and that was knocked to pieces in a few minutes; and one or two others shared the same fate of being beaten in detail." He wrote to Jackson that "the fire from the batteries was of a most farcical character;" but received for reply that he must advance as ordered, as soon as he heard Armistead's yell. Armistead drove in a few skirmishers, and gave the yell. Lee ordered Magruder to press forward the whole line, and follow up Armistead's success. In a few minutes Magruder's command was confronting a deadly fire. "The battle-field," he says, "was enveloped in smoke, relieved only by flashes from the contending troops. Round shot and grape crashed through the woods; shells of enormous size, which reached far beyond the headquarters of the commander-in-chief, burst amid the artillery parked in the rear. Belgian missiles and minié balls lent their aid to this scene of stupendous grandeur and sublimity." This fire made no impression upon the Federal lines, not even disturbing a single battery. Darkness set in, and then, continues Magruder, "I concluded to let the battle subside." Hill in the mean time had heard Armistead's yell, and an hour and a half before sunset pushed his division forward. "We advanced alone," he says, not quite accurately; "neither Whiting on the left, nor Huger on the right, moved forward an inch. The division fought heroically, but in vain. Finally Ewell came up, but it was after dark, and nothing could be accomplished. I advised him to hold his ground, and not to attempt a forward movement." Hill's division, 8,000 strong at the beginning of this attack, lost 1,709 killed and wounded in that hour and a half. The remainder of Jackson's command hardly touched the battle at all.

The entire Federal loss during the six days is officially stated at 15,249, of whom 1,582 were killed, 7,709 wounded, and 5,958 missing. The Confederate losses in the divisions of Jackson, D. H. Hill, Longstreet, and A. P. Hill are given in Lee's Report. They amount to 14,645, of whom 2,472 were killed, 11,774 wounded, and 399 missing. Magruder's losses may be estimated at about 4,500 in all; making the entire Confederate loss something more than 19,000.

The pitiable condition of the Confederate army after the battle of Malvern Hill is set forth by Trimble's account, embodied in Lee's Report. He says: "The next morning by dawn I went off to ask for orders, when I found the whole army in the utmost disorder. Thousands of straggling men were asking every passer-by for their regiments; ambulances, wagons, and artillery were

The flight
to Harri-
son's Land-
ing.

obstructing every road, and altogether, in the drenching rain, presenting a scene of the most woful and heart-rending confusion." The Federal army in its retreat from the Chickahominy had suffered little, except that small portion engaged at Frazier's Farm; it outnumbered the enemy by more than three to two, and was in far better plight. Yet when in the gray dawn the Confederates looked up to Malvern Hill, they saw no trace of the grim batteries and serried lines against which they had dashed themselves in pieces. In the darkness and storm, through mud and mire, McClellan had fled from the field of a great victory, as though it had been one of a crushing defeat. "The greater portion of the transportation of the army," says McClellan, "having been started for Harrison's Landing during the night of the 30th of June and 1st of July, the order for the movement of the troops was at once issued, upon the final repulse of the enemy at Malvern Hill."

By midnight the army was on its weary march along a single narrow passage. This retreat was a flight. "We were ordered to retreat," says Hooker, "and it was like the retreat of a routed army. We retreated like a parcel of sheep. Every one was on the road at the same time, and a few shots from the rebels would have panic-stricken the whole command." Keyes, who commanded the rear-guard, was thus instructed: "Bring along all the wagons you can; but they are to be sacrificed, of course, rather than imperil your safety. Celerity of movement is the sole security of this position." The distance was only fifteen miles, but the last of the trains did not reach Harrison's Landing until noon of the 3d of July. On that day McClellan telegraphed to Washington that the army was thoroughly worn out. It was quite impossible to estimate his losses, but he doubted if there were more than 50,000 men with their colors. He hoped that the enemy were in no better plight, and that he should have a breathing-space before he was again attacked; but in order to capture Richmond, reënforcements should be sent to him, rather much more than less than 100,000 men."

With the flight from Malvern Hill, properly closed this ill-omened Peninsular Campaign, though the army remained on the James until the middle of August. During this period At Harrison's Landing. much was proposed, but nothing was done, and little attempted. To McClellan's repeated requests for large reënforcements, first for 50,000, then for 100,000 men, even "more rather than less," the President had replied that the demands were absurd and compliance impossible, for there were not, at that time, outside of the army on the Peninsula, seventy-five thousand troops in the service east of the mountains. The campaign from Yorktown to Harrison's Land-

ing was three months of disastrous failure. McClellan's attempt to throw the responsibility upon the Government, because it declined to supply him with all the men he asked for, was meant to hide an unwilling service or a confession of his incapacity to cope with the enemy unless he outnumbered him at least three to one. There is not, perhaps, in history so remarkable an instance of the patience and forbearance of a government, with a general commanding its armies in the field. It is the more remarkable that General McClellan should at this time have had the presumption to write the President a letter of advice as to the "civil and military policy" which he — McClellan — thought should be adopted. While he was continually demanding additions to his army, it appeared that over 38,000 men were absent on furlough, granted on his authority. On the 8th of July the President, determined to see for himself the condition of affairs, visited the army; on the 9th, he summoned a council of war at the General's headquarters, and on requiring from each corps-commander the return of men fit for duty that morning, he found the aggregate 36,000 more than the General had telegraphed to him, after the army had reached Harrison's Landing.¹

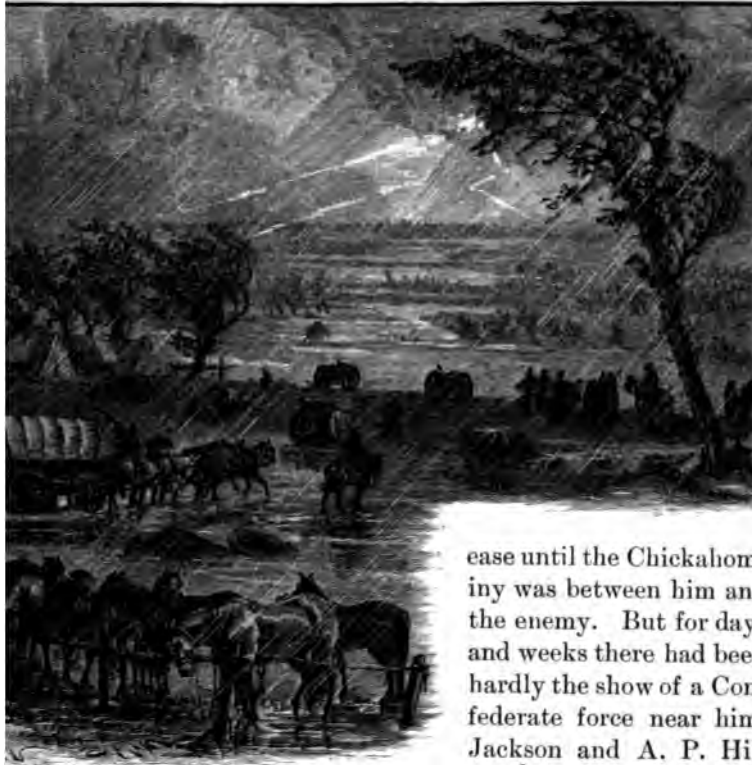
On the 4th of August the divisions of Hooker and Sedgwick took possession of Malvern Hill, and made reconnoissances some miles toward Richmond. "I feel confident," telegraphed McClellan, "that with reënforcements I could march this army there in five days." Next morning peremptory orders were received from Halleck that the army should be withdrawn from the Peninsula, and Malvern Hill was again abandoned. McClellan urged that the order for withdrawal should be rescinded. Hooker thought it should be disregarded. They had sufficient men, he said, to capture Richmond. If the attempt should fail, it would probably cost McClellan his head, "but he might as well die for an old sheep as for a lamb." For a moment McClellan seemed inclined to run the risk. On the 10th Hooker received a written order which was communicated to the whole army, to provide himself with three days' rations, and hold himself in readiness to march on the 11th. "I firmly believed," says Hooker, "that this order meant Richmond; but before the time came for executing it, it was countermanded."

Halleck telegraphed that the order for withdrawal would not be rescinded, and directed that it should be promptly carried into effect.

¹ "I polled the corps-commanders," said Mr. Lincoln, describing the scene, a few days afterward, in a private conversation with the author, "as one polls a jury. I asked of each the return of men present for duty in his corps that morning, put down the figures, added them up, and then passed the sheet to General McClellan, without a word. The difference between the sum and his statement was thirty-six thousand."

On the 16th of August, the stores and the sick were embarked. A pontoon bridge for the passage of the troops had been thrown across the Chickahominy towards its mouth. On the 18th the rear-guard was over, and the bridge was taken down. Jackson had apprehended an attack upon his rear, and was ill at

Withdrawal
from the
Peninsula.



Wet Weather on the Chickahominy.

ease until the Chickahominy was between him and the enemy. But for days and weeks there had been hardly the show of a Confederate force near him. Jackson and A. P. Hill had been sent towards the Rappahannock ; Lee with

of the remainder of his army had followed on the 13th. At near Richmond were only the weak division of D. H. Hill and a thousand raw conscripts.



Fredericksburg.

CHAPTER XIX.

NORTHERN VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

POPE IN COMMAND IN NORTHERN VIRGINIA. — HALLECK MADE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. — JACKSON SENT TO GORDONSVILLE. — BATTLE OF CEDAR MOUNTAIN. — LEE MOVES FROM RICHMOND TO THE RAPPAHANNOCK. — BATTLE OF GROVETON. — PANIC AT WASHINGTON. — MCCLELLAN IN COMMAND. — THE INVASION OF MARYLAND. — BATTLE OF ANTIETAM. — PRELIMINARY PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION. — MCCLELLAN'S DISLOYALTY TO THE GOVERNMENT. — HE IS SUPERSEDED BY BURNSIDE. — BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG. — THE CAMPAIGN IN THE MUD — BURNSIDE SUPERSEDED BY HOOKER.

ON the 26th of June, the first of the "Seven Days" of the Peninsula, General John Pope, who had been called from the West, was put in command of the Army of Virginia, composed of the corps of McDowell, Fremont, and Banks. Fremont, objecting to being placed under an officer whom he outranked, was relieved at his own request, and his command given to Sigel. The army, 40,000 strong, was widely scattered. A part was at Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock; a part at Manassas Junction, thirty miles to the north; a part in the Valley of the Shenandoah, thirty miles farther to the northwest. Pope's first action was to bring the force nearer together, posting it upon a line forty miles long, running northwestwardly from Fredericksburg. His plan was to threaten Richmond, thereby compelling Lee to detach a portion of his army from McClellan's front. The movement was necessarily postponed by McClellan's retreat to James River.

So essentially did the ideas of these two Generals differ as to the proper conduct of the war, that any coöperation between them was impossible unless both were subordinate to a common superior. Partly, perhaps, for this reason, and partly because the confidence of the Administration in McClellan's capacity, or honesty, was thoroughly shaken, General Halleck was called from the West and made General-in-chief, assuming command on the 23d of July. Pope had already proposed, and the Government had assented, that the Army of Virginia, while still covering Washington, should advance upon Gordonsville, a place commanding the railroad communications with the far South and Southwest. This, it was presumed, would induce Lee to send thither a considerable part of his army from Richmond, and aid any movement made by the Army of the Potomac against the rebel capital.



Henry W. Halleck.

Pope took the field in Virginia, as he afterwards said, "with grave forebodings of the result, but with a determination to carry out the plans of the Government with all the energy and skill of which I am master." No trace of such forebodings appeared in his address to the army, issued on the 14th of July, which implied a sharp censure upon the entire conduct of the campaign in Virginia. He had come, he said, "from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies; from an army whose policy has been attack, not defense."

Lee saw the significance of this threatened movement, and hastened to meet it. On the 13th of July he sent Jackson, with his own division and that of Ewell, to Gordonsville, with the promise of reënforcements. Jackson found that Pope was too strong to warrant offensive operations, and contented himself with occupying Gordonsville. A fortnight passed, when it was learned that Burnside's corps had sailed from North Carolina, and arrived at Fortress Monroe; thence it had gone to the Rappahannock instead of going to McClellan on the James. On the 27th Lee sent A. P. Hill's division to Jackson at Gordonsville, raising his force to 35,000. Jackson then moved northward, while Pope had already begun to move southward.

Pope's address to his Army.

Confederate movements.

Quite by accident the advance of the two armies came into collision on the 9th of August at Cedar Mountain, twenty miles north of Gordonsville. Banks was here with 8,000 men, and was attacked by Ewell with about as many. For a while the fight was in favor of the national troops; but rebel reënforcements coming up, Banks was driven back, pursued by the enemy. Pope was a few miles away with the bulk of his force. He hurried up, and at dark checked the pursuit. Jackson then fell back to the battle-field of the morning. For two days the armies lay fronting each other, neither commander caring to attack. Jackson then learning that Pope had received some reënforcements from Burnside's corps, fell

Battle of
Cedar Mountain.



Cedar Mountain

back across the Rapidan. The rebel loss at Cedar Mountain is given at 1,314, of whom 223 were killed, 1,060 wounded, and 31 missing. Pope puts his at about 1,900 killed, wounded, and missing.

Meanwhile the force at Richmond had been largely augmented by conscription. By the 13th of August it was certain that the national army was to be withdrawn from the Peninsula. Pope learned that the enemy were moving upon him in great force, and fell back across the Rappahannock. Lee came up to the river with 80,000 men; Pope, with 45,000, confronted him on the other bank, being assured that he should be largely reënforced within three days. On the 20th his pickets were driven in. For two days Lee sought to find an unguarded place to cross the river; but Pope

Lee's advance to the Rappahannock.

was always in front of him in force sufficient to meet any serious attempt.

On the stormy night of the 22d an incident occurred which gave shape to the campaign. Pope's headquarters were at Cat-^{Catlett's} lett's Station, ten miles in the rear of the centre of his line, ^{Station.} guarded by 1,500 infantry and a few companies of horse. Stuart, with 1,500 cavalry, crossed the river some distance above Pope's right, and, guided by a negro, dashed through the darkness upon the tents occupied by Pope's staff, some of whom were made prisoners. Be-



Stuart's Raid.

fore the alarm could be given, he rode off, having lost but two men in this daring raid. But he had secured a prize which proved of inestimable

value. This was Pope's despatch-book, containing precise information of the numbers and positions of the forces then with him, of the reënforcements promised to him, and the quarter from which they were to come. This information rendered it possible, and even probable, that if the entire Confederate army could be flung upon Pope's rear, his communications might be cut off, and his army routed before it could be reënforced from the Army of the Potomac. This movement must be a surprise; and to give success the first part must be made with a celerity impossible for an army incumbered with trains. Lee must therefore divide his force for some four days, in face of an enemy probably outnumbering either division, though much inferior

to both combined. There was danger in the attempt; but the chances of success were thought sufficient to warrant the risk.

The initial movement was committed to Jackson, who began his march on the morning of the 25th of August. Unincumbered by anything except his artillery, he moved rapidly up through the narrow valley on the east side of the Bull Run Mountains, by rude country roads and across the fields. At midnight he reached the head of Thoroughfare Gap, through which the mountains must be passed. This narrow gap might have been held for hours by five thousand men against fifty thousand. It was wholly unguarded, and on the morning of the 27th Jackson passed through, and headed southward for Bristoe Station, an important point on the railroad which formed Pope's main source of supply. Leaving Ewell here, Jackson went northward to Manassas Junction, where was an immense depot of stores, almost unguarded. These were taken, and what could not be consumed on the spot were destroyed. Pope had in the mean while learned of this movement, and had despatched Hooker towards Bristoe. A sharp encounter took place that evening, in which Ewell was worsted.

Jackson's position was now critical. Pope was aroused; his corps were approaching from different points, and in a few hours might fall upon Jackson in greatly superior force. Longstreet's corps had begun to move, but it was distant two days' march, and perhaps more. Jackson's course was speedily decided upon. He would fall back towards Thoroughfare Gap, and take up a position which he hoped to hold until Longstreet came up. To mask his purpose he first moved northeastward to Centreville, then turned westward, and took up his defensive position upon the spot where the battle of Bull Run had been fought, a little more than a year before. The position was strong, part of it lying along an abandoned railroad, whose deep cutting formed an admirable intrenchment.

The battle was fairly opened on the morning of the 29th. It raged from daylight until after dark, Jackson standing upon the defensive. After midnight Jackson withdrew his left, so as to enable it to connect with Longstreet, whose advance was now at the head of Thoroughfare Gap. To Pope this looked like a forced retreat, and early next morning he wrote to Washington: "We fought a terrific battle here yesterday with the combined forces of the enemy, which lasted from daylight until dark, by which time the enemy was driven from the field, which I now occupy. The news has just reached us from the front that the enemy is retreating to the mountains. I go forward to see." On the morning of the 30th more

Jackson's
march.

Jackson's
defensive
position.

Battle of
Groveton,
August 29.

of his troops had come up, raising his force to 40,000. At noon he was confirmed in his belief that the enemy was retreating. McDowell was ordered to press on in pursuit. The supposed flight and pursuit soon became a battle, in which nearly the entire force on both sides was at last engaged. The Federal troops attacked along Jackson's whole front, and gained some advantage. Jackson says: "At four o'clock the Federal infantry advanced in several lines, first engaging our right, but soon extending the attack to the centre and left. In a few moments our entire line was engaged in a fierce and sanguinary struggle with the enemy. As one line was repulsed another took its place. So impetuous and well-sustained were these onsets as to induce me to send to the commanding general for reinforcements." Lee ordered Longstreet to send aid to Jackson. But Longstreet brought artillery to bear upon the Federal ranks, and their advance was checked. Then, he says, "my whole line was rushed forward at a charge."

Battle of
Groveton,
August 30.



John Pope.

Longstreet's line was nearly at a right angle with that of Jackson, but quite out of sight, being concealed from the Federal view by the formation of the ground. Porter's corps, and some other troops, were close to the angle made by these lines. Hard by was a hillock from which Reynolds's division had fallen back before Longstreet's battery. Warren — then a colonel, soon to be a major-general — seized this point, with two weak New York regiments and a battery, holding it until he was fairly enveloped by the advancing enemy. Out of 990 men, he lost 443. The brunt of Longstreet's charge now fell upon Porter's corps. Outnumbered three to one, outflanked on the left, and unsheltered on the right, where Heintzelman was falling back before Jackson's advance, this corps retreated in good order, still showing a firm front, and checking the pursuit. It had entered into the action 9,000 strong, and sustained a loss of 2,174. Next morning the Federal army, defeated but not routed, crossed the Bull Run, and fell back to Centreville.

These consecutive actions have been called "the Second Bull Run," or "the Second Manassas." A better designation is the Battle of

Groveton, from a little hamlet close by. The entire Confederate loss since the 27th was 1,341 killed, and 7,069 wounded — 8,410 in all. The Federal loss is not fully reported; it was probably about 11,000 killed and wounded. But the diminution in the force was much greater, in all fully 20,000. Lee claims to have taken 7,000 unwounded prisoners. Pope says, "Half the great diminution in our forces was occasioned by skulking and straggling. Thousands of men straggled away from their commands, and were never in any action."

On the 31st a fierce storm set in, but Jackson crossed the Bull Run and attempted to turn the Federal right. McDowell and Heintzelman were sent to oppose him, and at dusk on September 1st, the heads of the forces met at Chantilly. There was a slight encounter, to which darkness put an end, but the loss was greater than in many a large battle, for Stevens and Kearny, two of the most promising Union generals, were killed while leading their commands and in front of their line of battle. Next morning Lee was joined by D. H. Hill's division, which had been hurried by forced marches from near Richmond.

On the 2d of September Pope's situation at Centreville was far from unfavorable. Banks and some others of his own army had now joined him; Franklin and Sumner had arrived with nearly 20,000 fresh men from the Army of the Potomac, making his whole force about 70,000. Lee, including D. H. Hill's newly arrived division, had about as many. But Pope had the advantage of intrenchments, and moreover could be largely reinforced from Washington, while Lee could not count upon another man from any quarter. But terror reigned at Washington, and the army was called back from Centreville to protect the capital. That the campaign had been conducted with great courage, energy, and ability by Pope, there could be no question; that it had failed, so far as it was a failure, because McClellan had withheld his aid, in spite of Halleck's urgent and unceasing orders, was equally plain. Nevertheless the Government in this emergency turned to McClellan, and on the 2d of September appointed him to the "command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defence of the capital." The simple fact was, that McClellan had organized a party for his own support in the army, which the Administration was too prudent or too timid to affront. Pope, at his own request, was reassigned to his former position in the West, and the Army of Virginia was merged into that of the Potomac.

A movement into Maryland, and a menace at least against Pennsylvania, had long been a favorite idea with Jackson. It now seemed

to Lee that the time had come when this might be attempted. The movement was commenced on the 3d of September, and on the 5th the army crossed the Potomac at a point thirty miles above Washington. The entire force was not more than 60,000; for by casualties in battle, exhaustion, and desertion, Lee had lost fully 30,000 men in six weeks. The march from Manassas to the Potomac had been especially trying. On the 7th the army reached Frederick City, where Lee issued an address to the people of Maryland. The people of the Confederate States, he said, had long watched the wrongs inflicted upon the citizens of a commonwealth to which they were bound by so many ties, and wished to aid them in throwing off this "foreign yoke." There would be no compulsion or intimidation, "and while the Southern people will rejoice to welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come of your own free will." Bradley Johnson, a Marylander in the Confederate service, put forth a call for recruits: "We have arms for you," he said, "and I am authorized to muster in for the war companies and regiments. Let each man provide himself with a stout pair of shoes, a good blanket, and a tin cup. Jackson's men have no baggage." Less than 500 Marylanders responded to this appeal.

The invasion of Maryland.

Lee's address to the people of Maryland.



Thomas J. Jackson.

McClellan rapidly reorganized the army, and in less than a week had 172,000 men, of whom 100,000 were to form the movable force, the remainder to be retained for the defence of the capital. Banks was placed in command of the fortifications at Washington, his old corps being given to Mansfield. Sumner, Franklin, Porter, and Burnside retained their old corps, considerably increased from the former Army of Virginia, while Hooker received that of McDowell, between whom and McClellan there was no friendly feeling. On the 7th McClellan moved towards Lee, whose force he estimated at 120,000 — twice its actual number.

McClellan's movements.

On the 10th Lee moved northwestward, his immediate destination being Hagerstown. He had to cross the South Mountain, a steep range one thousand feet high, cut through to a depth of four hundred feet by Turner's and Crampton's Gaps, six miles apart. The Federal advance reached Frederick on the 12th. Here accident threw into McClellan's hands a copy of Lee's General Order for the movements and operations of the next few days. At Harper's Ferry were 14,000 raw Federal troops, under Colonel Miles, whom Lee wished to capture or drive away. The Ferry, in a narrow valley at the junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah, is commanded on three sides by heights. If these were occupied, a force below would be subject to a plunging fire, to which they could make no reply. Lee purposed to take these heights by surprise. To do this he must divide his army into two parts. Jackson's corps, now 15,000 strong, was to pass through Turner's Gap, then make a wide detour, crossing the Potomac some miles above the Ferry, and going down seize Bolivar Heights on the west. McLaws, with two divisions of Longstreet's corps, 15,000 strong, was to go by the way of Crampton's Gap and seize Maryland Heights on the east, while Walker, with 4,000, was to move up the Potomac and seize Loudon Heights on the south. With Lee there would be Longstreet's two remaining divisions, D. H. Hill's and the cavalry, 26,000 in all. Harper's Ferry captured, the whole army was to be reunited at Hagerstown.

McClellan availed himself of this information. Franklin's corps was to follow McLaws, overtake him if possible, or in any case bar his direct way of rejoining Lee. But McLaws had gained Maryland Heights before Franklin had cleared Crampton's Gap. On the 14th McLaws sent back three brigades with orders to hold the pass, if it cost the last man. These brigades were brushed away after a fight in which the Federal loss was 115 killed and 416 wounded; the Confederate loss something more, as they left behind 600 prisoners, mostly wounded. Franklin debouched into Pleasant Valley, six miles from Harper's Ferry, from which firing was heard, showing that the place had not yet fallen. Walker had already gained Loudon Heights.

Jackson gained Bolivar Heights, marching eighty miles in three days. Harper's Ferry was now quite untenable, but there was nothing to prevent the troops there from marching away up the Potomac. The cavalry, some 2,000 in number, did so, and got off. The infantry were raw men, with inexperienced officers. Miles raised the white flag in token of surrender, but before it was seen he was mortally wounded. Unconditional surrender was Jackson's only terms; and more than 11,500 men laid down

their arms, and were at once paroled. The Confederates gained also 72 guns, 13,000 small arms, and some stores. In a few hours Jackson was summoned to rejoin Lee, with whom things had gone ill, and who was sorely bestead fifteen miles away. There was brief time for rest. Jackson's old division, "the Stonewalls," were ordered at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th to prepare rations for three days. The march commenced at an hour after midnight, and in the gray dawn of the 17th such of the men as could endure the march appeared on what was to be the battle-field of Antietam, and were forthwith assigned their place in the line. Jackson brought only 5,000 men.

In the mean time Lee and those with him had marched through Turner's Gap, heading leisurely for Hagerstown. In the afternoon of the 13th he learned that the Federals, whom ^{Turner's Gap.} he supposed to be quietly resting at Frederick, were following him through the Gap. He saw the peril of his situation. He had barely 26,000 men, stretched for two score miles along the road, and should his pursuers pass the Gap, their whole force would be between him and Harper's Ferry. Ordering his trains to cross the Potomac, at a point further up than Harper's Ferry, D. H. Hill, whose division was in the rear, was turned back to hold the Gap until he could be aided by Longstreet. Hill, with 5,000 men, reached the crest of the Gap at noon on the 14th, just as the Federal army — Hooker in advance — appeared, coming up from the other side. For four hours Hill contested the steep and narrow way, but was slowly pressed back. A part of Longstreet's corps now came up, but they were too late to change the fortune of the day. When night fell, the Gap was clear for the passage of the whole Federal force in the morning. Its loss in this, the battle of the South Mountain, was 312 killed and 1,234 wounded; among the killed was General Reno. The Confederate loss was greater, probably not less than 2,000 killed and wounded. Hill says that of his 5,000 he had only 3,000 left. Longstreet's loss was also considerable.

Lee turned his retreat in the direction of Harper's Ferry, and on the morning of the 15th took up a defensive position on the west side of Antietam Creek, near the little village of ^{Antietam Creek.} Sharpsburg. The stream, fordable in many places, and crossed by three stone bridges, was no formidable defence, but beyond it the ground consisted of low swells with narrow valleys intervening, cut up by patches of woodland, cultivated fields, with sunken roads, fences, and stone walls. The limestone ridges crop up here and there waist-high above the surface of the soil, giving good shelter to troops. It was a position which 20,000 men might hope to hold against

30,000, or which a commander with 30,000 might venture to assail against 20,000. Lee had now not more than 22,000, besides cavalry, which could here be of little service, but if he could hold his ground for two days he might hope to be joined by as many more from Harper's Ferry, of the capture of which he was well assured. McClellan reached the east bank of the Antietam in the afternoon. He had with him 70,000 men, besides Franklin's corps a few hours distant. He thought it too late to attack that day; all the next day he thought it too soon.

His plan, as finally decided upon was, as he says, "to attack the enemy's left with the corps of Hooker and Mansfield, supported, if necessary, by Franklin's, and as soon as matters looked favorable there to move the corps of Burnside against the enemy's extreme right; and whenever either of these flank movements should be successful, to advance our centre with all their forces then disposable." This attacking "in dribblets," as Sumner called it, enabled Lee to mass his comparatively small force upon the point of immediate action, so that, in fact, the forces engaged upon either side, at any one time and place, were very nearly equal.

Hooker began his attack early in the morning of the 17th, the on-
The Battle of Antietam. set falling upon Jackson, who was speedily forced back, although reinforced by Hood. Mansfield soon followed, and by nine o'clock Hooker thought he had gained a great victory, and sent word to Sumner to advance. A few minutes later Mansfield was killed, and Hooker, wounded in the foot, was borne almost senseless from the field. McLaws and Anderson, who had just come up from Harper's Ferry with 7,000 men, — half the number of their divisions — hurried up, and by the time that Sumner reached the field the corps of Hooker and Mansfield were streaming away in rout. They took little further part in the action. The arrival of Sumner's strong corps wrought an immediate change. Lee now brought to this point every available man, stripping his right until there were hardly 2,500 men to withstand Burnside's 14,000 who lay idly in their front. The battle raged fiercely with varying fortunes, each side alternately gaining or losing a little ground at one point or another. The fighting ceased about the middle of the afternoon, both sides being utterly exhausted. At the close both parties held nearly the ground which they had occupied when Sumner entered the fight. All this time Porter's corps and two thirds of that of Franklin, 25,000 in all — more by half than Sumner had — were within cannon-shot, but were not sent into action.

Burnside was to attack the enemy's right as soon as he received orders so to do. McClellan says that such order was sent at eight

o'clock. Burnside says that it did not reach him until ten. Be this as it may, he did not cross the Antietam until one o'clock. Then there was another delay of two hours; and it was nearly four o'clock when his real attack began. The heights opposite Sharpsburg were carried, and a position gained from which the Confederate lines might be enfiladed. At this moment A. P. Hill came up from Harper's Ferry, bringing with him 4,000 men, who had marched seventeen miles that day. Hill flung himself into the fight; but it was over before he could bring more than half his men into action. Burnside's corps fled back in wild disorder to the creek, which they crossed the next morning. In this whole futile

Burnside's
advance and
repulse.



Bridge at Antietam.

movement Burnside lost 2,293 killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederates lost in all about 1,000.

During the night Lee fell back a little, contracting his lines around Sharpsburg. McClellan would not renew the action next day. The reason he gave was, that "the national cause could afford no risk of defeat. One battle lost, and almost all would have been lost. Lee's army might then march as it pleased on Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York, and nowhere east of the Alleghanies was there another organized force able to resist its march." But during the 18th he was joined by the divisions of Couch and Humphreys, 14,000 strong, and he proposed to attack the

Lee's escape.

next morning. But the next morning there was no enemy to attack. During the night Lee had quietly slipped away, and was safely across the Potomac.

The battle of Antietam, says Lee, "was fought with less than 40,000 men." All told, he had, first and last, about 40,000; of these all except half of A. P. Hill's 4,000 were hotly engaged. McClellan had 82,000, of whom 57,000 were engaged, successively and in "driblets." The entire Federal loss was 2,010 killed, 9,416 wounded, and 1,043 missing,—12,469 in all. Including the losses at Crampton's and Turner's Gaps, it was 14,970. The Confederate loss is a matter of question. As summed up in Lee's Report, there were 1,567 killed, and 8,274 wounded,—10,291, besides the missing; but a collation of the subsidiary reports appended shows at least 2,000 killed, 10,000 wounded, and 5,000 missing,—17,000 in all. Including the losses at Turner's and Crampton's Gaps, the entire loss must have been at least 20,000.

As a mere passage of arms, the battle of Antietam was quite incisive. But at the North it was looked upon as a great victory. It emboldened President Lincoln to put forth his premonitory proclamation for the abolition of slavery, which he had prepared months before, announcing that if on the 1st of the ensuing January the rebellion should still continue, he should in virtue of his power as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, order and declare that all persons held as slaves in the rebellious sections, "are and henceforth shall be free," and that "the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval powers thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons. . . . And such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States."

The act had been waited for by the loyal people of the North with impatience and anxiety — impatience, that this legitimate war measure should be resorted to; anxiety lest the gathering of this righteous fruit of the rebellion should be endangered by too long delay. It rendered compromise no longer possible, and struck from the hands of the Northern allies of the rebels the only effective appeal that could be made to the South for peace. Slavery could only be preserved by Southern independence; the war must be prosecuted to the absolute submission of the South or the overthrow of the National Government. Henceforth the war was to be carried on for that end always so clear in the Southern mind, but, up to this time, rather shrunk from, not even universally comprehended at the North — a slaveholding or a free Republic. But momentous as was the act, it was no sudden movement. Congress had foreshadowed it in April

by passing a bill abolishing slavery, with compensation to the slaveholders, in the District of Columbia; Mr. Lincoln had given due warning of what might come by recommending Congress, at the beginning of the session, to pass a bill offering compensation to any State which would voluntarily free its slaves — an offer which none of them were wise enough to accept when the bill was passed; and in March a new article of war was promulgated, forbidding any officer in the military or naval service of the United States to use its forces for the return of fugitive slaves. Even now Mr. Lincoln gave to the rebels nearly four months for reflection and repentance. At the end of that time, on the 1st of January, 1863, he "proclaimed liberty throughout the land."

After crossing the Potomac, Lee fell back to Winchester, where he had ordered that all who had fallen out in the march to Maryland should rendezvous. On the 30th of September, ^{McClellan's delay.} when many thousands of these had come up, his muster rolls showed nearly 63,000 present, but only 52,609 "present for duty." On that day McClellan had with him fully 100,000 effective men, besides the 73,000 held back for the protection of Washington.

Once more, as at Harrison's Landing, the President visited headquarters to see for himself the condition of the army, possibly to find, if he could, some military reason why a general with an army outnumbering the enemy two to one, should have permitted that enemy to put a river between them unmolested. In plain terms, the difference between the President and the General was, that Mr. Lincoln was determined to suppress the rebellion and bring the rebels to terms; while McClellan, having the army in his hands, was determined only to repel an invasion of those States still remaining in the Union, but otherwise to let the rebels alone that they might bring the Federal Government to terms. There seems no other explanation of that extraordinary release of



Edwin M. Stanton.

The President visits Antietam.

Lee. Had Andrew Jackson been President instead of Abraham Lincoln, that visit to Antietam would have been signalized by the immediate arrest of the General commanding — possibly by his being brought out from his tent to face a file of soldiers with loaded muskets, without the formality of a court-martial. But Mr. Lincoln was a civilian, not a soldier; he was not sure how far he could sustain himself, or how far the country would sustain him in the swift judgment of martial law; he relied rather — and herein is the key to

His policy. what sometimes seemed a perilous hesitation in his policy so

often alarming and almost exasperating the ardent loyalists of the North — he relied rather upon the slower progress of events to justify with the people his tardier but, when it was pronounced, not less decisive judgment. The army, he knew, was, in one sense, a political as well as a military machine; that behind this was a large body of Northern opponents of the war, composed of those who believed that the next best thing to being a slaveholder was to be a slaveholder's faithful servant; that McClellan, because of his position, had been made the chief of this party; and that around him, in the army, had gathered a group of generals who were politicians first and soldiers afterward. The old-fashioned notion of soldierly fealty to the Government whose commissions they bore, was discarded by these men; they "followed their party," as, when the rebellion broke out, the traitors among army officers said, we "follow our State." It was not an enemy in front only, but an enemy in the rear also, that Mr. Lincoln knew he had to encounter. There were two ways of dealing with this latter opponent: Andrew Jackson's way, and his own. He wisely trusted to that he understood.

He needed, therefore, to temporize, to be patient, to trust to the justification of events. On the 6th of October McClellan
McClellan's disobedience. was ordered peremptorily to move across the Potomac, give

Lee battle, or pursue him to the South. He did not obey. Arguments followed orders. They were parried, as the orders were, with excuses. He wanted supplies of all kinds — clothing, shoes, horses; above all, he wanted, as he always did from the beginning to the end, more men. Two to one were not enough for him. He complained that his horses were fatigued. "Will you pardon me for asking," replied Lincoln, "what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam to fatigue anything?" Meanwhile the rebel General Stuart, with only 2,000 men, crossed the Potomac, dashed through town after town in Maryland and Pennsylvania, made the complete circuit of the Army of the Potomac, and rejoined Lee almost without the loss of a man. Again the President expostulated and complained of five weeks of inaction. It was No-

vember before his insubordinate General chose to obey—six weeks after he had permitted Lee to escape. He had with him 100,000 men, besides 15,000 to be left at Harper's Ferry, and the promise of 20,000 more to be sent from Washington if needed—in all 135,000. Lee's muster-rolls ten days before showed that he had present for duty only 67,805 men.

The roads had been good for some weeks; the weather was favorable, and the army moved rapidly down the east side of the Blue Ridge towards Warrenton. Lee broke up from Winchester and marched in the same direction, but on the other side of the Blue



Culpepper Court House.

Ridge. Longstreet's corps, now leading, moved the more rapidly. It turned a spur of the mountains, and passed from the Valley of the Shenandoah into that of the Rappahannock, and by the time that McClellan had massed his forces at Warrenton, Longstreet was before him at Culpepper, ten miles to the south. Jackson's corps was three days' march behind. McClellan thought, or afterwards thought he had thought, that he was ready to attack. But his removal had been already decided upon. He was ordered to turn over his command to Burnside, and to repair to Trenton, New Jersey, there to await further orders.

Removal of
McClellan.

The command had twice before been offered to Burnside, and had

been declined by him. He had said that he did not think himself competent to take command of so large an army ; and, moreover, Burnside in command. he knew less than any other general of the condition and capabilities of the force. But the present order was imperative, and he must obey it. He was directed not only to take command of the army, but to state what he proposed to do with it. In two days he presented his plan. Instead of moving towards Richmond by way of Gordonsville, he proposed to make "a rapid move of the whole force to Fredericksburg, with a view to a movement upon Richmond from that point." This plan was accepted, and on the 15th of November the movement was begun, masked by a feint toward Gordonsville. Lee was not deceived by this feint, but divining the intent of Burnside, headed his force toward Fredericksburg. The armies moved down the Rappahannock, but upon opposite sides, Lee upon the south side, Burnside upon the north. Burnside had several days the start, and on the 17th his advance, under Sumner, reached Falmouth, where it had been purposed to cross the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg. But when he reached that point he found that the bridges had all been destroyed, and the pontoons which were to have been there had not been sent. Before these came, Lee had brought down his whole force, now numbering about 80,000 ; had fortified the heights, and was awaiting the further movements of Burnside, whose force numbered fully 125,000.

The pontoons finally arrived, and on the 10th of December Burnside decided to lay down several bridges and cross the river. Fredericksburg. It was no part of Lee's plan seriously to obstruct the passage. He preferred to let the enemy cross, and attack him in his strong position. The passage of the river was made on the 11th and 12th, followed on Sunday, the 13th, by the disastrous battle of Fredericksburg. This was a vain effort to carry an almost impregnable position, held by an almost equal force. Beginning at ten Battle of Fredericksburg. o'clock in the morning, attempt after attempt was made to force the Confederate lines at several points. Here and there the assailants for a brief space won a little ground, but were soon hurled back. The hottest fighting took place at the foot of Marye's Hill, just behind Fredericksburg. This hill, crowned by batteries, falls off abruptly to a sunken road, faced on the city side by a low stone wall. This sunken road, which really formed a ditch for the defence of the fortress hill, was the decisive point of the battle. The first assault upon Marye's Hill was committed to the divisions of French and Hancock of Sumner's grand corps, "two of the most gallant officers in the army," says Sumner, "and two divisions which had never turned their backs to the enemy." The front

to be carried was so narrow that scarcely more than a brigade could be brought upon it at once. Brigade after brigade rushed forward only to be swept back so rapidly that it seemed like a single assault. Something like 10,000 men took part in it, and it lasted two hours and more; of these fully 4,000 were killed and wounded. Twice as many men could not have carried the hill in face of the forces opposed to them.

Burnside, from across the river, had watched the fight. "That crest," he said to Hooker, "must be crossed to-night." ^{The final as-} Hooker crossed the river, and consulted with Hancock, ^{sault.} French, and others, all of whom, with a single exception, thought that



The Wall at Fredericksburg.

it could not be done. But Burnside was inflexible, and ordered the fresh assault to be made. Night was fast approaching when Hooker was ready to attack. He began by a fierce artillery fire, hoping to make "a hole sufficiently large for a forlorn hope to enter." It made no more impression, he says, "than if it had been made against a mountain of rock." The Confederate fire from the crest had ceased, their ammunition being exhausted. At sunset Hooker ordered Humphreys, with 4,000 men, to "make the assault with empty muskets, for there was no time to load and fire." Looking upward from the base of the hill, all that they could see was a steep slope, with a low stone wall, near the base. The sunken road below was quite invisible, and they knew nothing of its existence. But in

it troops were standing four deep, and perfectly protected from any fire. Humphreys pushed to within a few rods of this road, when his column was met by a solid sheet of lead and fire, before which it melted away like a snow-drift before a jet of steam. The whole affair lasted barely a quarter of an hour, but in that brief space out of 4,000 assailants fully 1,700 were killed or wounded, while not a man of the enemy appears to have been touched. Then, says Hooker, grimly, "finding that I had lost as many men as my orders required me to lose, I suspended the attack."

The battle was over. The Confederates lay upon their arms that night, expecting the attack to be renewed in the morning.

Resumé and losses. To Lee the assault seemed feeble, and to repel it he had not used more than a third of his force. Owing partly to the nature of the ground, and partly, it appears, to misapprehension of orders, Burnside had not brought into the fight more than a third of the 100,000 who had crossed the river. He proposed to renew the attack on the following morning, and gave orders to that effect. But every one of his officers, including Sumner, who, as he says, "was always in favor of an advance when it was possible," was opposed to it; so at nightfall, he decided to recross the river. The losses at Fredericksburg were very disproportionate. As officially reported on both sides, the Confederate loss was 595 killed, 4,061 wounded, and 653 missing,—5,409 in all; the Federal loss was 1,152 killed, 9,101 wounded, and 3,234 missing—13,487 in all. But according to Halleck's report, of a later date, about 1,200 of those set down as missing returned to their commands, thus reducing the absolute Federal loss to about 12,500. Probably the actual number of disabling casualties on either side did not exceed half of the reported losses.

A fortnight after the battle of Fredericksburg, Burnside planned another attack by turning the Confederate lines, instead of assaulting them in front. The movement was actually begun, when on the 30th of December orders were received from the President that no general movement should be made until he had been informed of it. The reason of this was, that grave dissensions had sprung up among the leading officers of the army. Finally, the President permitted Burnside to make his proposed attempt. This "Campaign in the mud" lasted only three days, from January 19th to January 21st, 1863, when it was abandoned as hopeless, and the army fell back to its old position opposite Fredericksburg.

Meanwhile the dissensions between Burnside and many of his leading officers increased day by day. He resolved to vindicate his authority, and drew up a general order, dismissing some of them from the service, and relieving others from their

The Campaign in the mud.

Burnside's resignation.

commands. Among those to be dismissed was Hooker, who was declared to be "a man unfit to hold an important commission during a crisis like the present." This order could be made valid only by the sanction of the President. Burnside made that the condition of his retaining command. If it were not sanctioned, he would resign. Lincoln refused to sanction the order, and placed Hooker in command of that army in which Burnside had declared him unfit to hold a commission.

Hooker
placed in
command.

Burnside supposed that his removal from the command was equivalent to his retirement from service. The President wisely thought otherwise. If Burnside was not equal to a first place, he was well qualified for a second. Several were offered to him, and finally, it was settled that he should have the command of the Department of the Ohio, taking with him his own corps, then known as the Ninth. Sumner, at the same time, and at his own request, was relieved from duty, and appointed to the command of the Department of the Missouri, which, however, he did not live to reach. Franklin was also relieved.



Ambrose E. Burnside

The discord that prevailed in the army was not confined to it. Burnside's want of success delighted McClellan's friends, the "Copperhead" party of the North, as much as it disappointed and alarmed all those who were earnest for a vigorous prosecution of the war. The traitorous and the faint-hearted worked, whether consciously or not, to the same end, and unquestionably the influence that discouraged hope and paralyzed exertion did far more mischief than open opposition to the war. The universal indignation among all who believed in a war for freedom and the nation, made open treachery detested. It was the other class that was feared — the class that was ready to purchase peace at the price of compromise. Mr. Seward, it was feared, belonged to that class; and a movement was made at this time by some of the leading Senators at Washington, to induce Mr. Lincoln to remove him from the office of Secretary of State. The Secretary anticipated the project by offering his resig-

Movement
against the
Cabinet

nation. Mr. Chase immediately followed his example. Mr. Lincoln rejected both. These are the outside facts. The inner facts are not yet accessible.

It was in the course of this autumn that the Emperor of France attempted to induce England and Russia to join with him in an offer of mediation between the belligerents, which he meant should lead to an enforced termination of the war. The other powers refused to interfere, and the Emperor thereupon sought for some other way of attaining his end. It was suspected that Count Mercier, the French Minister at Washington, was in correspondence with the leading men of the anti-war party at the North. Naturally not a little indignation was felt at an interference

Interference
of Count
Mercier.



Salmon P. Chase.

on the part of a foreign government intended to strengthen that party at home which was virtually in alliance with the rebels, and bitterly opposed to the Administration. In a letter which has never been published, — of the existence of which there were rumors at the time, and some discussion was aroused as to its character, — Mr. Horace Greeley wrote to Count Mercier: "You have honored me with a frank confidence, which I endeavored to reciprocate. I presume all, or nearly all, Mr. Jewett says with regard to the desirability of your having a large discre-

tion accorded you as to the *time* of further and decisive action on your part and on that of your government, was uttered by me in private conversation." What this Mr. Jewett had said was probably contained in a letter of his own to Count Mercier, in explanation of which the letter of Mr. Greeley was written. It may be that the archives of the French Legation at Washington will never give up the interesting evidence of the correspondence between Count Mercier and those citizens who were so ready to welcome an influence that might seriously embarrass the Administration. But the object of the French Minister seems to have been to so concentrate the opposition to the war — whether that opposition came from servility to the South or fear of it — as to compel the surrender of the Administration.

The popular instinct, that any interference from abroad was, from the very nature of the case, in aid of the rebellion, and hostile to the continued existence of the nation, was unerring. It was not known then, however, as has since been revealed, that the worst and most dangerous enemy in Europe to the United States was Louis Napoleon. His professions of friendship to the Government were profuse. But a partial examination only of the confused mass of rebel archives, now deposited in the War Department at Washington, has disclosed, in letters from the rebel Ambassadors, Mason and Slidell, the utter hollowness and hypocrisy of those professions.¹ It was hoped that the distress which the want of American cotton had produced in England, and the promise of free trade with the Southern States, which it was a part of Mason and Slidell's errand to offer, would prove an irresistible pressure upon the English Ministry. It was due more to the caution than to any friendly feeling of that government, that Louis Napoleon failed to induce it to join with him in measures which would, and he meant should, destroy the American Union. He dreaded its power, and he sought its ruin. When that was done, he proposed to command the Gulf of Mexico by establishing a French post in Florida; and he seems to have had a dream of reëstablishing a French colonial system on this continent by detaching Texas, and possibly Louisiana, from the Southern Confederacy. He attempted to get unofficial representations—which, because they were unofficial, Lord John Russell declined to receive—before the English Government, of his strong desire that France and England should unite in acknowledging the independence of the Southern States; and the fear of undertaking alone a war with the United States seems to have been the only consideration which deterred him from granting the recognition for which the rebel Ambassadors labored so earnestly, and, at one time, so hopefully. His efforts to induce England and Russia to interfere with a proposition for a six months' armistice were made on behalf of the South, in the hope of ending both the war and the Union; and when he offered his sole mediation, three months afterward, it was done in the same spirit and with the same purpose. Had not New Orleans been taken at the time it was, it was considered by Mr. Slidell quite probable that the Emperor, finding that the English Ministry were deaf to his suggestions, would have ventured upon recognizing the Confederacy upon his sole responsibility. He regretted that the rebels were without a navy, and was quite willing to connive at the use of French ship-yards and ports for the building and equipping of rebel ships, if it were done under a false pretence.

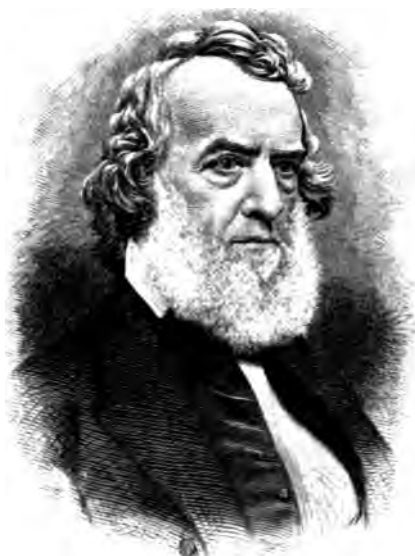
Duplicity of
Louis Napo-
leon.

¹ See *North American Review*, October, 1879.

It was with his sanction that seven war vessels—four corvettes like the *Alabama*, and three iron-clad rams—were built on Confederate account at Bordeaux and Nantes. It was only by accident that Mr. Dayton, the American Minister, discovered their destination, and demanded that they be detained. The Emperor's professions of friendship made it necessary to comply with this demand. And herein lay the difference in the conduct of France and England. The English Ministry made no pretences of sympathy with the North; they permitted rebel cruisers to be built in English ship-yards; English colonial ports were their harbors; it was there they were fitted and refitted, and thence sailed to prey upon American

commerce. English blockade runners supplied the rebels with munitions of war and articles of commerce, and, so far as she dared to be, England was the open friend and ally of the inchoate slaveholding confederacy; subjecting herself to no other restraint than the keeping so far within the lines of a professed neutrality as to escape responsibility by war for her enmity to the United States.

The time was well chosen by M. Mercier to enter into correspondence with the disaffected and the timid. The military events of the year had greatly depressed the loyal people of the North, and in an equal de-



Gideon Welles.

gree excited the hopes of the anti-war Democrats, who meant to save the Union, if it could be saved at all, by concessions to the South which even the slaveholders would not reject. The elections of the year seemed to show an increase of the anti-war feeling, though in reality, so far as the Republican vote was concerned, they only showed that there was wide-spread dissatisfaction and impatience at the way the war was conducted. The inevitable result, however, was a gain for the Democratic party in many places, especially in New York, where the Governor elected was one of those who were ready to do anything, except take up arms, to aid in the subjection of the Northern people to Southern rule. The French Emperor's offer of mediation, though promptly rejected, undoubtedly served to strengthen traitors and to make the timid more afraid.



SINKING OF THE ALABAMA.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

CHAPTER XX.

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST, 1862.

POSITION IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. — CAPTURE OF FORT HENRY. — CAPTURE OF FORT DONELSON. — NASHVILLE ABANDONED. — NEW MADRID AND ISLAND NUMBER TEN — POPE'S CANAL. — FORT PILLOW AND MEMPHIS. — HALLECK AND GRANT. — BATTLE OF SHILOH, OR PITTSBURG LANDING. — CAPTURE OF CORINTH. — BRAGG'S MOVEMENT INTO KENTUCKY. — BATTLE OF PERRYVILLE. — BATTLES OF IUKA AND CORINTH. — BATTLE OF STONE RIVER. — VICKSBURG. — GRANT'S PLANS. — HOLLY SPRINGS. — BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN's peremptory war order of January 27, 1862, directed that, on or before February 22, there should be a general movement of the land and naval forces against the enemy. Among those particularly specified were the Army of the Potomac, the army and flotilla near Cairo in Illinois, and the naval force in the Gulf of Mexico. How the execution of this order was delayed by the Army of the Potomac, has already been told. Some time before this, General Halleck had been placed in command of what was styled the Department of the Missouri, including Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and that part of Kentucky west of the Cumberland Mountains, his headquarters being at St. Louis. This department was divided into several districts, that of Cairo, at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, being placed under General U. S. Grant. General Buell was in command of the Department of the Ohio, including Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Tennessee, and a part of Kentucky. Rosecrans was left in command of the Department of West Virginia. For a time all these armies, including that of the Potomac, were under the control of McClellan.

The rebels held that Kentucky naturally belonged to them, and they had taken armed possession of a part of it, and held a strong line across the southern portion. The eastern end of this line was the fortified camp at Bowling Green, near the Tennessee border; thence it ran westward to Columbus. The Cumberland and Tennessee rivers afford easy access into the heart of Tennessee, and to prevent the passage of them by the national forces, works had been erected a score of miles above their mouths — Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and the stronger Fort Donelson on the Cumberland.

These formed the centre of the rebel line. If they were taken, the whole line from Bowling Green to Columbus would be untenable.

This enterprise was committed to Grant, aided by the flotilla of gunboats under Commodore Foote. This army was ready to move three weeks before the time set for the general advance. On the 30th of January Grant moved from Cairo, with a force of 17,000 men; on the 6th of February he appeared in the rear of Fort Henry, the actual reduction of which was committed to the gunboats, with the expectation that the land force would be able to cut off the retreat of the garrison. After a sharp cannonade of



Fort Donelson.

an hour, the guns of the fort were silenced. General Tilghman, who commanded Fort Henry, saw from the first that he could not hold it. "My object," he says, "was to save the main body by delaying matters as long as possible." He sent off the bulk of the garrison before the firing actually began, and kept up the defence with less than a hundred men, of whom he lost twenty-one. The Federal loss was twenty-nine men, scalded on board the gunboat *Essex*, whose boiler was struck by a shot. The garrison, about 3,000 in number, got safely off to Fort Donelson, about twelve miles distant.

Grant and the gunboats at once moved up the Cumberland to that fort. Grant had at the outset barely 15,000 men. But when operations fairly began he had received about as many more. The garrison of the fort when at its highest point numbered

a little more than 20,000. On the water side this work was very strong, mounting sixty-five guns. On the land side, from which no attack had been anticipated, the works were weak, but the country was difficult for an attacking army. The fort itself stood upon a bluff about one hundred feet high, and occupied an area of one hundred acres. On the right and left were two swampy creeks, now flooded. In the rear the country was rugged and heavily timbered. The trees had been felled so as to make a formidable abatis. The commander of the fort was General Floyd, not long before Secretary of War under Buchanan. On the evening of the 12th, Grant made an unsuccessful attack upon a battery commanding a road by which he was trying to move. Up to this time the weather had been warm for the month of February, but during this night a fierce storm of sleet and snow set in, and the thermometer fell to 12° above zero. The men on both sides, without fires or tents, bivouacked upon the battle-field. The next day six gunboats came up the river, and at three o'clock in the afternoon opened upon the water-front of the fort. The advantage was wholly on the side of the fort, whose plunging fire told heavily upon the boats. Two were disabled, and drifted helplessly down the river, and the others soon followed. They had lost fifty-four men.

But on the land side the assailants were slowly gaining positions that would soon render the fort untenable. It only remained for the garrison to endeavor to cut its way out. The attempt was bravely made before daybreak on the 14th, and for a time promised success. Grant had gone down the river to consult with Foote, who had been wounded. Coming upon the field at nine o'clock, he says, "I found that either side was ready to give way if the other showed a bold front. I took the opportunity, and ordered an advance of the whole line," the gunboats being at the same time requested to make a vigorous demonstration. The attack was successful at every point. During the night a council of war was held at the rebel headquarters. All the commanders agreed that there was nothing left but to surrender. "But," said Floyd, "I cannot surrender, you know the position in which I stand." He turned the command over to Pillow, making it a condition that he should be allowed to take his own brigade across the river, there being barely boats enough for that purpose. Pillow turned the command over to Buckner, and then crossed the river in a scow and escaped. At daylight Grant was ready for the assault. He was anticipated by a message from Buckner proposing the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation, and requesting an armistice for that purpose. Grant replied, "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can

be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Buckner replied, "The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalric terms which you propose." When, however, Grant came to name his precise terms, they were far from being ungenerous. All prisoners were allowed to keep their personal baggage, and officers were to retain their side-arms. The prisoners numbered about 15,000. So many men had never before laid down their arms at any one time upon this continent. The entire Federal loss



Bridge over the Cumberland at Nashville.

was 2,041, of whom 425 were killed. The rebel loss could not have been less.

While the fate of Fort Donelson was pending, General Albert Sidney Johnston withdrew from Bowling Green to Nashville, where he awaited the issue; for Nashville was looked upon as a place of great importance, and came near being chosen, instead of Richmond, as the capital of the Confederacy. On the 15th, he received a despatch from Pillow announcing a victory. "On the honor of a soldier," said Pillow, "the day is ours." On Sunday morning the people of Nashville were gathered in the churches, offering thanks for success. But before the morning service was over the news came that Fort Donelson had surrendered, and the national forces were approaching.

Johnston forthwith evacuated the defenceless city, which in a few days was taken possession of by Buell. Columbus, on the Mississippi, was almost simultaneously abandoned by the rebels, who spiked their guns, and flung them into the river, falling back to Island Number Ten, thirty miles below, where strong works had been erected. These it was hoped would command the passage of the river.

The Mississippi here makes a sharp bend to the northwest, running in that reverse direction for about a dozen miles, when it turns again to the south, thus making an ox-bow. The island, near the Tennessee shore, is at the southern extremity of this bend. New Madrid, on the Missouri side, is at the northern extremity, where considerable works had been erected by the rebels. They had here also several gunboats, which commanded the adjacent low country. General Pope was sent by Halleck from St. Louis with 20,000 men to dislodge them. This he did early in March, the troops at New Madrid fleeing so hastily to Island Number Ten, that they left behind them thirty-three guns, much ammunition, and tents sufficient for 10,000 men. Meanwhile Foote, with seventeen gunboats, came down the river, and, on the 15th of



Andrew H. Foote.

March, a vigorous but ineffectual bombardment was begun. This was kept up with little intermission for three weeks. Beauregard, who was now in general supervision of operations in this region, says that during this bombardment the Federals threw into the works 3,000 shells, and burned fifty tons of gunpowder, without doing any damage to the batteries, and killing only one man. Commodore Foote speaks much to the same purport. "Island Number Ten," he says, "is harder to conquer than Columbus, its shores being lined with forts, each fort commanding the one above it."

So long as Pope was on the Missouri side of the river he could do nothing to aid in the capture of the island, whose works could be attacked only upon the reverse or land side. To cross to Tennessee it was necessary to bring transports to convey his

Island Number Ten.

Pope's canal.

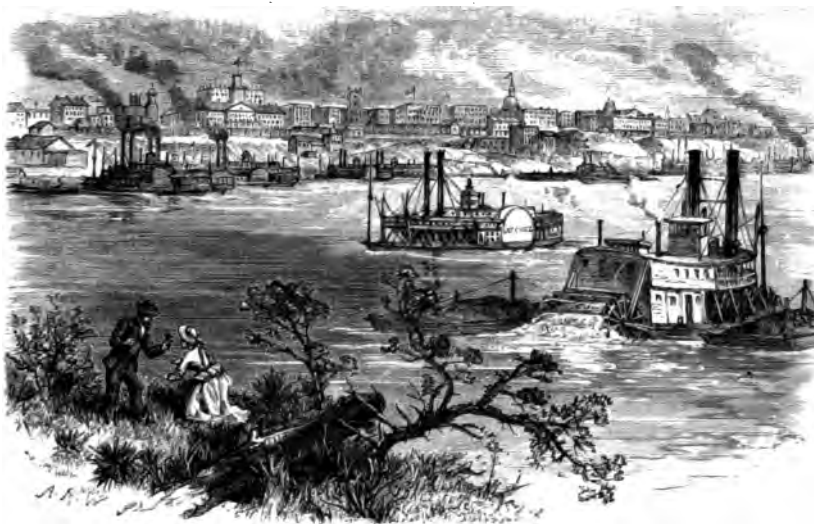
men over, and gunboats to sweep the opposite shore, which was crowned with batteries. For this purpose he undertook to cut a canal across the head of the peninsula formed by the bend of the river. This canal was twelve miles long, half of the way running through a swampy forest, where hundreds of fallen trees, some of them three feet in diameter, had to be sawn off four feet under water before they could be removed. The work was completed in nineteen days. The transports passed through this canal; and on the 6th of April the whole force was taken over. Two days after, they were upon the undefended rear of the island, which was at once surrendered. Nearly 7,000 prisoners were taken, besides a floating battery which had been brought up from New Orleans, one hundred heavy siege guns, twenty-four pieces of light artillery, several thousand small arms, and a great amount of ammunition and supplies. This brilliant exploit was accomplished without the loss of a single man. To it Pope undoubtedly owed his appointment to the command of the Army of Virginia.

The capture of Island Number Ten opened the passage of the Mississippi down to Fort Pillow, one hundred miles below, and forty miles above the important position of Memphis, at the junction of two great systems of railways. No attempt had been made to fortify Memphis itself, for it was believed that no hostile fleet could reach it from below, and Fort Pillow was thought sufficient to guard it from above. But hardly had Island Number Ten been surrendered when Pope began to descend the river, and on the 13th of April he was close upon Fort Pillow, which mounted forty heavy guns, was garrisoned by 6,000 men, and protected on the river by nine armored gunboats. On the 17th Pope was just ready to make the assault, when he was suddenly recalled to take part in a general movement which Halleck was preparing for near Corinth, Mississippi. The Federal gunboats, however, remained behind, and on the 10th of May the rebel gunboats came out from the shelter of Fort Pillow, and attacked. In a brief time half of them were disabled or destroyed. The fort was retained by the rebels until June 4th, when it was abandoned.

The next day, Commodore Davis, who had succeeded Foote, steamed down to Memphis, his fleet increased by four rams, constructed under the supervision of Colonel Charles Ellet. On the 6th eight rebel gunboats and rams came out to meet them. The contest was in ramming rather than by firing. The *Queen of the West* ran down the rebel *General Lovell*, and sank her; a few minutes later the *Queen* was struck by a rebel ram, and disabled. This ram was in a few minutes run into by the *Monarch*, and sank. The result of the whole was, that of the rebel flotilla, seven vessels were

destroyed, one was captured, and one escaped by superior speed. This strange combat was watched by thousands of spectators, who lined the bluffs, and had come out in the confident expectation of seeing the entire destruction of the national flotilla. The next day Memphis was surrendered by the civil authorities.

The campaign of Shiloh had been begun, and well-nigh decided, while that in Virginia hung in almost even balance. Fort Donelson had hardly fallen when Halleck, from St. Louis, ^{Halleck and Grant.} ordered Grant to move rapidly up the Tennessee River, to take possession of important points in railway communications. Buell, then at Nashville, asked Grant to come up the Cumberland, and



Memphis.

consult with him. Halleck was wroth at what he looked upon as Grant's disobedience of orders, and telegraphed to him, "Why don't you obey orders? Turn over the command of the Tennessee expedition to General C. F. Smith, and remain yourself at Fort Henry;" intimating also that the authorities at Washington had it in mind to put him under arrest. Grant explained matters somewhat to the satisfaction of Halleck, who asked the authorities at Washington to let the subject drop; but the order appointing Smith to command the Tennessee expedition was not rescinded. Grant, in turning over the command to Smith, asked to be relieved wholly. No action seems to have been taken upon this request. General Charles F. Smith had given evidence of high military capacity, but his career

was soon closed by what seemed a very slight accident. In stepping on board a boat at Fort Donelson, he had suffered a mere scratch; but gangrene soon set in, and he died on the 25th of April. For some time before he had been incapable of duty, and Grant found himself again in actual command of this Tennessee expedition, with the preliminary arrangements of which he had not much to do.

When Johnston abandoned Nashville he at first fell back to Murfreesborough, and then turned southwestward to the little village of Corinth, where Beauregard was concentrating all the available Confederate forces from the South and Southwest. Bragg was brought up from Florida, Polk from the Mississippi, and Johnston from Murfreesborough. Before the end of March there were 45,000 men at or near Corinth, and Price and Van Dorn were on their way with 30,000 more from Arkansas. Sherman, who now first becomes prominent, had been ordered to join the Tennessee expedition. Buell, with 40,000 men, was ordered from Nashville to coöperate with this general movement. Smith's army, 30,000 strong, on seventy transports, went to Pittsburg Landing, two hundred and twenty miles above the mouth of the river. Sherman, with a quick military eye, fixed upon this place as the best spot from which to operate, and possession was taken of it. Pittsburg Landing occupies a bluff, stretching back to a plateau half a mile long, and eighty feet high, with creeks falling into the Tennessee above and below it. This hitherto obscure spot is historic as the scene of the first great battle in the civil war, fought in the open field. Smith's order to Sherman was to take up a position on this plateau, far enough from the river to leave room for an army of 100,000 men behind him. This was the last order given by Smith, for about the middle of March his illness compelled him to surrender the command to Grant.

On this plateau, two miles from the Landing, stood a log meeting-house known as Shiloh Church, which has given name to the battle fought near it. That the national army was fairly taken by surprise, cannot well be doubted. The manner in which the divisions were posted on the border of the plateau shows that there was no anticipation of an attack from Corinth, thirty miles away, where it was not supposed that the enemy were in very great strength. Grant had now not less than 38,000 men on his side of the Tennessee, and Buell, with 40,000 more, was a few miles distant on the other side. Beauregard and Johnston, who had hardly 40,000 effective men, attempted to crush Grant's army before it could be joined by Buell's. They moved from Corinth on the 3d of April. On the 5th a severe storm set in, which delayed the attack till the next day, the troops encamping on the wet ground, without fires, about three quarters of a mile from the Federal pickets.

At dawn on Sunday morning, Hardee's corps fell upon the outlying divisions of the Federal army, who were at once driven in. Grant was at that time across the river, whither he had gone to have a consultation with Buell. He recrossed, and at eight o'clock came upon what looked like a lost battle. Sherman, to whom the honors of this day's fighting belong, barely succeeded in preventing an absolute rout. By noon the entire army had been driven from their camps, and were crowded into a space of not more than four hundred acres upon the very verge of the bluff overlooking the Landing,



Pittsburg Landing.

towards which they were rushing in utter confusion. At two o'clock success seemed within the rebel grasp. About this time Johnston was shot through the leg by a rifle ball, which severed an artery. Nobody was at hand who knew enough to stop the flow of blood, and he died in a few minutes. Beauregard, nominally second in command, was in feeble health, and two hours passed before he was found; and before he could get his force well in hand it was too late. Grant, at this moment, manifested that indomitable will which is his military characteristic. There was still one hope, and so long as everything was not lost, he never believed that anything was so absolutely lost that it might not be regained. Before the rebels could reach that part of the plateau where their enemy stood at bay, they had to cross a deep ravine with slippery sides and a bottom full of

water. Grant had hastily improvised some slight earthworks upon its opposite brink, and had got together half a hundred light guns, mere fragments of his batteries, of which most had been captured. Two gunboats had also been posted so that their fire swept this ravine. The Confederates dashed down the bank, and tried vainly to climb the slope on the other side. They were swept away by the hot fire in their front, and by the shells from the gunboats. The utmost human strength and courage were of no avail here, and as night was falling the rebels gave up the assault, and Grant was left master of this last part of the field. Still the rebels held the entire ground over which there had been much contest, and Beauregard was not altogether unwarranted in reporting that, "At six o'clock in the afternoon we were in possession of all the enemy's encampments but one. Nearly all his field artillery, about thirty flags, colors, and standards, and over 3,000 prisoners — all the substantial fruits of a complete victory, such as have rarely followed the most successful battles. The remnant of his army had been driven in utter disorder to the immediate vicinity of Pittsburg Landing, under the shelter of the heavy guns of his iron-clad gunboats, and we remained undisputed masters of his well-selected, admirably provided cantonments."

But during the night changes had been made. General Lewis Wallace, with 5,000 men, who had been prevented from joining in the action, had come upon the ground. Three divisions of Buell's army, 22,000 strong, had crossed the river, so that after all his losses Grant had nearly 50,000 men. The rebels had been greatly disorganized by their apparent victory. Bragg says, "In a dark, stormy night, the commanders found it impossible to find and assemble their troops, each body or fragment bivouacking where the night overtook them." In the morning they had got together fewer than 30,000 men.

Grant was prepared to take the offensive early on Monday morning. The attack was made under a cold, drizzling rain. The battle renewed. The enemy were soon forced back from all the ground they had gained on the preceding day. Their last stand was made in their centre, where Beauregard was fiercely pressed by Sherman and Wallace. Sherman says the musketry fire here was the hottest he had ever heard. It was a great bush-fight, rather than a battle. Wallace says: "Step by step, from tree to tree, position to position, the rebel lines went back, never stopping again. The firing was grand and terrific. To and fro, now in my front, then in Sherman's, rode General Beauregard, inciting his troops, and fighting for his fading prestige of invincibility. Far along the lines to the left the contest was raging with equal obstinacy. As indicated by the sounds, the enemy were retiring everywhere. Cheer after cheer rang through the

woods, and every man felt that the day was ours." At last Beauregard ordered a retreat. "Don't let this be converted into a rout," he said to Breckinridge, who commanded the rear-guard.

When the main portion of Buell's army moved from Nashville to join Grant, his third division, commanded by General O. M. Mitchell, was sent to destroy Beauregard's railroad communications eastward from Corinth. Mitchell, marching with great rapidity, surprised Huntsville, Alabama, on the 11th of April, severed the telegraph wires, and sent out parties on trains both east and west,

Mitchell's
expedition.



Corinth

to destroy important bridges. He next proceeded to repair bridges on the road from Nashville. A force sent against him from Chattanooga struck the left of his position, at Bridgeport on the Tennessee. In an engagement on the 23d, the enemy were driven off, and Bridgeport remained in Mitchell's possession. He afterwards occupied Florence, Decatur, and Tuscumbia, which compelled Beauregard to move southward instead of eastward.

Only slight attempts were made to harass the retreat, and Beauregard regained his position at Corinth, whence he sent a magniloquent despatch to the government at Richmond. He had won, he said, "a great and glorious victory," had 'taken from 8,000 to 10,000 prisoners, and thirty-six guns, but Buell having reënforced Grant, the Confederate army had retired to Corinth." The alleged number of prisoners is purely mythical.

Results of
the battle of
Shiloh.

They amounted to four regiments belonging to Prentiss's division, cut off and captured early in the fight. The rebel loss during the two days is stated at 10,699, of whom 1,728 were killed, 8,012 wounded, and 959 missing. The entire Federal loss is summed up at 12,570. Few battles have been more destructive in proportion to the numbers engaged. There were not far from 100,000 men on both sides, and about every fifth man was killed or wounded.

As soon as Halleck received tidings of the battle he set out from St. Louis. Nothing had gone to suit him. He would take charge himself, Grant being formally made second in command, with no actual power or duty. The army at Pittsburg Landing was soon rapidly augmented. Pope came from the Mississippi with 25,000 men, and early in May there were here 100,000 men. After some minor operations, not without interest in themselves, but of no great general import, Halleck began by slow approaches to move upon Corinth, where Beauregard, largely reënforced, was supposed to have strongly intrenched himself. On the 21st of May, Halleck's nearest batteries were within three miles of Corinth, but Beauregard saw that his force was wholly inadequate to oppose that in front of him. He accordingly evacuated Corinth, destroying everything of value there, and on the 30th of May, Halleck marched in. Then he learned that he might have done so at any time for a fortnight. The dreaded fortifications were a sham, many of the batteries being composed of "Quaker guns," mere logs of wood mounted to represent cannon.

Farther South, during this month of April, the heaviest blow that had yet befallen them fell upon the rebels. On the 25th of that month Farragut took New Orleans. He sailed from Fortress Monroe on the 2d of February, in command of the largest fleet ever before gathered under the American flag. A fortnight later a land force of 15,000 men under General B. F. Butler followed, and all rendezvoused, in due season, at Ship Island above the mouth of the Mississippi. Thirty miles below New Orleans were two forts — Jackson and St. Philip — mounting a hundred guns. Not far below, stretching across the river, was a boom of hulks and heavy logs connected by chains; and above this barrier was a fleet of fifteen vessels, including a formidable iron-clad ram, called the *Manassas*, and a floating battery, covered with railroad iron, called the *Louisiana*, not yet finished. In Farragut's fleet were six sloops-of-war, sixteen gunboats, twenty-one mortar-schooners, and five other vessels. The schooners, commanded by Captain David D. Porter, each carried one thirteen-inch mortar, and it was expected that the fire of these mortars, kept up night and day, would drop



FARRAGUT IN THE MAIN-RIGGING.

[From the original by William Page.]

into the forts such an enormous quantity of their terrible missiles as would demolish them completely.

It was only with great difficulty that the larger vessels were dragged over the bar at Southwest Pass into the Mississippi. The *Colorado* drew too much water to be taken over at all; two weeks were spent in taking over the *Pensacola* alone. The mortar-schooners and their convoys went in by Pass à l'Outre. The schooners were towed to their places and moored to the banks, within range of the forts. Commander Porter had their masts dressed off with bushes, that the enemy might not be able to distinguish them from the trees that lined the shore. Fire was opened with the mortars on the 18th of April, and kept up incessantly for six days and nights, during which nearly six thousand shells were thrown, each weighing two hundred and eighty-five pounds. About fifty men in Fort Jackson, on which the fire was mainly directed, were killed or wounded, but the fort itself was not materially damaged. Most of the shells sank deeply in the mud, where their explosion was harmless.

During the bombardment, five fire-rafts, made of flat-boats piled with dry wood and smeared with tar and turpentine, were sent down stream by the rebels to destroy the fleet; but these were intercepted by boats, towed to the banks and stranded. One only caused damage in a collision with two gunboats which were moving out of its track.

Farragut called a council of his captains. He was, he told them, resolved to run by the forts, and only wanted their advice as to the best method of doing it. Every device that ingenuity could suggest, for diminishing the risks of the passage, was resorted to. The crews of some of the vessels rubbed them over with mud, to render them less clearly visible; some whitewashed the decks; some lined the bulwarks with hammocks and splinter nettings; and at the suggestion of John W. Moore, engineer of the *Richmond*, the sheet cables were hung over the sides of all the vessels, in line with the engines.

Lieutenant C. H. B. Caldwell, in the gunboat *Itasca*, had gone up in the night of the 20th, boarded and cut loose one of the hulks of the boom, that an opening might be made for the passage of the fleet. In the night of the 23d he went again, to see that the passage was still open, and on his signal that it was, an hour before midnight, every ship was cleared for action, but it was half past three before the fleet was fairly under way. It had been intended to take advantage of the moonless night, but blazing rafts on the water and bonfires on the shore made it as light as day.

Captain Theodorus Bailey, in the *Cayuga*, led the first division of the fleet — eight vessels, which passed through the opening, sailed close to Fort St. Philip, and poured in grape and canister as they

went by. A few minutes later the *Cayuga* found herself in the midst of eleven rebel gunboats. One of them was set on fire and went ashore, and another was driven off crippled. The *Varuna* and *Oneida* followed the *Cayuga*. The *Oneida* ran down one of the enemy's vessels, cutting her nearly in two. The *Varuna* was run into by two rebel gunboats and was sinking, but not till she had crippled one of them, and thrown a shell

The battle
with the
forts and
rebel gun-
boats.

into the boiler of another, which exploded. The other vessels of this division came up more slowly, sweeping the bastions of St. Philip with a steady fire, and receiving a heavy fire in return. The *Mississippi* encountered the ram *Manassas*, and after a severe fight, boarded her, set her on fire, and left her to drift down stream and blow up.



Caldwell breaking the Chain.

The second division, led by Farragut's flag-ship *Hartford*, sailed close to Fort Jackson, poured in their fire, and then crossed to St. Philip, where the *Hartford* grounded on a shoal. At the same time a blazing raft was pushed against her, and set her on fire. While a portion of the crew put out the flames, another portion kept her guns steadily at work, and she was backed off into deep water. She soon after encountered a steamer loaded with men, apparently a boarding-party, which was bearing down upon her; but a single well-directed shell exploded in the strange craft, and she went to the bottom. The remainder of this division, and the third division, led by Captain H.

H. Bell in the *Scioto*, followed. Two of the gunboats became entangled in the hulks, and one was disabled by a shot in her boiler. Each, as she came up, joined in the fight with the rebel fleet, every vessel of which was either captured or destroyed. This victory cost the national fleet thirty-seven men killed, and a hundred and forty-seven wounded. The forts had lost fifty-two men. The loss in the rebel fleet is unknown.

Captain Bailey, still leading the fleet up stream, captured a rebel regiment on the bank; and when several vessels had come up, the Chalmette batteries, three miles below the city, were reduced, and New Orleans was at the mercy of Farragut's guns. At noon of the 25th he sent Captain Bailey ashore, to de- ^{Capture of the city.} mand the surrender of the city. General Lovell had withdrawn the rebel troops intended for its defence, and left it to its fate. The Mayor attempted to avoid the formality of a surrender, and refused to haul down the State flag. But Farragut took possession, raised the Union flag upon the Mint, and soon turned over the city to General Butler, who had received the surrender of the forts. The Governor of Louisiana fled before the national forces, and issued a proclamation to the planters, asking them to burn their cotton. This was so far complied with that 250,000 bales were destroyed.

General Butler's governorship of New Orleans was chiefly notable for three things: the hanging of a secessionist, the cleaning of the city, and the issue of what is known as his "woman order." After Captain Bailey and his guard of marines had raised the United States flag, a party of ruffians, headed by a gambler, ascended to the roof, tore down the flag, and dragged it through the mud of the streets. General Butler brought the leader to trial for the offence, and, on his conviction, ordered him to be hanged upon a gallows erected in front of the Mint. Strong efforts were made to induce the General to pardon him; but he had gathered admiring crowds about him in the streets while relating his exploit, had boasted that the national authorities would not dare to molest him, and defied the commanding General to arrest him. He was the hero of the rebel populace, and the question whether the sentence should be carried out, was simply the question whether the captors of the city should rule it, or be overridden by the mob. At the same time, General Butler pardoned six rebel prisoners who had been convicted of violating their parole.

While the yellow fever was raging at Havana, Nassau, and other places in the West Indies, General Butler ordered the city of New Orleans to be thoroughly cleaned, which was done ^{The city cleaned.} by 2,000 laborers. The consequence was that — though there were

nearly 20,000 unacclimated persons in the city, — but one case of the pestilence appeared, and that was brought on a vessel from Havana.

General Order No. 28 — known as “the woman order,” issued May 15th¹ — subjected General Butler to the severest criticism, not only throughout the South, and in Northern Democratic journals, but even from the friends of the rebellion in the British Parliament. He was described as a “beast,” letting loose his brutal soldiery upon the innocent ladies of New Orleans. A proclamation issued by Jefferson Davis denounced him as an outlaw, and set a price upon his head. Whatever may be said of the terms in which General Butler chose to convey his order, the conduct of the women at whom it was aimed, had been so grossly indecent as, among many other insults, to spit upon Union soldiers when passing through the streets. It is quite possible that his own brief experience had taught General Butler the necessity of resorting to extraordinary measures to govern a populace, who only a year before had seized a Mrs. Sarah Sanford, a native of New Haven, Connecticut, — but for some time a teacher in a New Orleans public school, — and because she was accused of openly condemning slavery, had taken her to a public square, stripped her naked, and tarred and feathered her in the presence and with the approbation of a large crowd including many of the leading people of the town.

After the capture of New Orleans, Farragut’s fleet passed up stream, where for some months he patrolled the river, to prevent the transmission of supplies for the enemy, drawn from Texas. The batteries at Vicksburg were the northern limit of this patrol, till on the 28th of June he ran past them with his fleet — all but three vessels, which by a misunderstanding of orders failed to pass. The Union loss from the fire of the batteries was less than fifty, killed and wounded. No serious damage was done to the vessels.

Coincident with the invasion of Maryland, was a re-invasion of Kentucky by Bragg, whose force was now largely increased by conscription. At the beginning of September he had some 60,000 men, of whom the corps of Hardee and Polk were with him at Chattanooga, and that of Kirby Smith at Knoxville. They were directed to march through Kentucky, threatening Cincinnati, although their real aim was Louisville. Smith traversed nearly the whole breadth of Kentucky, until he reached Cynthiana,

Bragg’s invasion of Kentucky.

¹ “As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation.”

only a few score miles from Cincinnati, when he turned southwestward, and at Frankfort joined Bragg. Buell, who had been near Nashville, marched in the same direction, also heading for Louisville. It was an even chance which should first reach the goal. The burning of a bridge over Salt River at Bardstown checked Bragg, and, on the 25th of September, Buell was before him in Louisville, where he soon received reënforcements, increasing his army to 100,000 men. At this moment Bragg hoped that Kentucky would come over to the Confederacy, or at least would take a neutral position. He issued a proclamation very like that of Lee to the people of Maryland. "Kentuckians," said he, "we have come with joyful hopes. Let us not depart in sorrow, as we shall if we find you wedded to your present lot. If you prefer Federal rule, show it by your frowns, and we shall return whence we came. If you choose rather to come within the folds of our brotherhood, then cheer us with the smiles of your women, and lend your willing hands to secure yourselves in your heritage of liberty." But he went further than Lee had ventured to do in Maryland, for on the 4th of October he named one Thomas Hawes as provisional Governor of Kentucky; and assuming that the State was now a part of the Confederacy, he endeavored to carry into effect the stringent Confederate conscription law, which, however, brought him few men.

The real object of Bragg's invasion had been frustrated by Buell's forestalling him in the march upon Louisville. But in a ^{Bragg's} ^{plunder.} secondary purpose he had succeeded almost to his heart's desire. Northern Kentucky was rich in what the Confederacy most lacked, — food and the materials for clothing. For these Bragg plundered right and left. Shops, stores, and farm-houses were broken open, and every article wanted was seized, nominal payment being made in almost worthless Confederate money. When he found he was likely to be overmatched by Buell, he retreated southward. The Richmond newspapers exultingly said — perhaps with some exaggeration — that "the wagon-train of supplies brought out of Kentucky was forty miles long. It brought a million yards of jeans, with a large amount of clothing, and boots and shoes; and 200 wagon-loads of bacon, 6,000 barrels of pork, 1,500 mules and horses, 8,000 beeves, and a large lot of swine."

Early in October Bragg slowly began his retrograde movement, followed by Buell not quite so slowly. On the 7th a part ^{Battle of} ^{Perryville.} of Buell's advance was close upon the Confederate rear. Bragg turned back upon the pursuers, and on the 8th was fought the battle of Perryville, lasting from noon until nightfall. The action was sharp, and well managed on the part of Bragg, and as badly

managed on Buell's part. Bragg reported his loss at about 2,500, killed and wounded. The Federal loss was 3,348, of whom 916 were killed, 2,943 wounded, and 489 missing. Bragg had brought into battle hardly a third of the number of men Buell might have used against him; but he had gained his immediate object. His long train was well on its way back to Chattanooga. Buell had shown himself everywhere a most inefficient commander. A fortnight before an order had been issued relieving him from his command, and appointing General Thomas in his place; but unfortunately this order was revoked at the urgent request of Thomas. Three weeks later the forbearance of the Government was exhausted; and on the 30th of October Buell was removed, and Rosecrans appointed in his place. There was a growing disposition to look upon Rosecrans as the coming man of the war. It was believed that to him rather than to McClellan the early successes in Western Virginia were due.



George H. Thomas.

When Halleck was summoned to Washington, Grant was left in command of the Army of Shiloh. This had been greatly depleted to reënforce Buell. Van Dorn and Price, who had a large force near Corinth, undertook to recapture that place. Their first attempt led to an affair on the 19th of September at Iuka, a few miles from Corinth, in which Rosecrans bore a prominent part. It resulted in a check to the rebels, who lost 1,500 men, the national loss being about half as many. The rebel forces, meanwhile, were active in Tennessee. On the 28th of September General Anderson summoned Nashville, where Buell had left only a small garrison, to surrender. General Negley, firmly sustained by the provisional Governor, Andrew Johnson, peremptorily refused, and the citizens prepared to defend themselves with such means as they had at their command. Anderson, however, delayed the attack till his ranks were recruited by forced conscriptions among the people of Tennessee. On the 6th of October, Negley sent General Palmer and Colonel Morris against him at Lavergne, fifteen miles from Nashville, and by them he was completely routed. The

Battle of
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arrival of Breckinridge's column at Murfreesborough, the latter part of the month, again put Nashville in peril, but the coming of General M'Cook's corps, early in November, again relieved it. The Sixteenth Illinois regiment foiled an attempt, by a column under General Morgan, to destroy the bridge over the Cumberland, and this defeated a movement made at the same time to take the town.

Bragg's army had passed through Cumberland Gap into East Tennessee on his retreat, but that important point was soon after re-occupied by a national force under General George W. Morgan. His position soon became a perilous one, as Kirby Smith, in the hope of capturing the division, threw a force in his front, and took possession



Cumberland Gap.

of the roads north of him, the only direction in which he could retreat. Morgan was cut off from his source of supplies, and, with only a few days' rations remaining, he and his men must either starve or surrender, if they could find no means of escape. The distance to the Ohio River was nearly two hundred and nineteen miles, through a rough and hilly country, and beset with enemies. Morgan was determined to save his command. He exploded his magazine, destroyed his stores, tents, wagons, gun-carriages, all the ammunition and arms that the men could not carry in light marching order, and started for the Ohio. In sixteen days they reached the banks of that river, living on green corn, gathered as they marched, rather harassed than harassed by the enemy who were all around them more than two to

one, and to whom they gave no opportunity to take up the offensive. "Although on the retreat," said Morgan to his troops when the brilliant feat was finished, "you constantly acted on the offensive; so hotly did you press the enemy sent to retard your march, that on three successive days you surprised the hungry rebels at their supper, and fed upon the hurried meals which they had prepared."

Grant's operations now led him down the Mississippi, toward Vicksburg, Rosecrans, with 20,000 men, being left in command at Battle of Corinth. Corinth, where the fortifications had been greatly strengthened since its abandonment by Beauregard. Van Dorn and Price, who had about 40,000, undertook to take Corinth by direct assault on the 4th of October. The attack, injudiciously planned, was vigorously made. For a time it promised to be successful, several outworks being carried. But when the rebels came to the inner works, they were met by a storm of grape, canister, and musketry which no human endurance could withstand, and the assaulting columns were driven back in utter confusion. The national loss here was 2,359, of whom 315 were killed, 1,812 wounded, and 232 prisoners. The rebel loss is thus given by Rosecrans in a general order: "Upon the issue of the fight depended the possession of West Tennessee, and perhaps even the fate of operations in Kentucky. The entire available force of the rebels in Mississippi attacked you. They numbered, according to their own authorities, nearly 40,000 men, almost double your own numbers. You killed and buried 1,420 officers and men. Their wounded, at the usual rate, must exceed 5,000. You took 2,268 prisoners." The entire loss of the enemy was therefore more than 8,600, nearly four times that of the Federal army.

The unsuccessful attempt upon Corinth coincides in time almost exactly with the beginning of Bragg's retreat from Murfreesborough. Kentucky. The results of this expedition were to the authorities at Richmond a disappointment more bitter than had been those of Lee's invasion of Maryland, for now they had come to look upon the battle of Antietam as a substantial success, since McClellan lay motionless upon the north side of the Potomac, either afraid or unwilling to move upon Lee. Bragg was directed to renew his movement northward from Chattanooga. Towards the close of December, he was at Murfreesborough, thirty miles southeast of Nashville, his army being apparently well in hand. In Virginia things looked so well for the rebels that Lee thought it safe to detach two thirds of Longstreet's large corps to North Carolina. Sherman's operations against Vicksburg seemed likely to fail. Even in Tennessee the outlook was promising, when Bragg moved to Murfreesborough. Rose-

crans, with something less than 50,000 men, was at Nashville, whence it was not thought probable that he would attempt to move before spring. He had to depend for supplies upon Louisville, three hundred miles away, by means of a single railroad. Bragg had with him, or close at hand, fully 60,000 men,¹ a portion of whom, chiefly cavalry, had been detached to operate against Rosecrans's communications. The Christmas holidays were approaching, and there was much hilarity at Murfreesborough. Jefferson Davis made a flying



Dancing on the Flag.

visit thither. There were wedding festivities, at one of which the warlike Bishop Polk officiated, and the guests danced upon a floor where the hated Union flag served for a carpet, that it might be literally and boastfully "trampled upon."

Whatever Bragg's ultimate purpose might be, Rosecrans undertook to forestall it by suddenly taking the offensive. On the day after Christmas he moved from Nashville, and on the 30th, having driven

¹ The returns from Bragg's army, of December 10, give him, in round numbers, 88,000, "present and absent," 59,000 "present," of whom 51,000 were "present for duty."

in the rebel outposts, he took up a position about four miles from Murfreesborough, from which he was separated by Stone River, a sluggish stream, bordered by cedar brakes. Bragg thereupon collected his force and assumed a line parallel to that of Rosecrans, between it and Murfreesborough. Then ensued one of the most hotly contested actions of the war, called the Battle of Stone River, or of Murfreesborough. The forces engaged are very differently stated, each commander affirming that he was greatly outnumbered. Rosecrans says he had 43,000 men, and estimated that the enemy had 62,000. Bragg gives his force at 35,000, and estimated that of Rosecrans at 70,000. The returns show that Rosecrans's statement was correct. The rebel returns clearly indicate that Bragg had fully 50,000 men.

This is one of the few actions in which both commanders had determined to attack the enemy in his own chosen position. Each proposed to strike first with his left at the right of the other. Bragg struck first. At dawn of December 31st, a dense fog hung over the banks of Stone River. Emerging from this, Bragg fell furiously upon the Federal right. The two divisions of Johnson and Davis were swept away, losing most of their guns and many prisoners. The next division was that of Sheridan, who stood his ground stoutly, though assailed in front and on one flank by greatly superior numbers. At length he was forced back a little, having lost his train, and exhausted all the ammunition of his infantry, but he formed a new line, and stood at bay with the bayonet. For the proposed attack upon the enemy's weak right, Rosecrans had to cross the river, upon the opposite side of which was only the division of Breckinridge. This purpose had now to be abandoned, and the entire Federal force concentrated upon a new line on their imperilled right. This was done with rare skill, and only just in time. The rebels rushed upon this new line, bringing up all their force, with the exception of Breckinridge. They advanced from the cedar thickets which they had already won, but were met with a terrible fire from which they recoiled. Four times the charge was repeated, with the same result, and at last they took refuge under the cedars from among which they had come. Breckinridge's division of 7,000 fresh men was now brought across the river. Twice more was the attack renewed, and twice more was it repulsed. Night came on, and the two armies rested in the positions where darkness found them.

On New Year's Day, 1863, there was no fighting except a little cavalry skirmishing. Bragg evidently supposed that the enemy were about to retreat; but Rosecrans had been busy in strengthening his position on what was now the rebel front, and in making prepara-

tions to resume his former plan of attack. On the morning of the 2d, Bragg made some demonstrations, with the object of discovering what his opponent meant to do. He soon learned, to his cost. Rosecrans had made his position a sort of citadel, from which he could sally and strike upon any point. He sent a weak division across Stone River, to menace the old rebel right. Breckinridge was ordered to that side to meet this movement. This was accomplished. But Stone River was a military obstacle so slight, that it mattered little on which side of it the forces were. Rosecrans had indeed lost a third of his artillery; but he had enough left for the work in hand. The batteries were posted upon an eminence, from which the whole battle-field on both sides of the river could be swept. Breckinridge's and Polk's divisions attempted vainly to carry this position. Rosecrans tells the result in a few words: "The firing was terrific, and the havoc terrible. The enemy retreated more rapidly than they had advanced. In forty minutes they lost 2,000 men. . . . It was now dark and raining, or we should have pursued the enemy into Murfreesborough. As it was, Crittenden's corps passed over, and, with Davis, occupied the crests, which were intrenched in a few hours."



William S. Rosecrans.

This battle of Stone River is one of the few actions of the war fought upon both sides in accordance with the best rules of strategy and tactics. Both Bragg and Rosecrans displayed military ability which neither of them afterwards showed. Each of them seems to have divined the purpose of the other. Each attacked at the point where he knew himself to be strongest, and where he had good reason to believe the enemy to be weakest. Each brought into action the whole of his force, with what resolute determination is shown by the losses. The rebel loss is given at 14,700, all killed or wounded, for there is no mention of prisoners. The national loss was 1,553 killed, and something more than 7,000 wounded; there were also 3,000 prisoners, captured early in the fight of the first day; making a total of about 12,000. Of about 90,000 men engaged on both sides, more than a quarter were killed or wounded. The

Results.

storm that raged during the 3d prevented further action, and gave Bragg time for thought. He retreated southward. Rosecrans was in no condition to follow up his victory, for in cavalry he was far inferior to the enemy.

While these operations were going on in Kentucky and Tennessee, events of no little moment had taken place elsewhere. The Vicksburg. summons of Halleck to Washington had left Grant in command upon the Mississippi. He now resolved to carry out the original design of the campaign, which had been fairly begun by the capture of Fort Donelson, compelling, as it did, the abandonment of the entire course of the great river down to Vicksburg. The capture of New Orleans had practically given the Federal forces the control of the Mississippi up to that point. Vicksburg thus came to be a point of supreme importance. The Mississippi here turns northeastward for ten or fifteen miles, then trends to the southwest, thus forming a sharp curve measuring thirty miles, though the distance across the peninsula is hardly two. Vicksburg is nearly at the bend of this curve, and if a direct channel could be made for the river, the city would be left an inland town, ten miles or more from the Mississippi. As early as July, 1862, when demonstrations were made up the Mississippi, there had been an attempt to change the course of the river by cutting a canal. But the mighty stream, which has often made short cuts for itself in a single night, refused to follow the new channel. Meantime the rebels had perceived the importance of Vicksburg, surrounded it with fortifications on the land side, and greatly strengthened the river batteries. General Pemberton, a special favorite of Jefferson Davis, was made Lieutenant-general, in order that he might outrank Van Dorn, and was placed in command of all the rebel force in this region. Thus matters stood late in November, 1862, when Grant found himself in a condition to undertake the capture of Vicksburg.

The plan of operations had been carefully arranged between Grant and Sherman. For its execution there were in all more than 70,000 men, posted in different places, 18,000 being with Sherman at Memphis. The general idea was, that Sherman should move rapidly down the river, while Grant, moving by the Central Mississippi Railroad, should take Vicksburg in the rear. Pemberton took a position midway between Vicksburg and Memphis, on the Tallahatchie River, hoping to prevent Grant from coming down by the railroad, but he was manœuvred out of it. Sherman says: "Grant moved direct upon Pemberton, while I moved from Memphis, and a smaller force, under General Washburne, struck directly upon Granada, which was in the enemy's rear."

The first thing that Pemberton knew, the depot of his supplies was almost in the grasp of a small cavalry force, and he fell back in confusion, giving us the Tallahatchie without a battle." Vicksburg thus seemed within the grasp of the Federal armies.

But success was wrested from them by an occurrence apparently trivial. Grant's force must depend for supplies upon the railroad; and he had established his main depot at Holly Springs, a few miles below Memphis, apparently quite safe from molestation. This main depot was guarded by Colonel Murphy, with about 2,000 men. Van Dorn, with his cavalry, made a long



Vicksburg.

ride around Grant's army, and on the 20th of December came upon Holly Springs, surprising the camp, and capturing Murphy's force. The prisoners were immediately paroled. The railroad depot, the station-house, the engine-house, and the immense storehouses, all filled with commissary stores and clothing, were burned. In one of the buildings were a hundred barrels of gunpowder, the explosion of which knocked down nearly all the houses on one side of the public square. The goods thus destroyed were valued at \$2,000,000. Grant had learned that a raid was directed here, had given warning to Murphy, and despatched reinforcements to him. This untoward event compelled in the end an entire change in the conduct of the campaign. Grant had to replace his supplies; and before this could

be done, he determined that the land march must be abandoned, and the whole army should sail down the Mississippi.

Sherman, ignorant of the disaster at Holly Springs, had gone down the river, landed near the mouth of the Yazoo, a muddy stream that falls into the Mississippi above Vicksburg, and made an ineffectual attack upon the land side of the fortifications in the rear of the town. With this movement properly began the long siege of Vicksburg. It closed on the 31st of December, at the very time when the battle of Stone River was at its height. The attack was rendered difficult by the nature of the country, which was swampy and intersected by creeks and bayous, along which were levees, sometimes fourteen feet high, which in many places formed intrenchments as perfect as if they had been designed for that purpose. The rebel line of works was fifteen miles long, assailable at only a few points. An attempt was made to carry them, but without success anywhere. The whole effort cost Sherman 1,929 men, of whom 191 were reported as killed, 982 as wounded, and 756 as missing. The rebel loss was very much less. Pemberton, not now having to confront Grant upon the inland way of the railroad, was able to throw large reinforcements into Vicksburg, transforming it into a citadel. Sherman was convinced that the place was too strong to be assailed by the force at his command, and that the direct siege must be suspended until Grant's army should come down the river.

On the 2d of January, 1863, General McClelland came down, with orders to take command. That which had been styled the Army of the Tennessee ceased formally to exist. The whole force in this quarter was now called the Army of the Mississippi, being divided into two corps, the one to be under the immediate command of General G. W. Morgan, the other under Sherman.

McClelland's command was brief and hardly more than nominal.

The chief incident in it was the capture of Fort Hindman, forty miles up the Arkansas River. This fort formed a kind of defence for several steamers, which, sallying out into the Mississippi, annoyed the supply-boats, and made some considerable captures. A combined naval and military force — under Commodore Porter and General Sherman — was sent against this fort. On the 10th of January, the gunboats shelled the Southern sharpshooters out of their rifle-pits, and under their fire the troops pushed through the half-frozen swamps, where they encamped during the night. In the morning they advanced under a heavy fire, from which they suffered severely, and were on the point of assaulting, when a white flag was raised, and the fort was surrendered, with about 5,000 prisoners. The

capture cost nearly 1,000 men. The enemy, fighting under cover, suffered much less. So important was the fort held to be that Churchill, its commander, had been ordered "to hold on until help arrived, or till all were dead." He said that he would have done so, had not some of his soldiers hung out the white flag without his knowledge. The possession of the place, though of importance to the Confederates, was of no value to the Union army, and after some further raids up the river Fort Hindman was abandoned.

About the 20th of January Grant came down the river, and took command in person. From this time begins what may be styled the second siege of Vicksburg, closing by its surrender on the 4th of July, almost at the same moment when the great battles of Gettysburg had been fought and lost by the rebels.

The struggle for the possession of Missouri continued through the year, with varying success; but so little had military movements there to do with those on the hither side of the Mississippi that they can hardly be considered as influencing the general result. Nowhere else was the struggle so clearly defined in a slave State between the Unionists who were ready to sacrifice slavery to the Union, and those who were determined to save it by dragging the State into the confederacy. Had the President seen fit to sustain General Fremont's proclamation of emancipation, the issue between the two parties would at least have been more sharply defined and more speedily settled. There were about 115,000 slaves in the State. Had all these been freed and those capable of bearing arms been called into service, there can hardly be a doubt of what the result would have been. One of Gen. Halleck's earliest orders, on taking command in that State, was to forbid any fugitive slave from being received within the lines of the Union forces whether in camp or on the march. It was in accordance with Mr. Lincoln's border State policy that the order should pass unrebuked, and with such odds in their favor, the rebels of Missouri were encouraged to continue the struggle for the State.



David D. Porter

In December, 1861, General Pope had driven Price into Arkansas. The rebel General was soon reënforced by Earl Van Dorn with a body of 20,000 men, including about 2,000 Indians, under Albert Pike. General Samuel R. Curtis, who was in command in Southern Missouri, met and defeated this army, with about half the number, in a well-fought battle at Pea Ridge in March. His loss was 1,351 men, one half of which was in the division of Colonel Cass, who had borne the brunt of the fight. Curtis's intention was to push on to Little Rock, Arkansas, but for want of provisions — detained by low water in White River — he could only make his way to Helena on the Mississippi. General Schofield was at this time in command of the militia of the State, and through the summer his force, which was chiefly cavalry, was busy in clearing the country of parties of guerillas. One body of about 1,000 men was almost annihilated by Colonel Porter, and another of 1,200 was completely dispersed by Colonel Guitar, and the portion of the State lying north of the Missouri River was almost entirely rid of these marauders. In the western and southwestern portion of the State the rebels, for a time, were more successful, till General Schofield himself took the field. In a vigorous campaign continued through October and November, they were driven out of the State and followed into Arkansas, and finally dispersed in a fight with General Blunt at Maysville and General Heron near Fayetteville. The rebel General Hindman, who was in command in Arkansas, soon recruited his army by fresh conscriptions, and with 11,000 men met Heron at Prairie Grove with only 5,000. With these he withstood Hindman for half a day, till reënforced by Blunt with 7,000 men. The battle lasted till dark, when Hindman retreated. The Federal loss was 1,148: on the other side, 1,317.



Battle-flag of the Ninety-ninth Pennsylvania Regiment
(carried through thirteen pitched battles by Color-sergeant Munsell).

CHAPTER XXI.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR.

HOOVER IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. — THE MARCH TO CHANCELLORSVILLE. — THE BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE. — THE INVASION OF PENNSYLVANIA. — HOOVER SUPERSEDED BY MEADE. — BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG. — LEE RETREATS TO THE POTOMAC. — THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF VICKSBURG. — MEADE'S CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA. — OCCUPATION OF CHATTANOOGA. — BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA. — GRANT IN COMMAND OF THE DIVISION OF MISSISSIPPI. — THE SIEGE OF KNOXVILLE. — THE BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA. — SHERMAN'S MERIDIAN EXPEDITION. — BANKS'S RED RIVER EXPEDITION.

TILL toward the close of the year 1862 the war, on the part of the Administration, had been essentially defensive. The aim was to ward off the blows struck at the Union, and to give ^{use of colored troops.} in return as few blows as possible not demanded by this attitude of defence. With the beginning of 1863 the change came. It was to be no longer a war with erring brothers who had committed a mistake, but with rebels who had committed a crime. The cause of contention was slavery; the foundation on which the new Confederacy was to be built was slavery; by his proclamation of emancipation, Mr. Lincoln gave notice to the world that the cause and the object of disunion should exist no longer. Whether this might not have been done sooner, with all the gain that would have come with a two instead of a four years' war, is a speculative question that need not be discussed here. The effect now was decisive. Such



Robert G. Shaw.

a step was taken and could never be receded from; and one of its first results was to put into the hands of the Administration a material force, the use of which made the step irrevocable.

From the beginning the rebels had not merely relied upon the negro as the source of subsistence for the whole South, but he was used, whenever it was advisable to take him from the field of peaceful industry, for military purposes. It is one of the most curious instances of how complete the sway of the slaveholder had grown to be during the past sixty years, that while he used the slave for the destruction of the Union, he denounced as an atrocious incitement to insurrection the use of him to save the Union; and so habitual had submission become at the North, that it was not till January, 1863, that the Administration ventured to confront the popular feeling upon this subject by authorizing the enrolment of colored troops at the North. General Saxton, at Beaufort, South Carolina, had been authorized, only six months before, to enroll the slaves of rebels to the number of five thousand;¹ but the decisive step was not taken till, in a general order for the enlistment of volunteers, sent to Governor Andrew of Massachusetts, "persons of African descent" were, at the Governor's suggestion, included. He provided at once for the raising of two regiments of Northern blacks. In May, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts — Robert G. Shaw, Colonel — was reviewed on Boston Common, and embarked for South Carolina. A second, the Fifty-fifth — Colonel Norwood Hallowell — was soon after ready to take the field. If the question was not settled at the moment of the embarkation of the Fifty-fourth, it certainly was two months later, when Colonel Shaw led his regiment in a night assault upon Fort Wagner, in Charleston Harbor. The post of danger was given him at his own request: at the head of his men, under a tremendous fire, the parapet of the fort was gained and the colors of the regiment planted there, though it was only for a few moments; and at the head of his men he fell, with most of his officers, the mere fragment of the regiment that was left being led to the rear by a young lieutenant. The heroism that had braved the deep and bitter prejudice of the North, by taking command of this first colored regiment, and that proved the bravery and devotion of the blacks by their own splendid fighting, was not lost. Within six months there were 50,000 colored troops in the Union armies; within another year 150,000, notwithstanding the rebel Congress decreed that all white officers of such troops should

¹ The enlistment of slaves as soldiers seems to have been first suggested by Colonel John Cochrane, in a speech in November, 1861, at a serenade given to Secretary Cameron in New York, and a few days later, more emphatically, in an address to his regiment in Washington. The proposal received the cordial approbation of the Secretary of War on both occasions, and afterwards in his annual report to Congress.

suffer death if captured, and some privates who were taken were instantly shot.

General Joseph Hooker succeeded Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac near the close of January, 1863. It was to all appearance little more than a mob. In three months he made an army of it. It numbered 133,000 men, of whom

The two
armies.



Review of Colored Troops.

about 13,000 were cavalry. Confronting this great army Lee had not quite half as many. His muster-rolls showed 62,000 men, of whom 3,000 were cavalry. The national and rebel armies thus lay confronting each other near Fredericksburg, on the opposite banks of the Rappahannock.

On the morning of April 27th a movement was begun. A column of 36,000, made up of the greater part of the corps of Meade, Howard, and Slocum, moved thirty miles up the bank of the Rappahannock, crossing the river at Kelly's Ford, without opposition. Meade then moved down the opposite bank for ten miles, to another ford, brushing away three Confederate brigades, so that Couch, with 12,000 men, could cross; and then the four Federal corps, 48,000 strong, moved on by different roads to Chancellorsville, which had been designated as the place of rendezvous; Sickles, with 18,000 more, being only a few hours' march behind.

Turning the
Confederate
flank.

Lee was fairly taken by surprise. It was not till the evening of



Joseph Hooker

April 30th that he was at all aware that his left flank had been turned, and that the enemy in superior force were in a position to fall upon his unprotected rear, while with numbers hardly less than his whole army, they were menacing what had been his front. His measures were promptly taken. Jackson, whose main force was twenty miles away, was ordered up at once. He began his march at midnight, and in eight hours the head of his column was in sight. In three hours more the last man was there. So that before noon on Friday, May 1st, the Confederates were drawn up in line of

battle in front of the Wilderness, out of which Hooker was moving.

Hooker's defensive line was nearly in the shape of the letter C, the main front facing southward, the upper and lower curves looking east and west. Slocum was in the centre, Meade on the left, Howard on the right, with Sickles and Couch mainly in reserve, though a division of each was pushed forward into the front. Howard was weakly posted; but as the enemy were wholly on the Federal left, hardly reaching as far as the centre, he was unwisely thought safe enough for the present. But cavalry reconnoissances revealed his exposed position, and during the night the rebels resolved to attack there. This attack involved a perilous division of the rebel army in the presence of a superior force. Jackson, with 30,000 men, was to move by forest roads against the Fed-

The Federal
position.

eral right, while Lee, with barely 20,000, was to mask the movement by keeping up a noisy demonstration in front.

Jackson moved at daybreak, a mile of dense forest screening him from the observation of the enemy. At one point his line of march led him over a bare hill, where his long column ^{May 2.} could be seen by the Federal outposts. It was moving southward, as though in full retreat toward Richmond. Still the movement might be meant for an attack upon Howard's position, and he was directed to be upon the alert, especially to throw out pickets on his front, so as not to be taken by surprise, — a precaution which was inexcusably neglected. At three o'clock Jackson had made a circuit of fifteen miles, which brought him to within half a dozen miles from the point whence he had started. He halted only two miles west of Howard's position. The approach of an enemy was not even suspected. Howard's slight intrenchments were wholly unguarded: his men had stacked their arms, and were preparing their dinner. Herds of deer, scared from their leafy retreats, came dashing over the lines, followed in a few minutes by the rebels, who swarmed down by the road and through the woods. It was a complete surprise, executed in broad daylight. The regiments on whom the shock first fell were scattered without even a show of resistance; and the whole corps broke in wild disorder and fled toward Chancellorsville. But the pursuit was checked in two quarters. All day long Lee had kept up a noisy demonstration on Hooker's front. Pleasanton, with two regiments of cavalry and a horse battery, had pushed a little into the woods. He was riding leisurely back, when he came upon an open space filled with a confused mass of men and guns, the wrecks of Howard's routed corps, while the woods in front were swarming with the pursuing rebels. He brought the guns into position, and after a fierce but brief conflict drove the enemy back into the shelter of the dense forest. The rebels pressed the bulk of Howard's flying corps down the broad road toward Chancellorsville, where Berry's division of Sickles's corps was posted. Berry's men drove straight through Howard's flying masses and poured an artillery fire into the enemy, now almost as much disorganized by the pursuit as the fugitives were



Oliver O. Howard.

in the flight. They in turn fell back into shelter, and the action of the day was over as darkness gathered. Jackson, with a small escort, had ridden out to reconnoitre. Coming back, his party, mistaken for a troop of the enemy, were fired upon by their comrades. Jackson received three wounds, which proved fatal, and was removed from the field.

This partial engagement had of itself little significance. Excepting for the disorganization of Howard's weak corps, the Federals had really lost nothing; the bit of ground from which they had been driven was of no consequence; and moreover during the night

Reynolds's corps had arrived from Fredericksburg, giving Hooker a very large preponderance of force, and every advantage of position. He had now 75,000 effective men at and about Chancellorsville. The national forces were in one compact body; the rebels were in two bodies, separated by half a dozen miles of almost pathless forest, and it de-



The Chancellor House.

pend upon the incalculable chances of battle whether they could be reunited. Moreover, Sedgwick, with 25,000 men, might be fairly expected to drive back Early, who had but 10,000, on the heights of Fredericksburg, and could then join Hooker, who might be confident that during the day he would have not less than 100,000 men with him. The utmost that Lee could count upon, with Early added, was 58,000. Whether Lee was aware of the odds against him, may be questioned; but during the night he had sent orders to Stuart that "these people must be pressed." Hooker had already ordered a new line to be drawn up, to which he proposed to retire if too strongly pressed. But in the morning his position was essentially the same that it had been on the day before, saving the ground from which Howard had been driven. It formed three sides of an irreg-

ular parallelogram. The left, facing eastward, was held by Hancock's division of Couch's corps; the centre by Slocum; the right, facing westward, by Sickles and by French's division of Couch's corps. Reynolds and Meade were in reserve in the rear; Howard was upon the extreme left, where no attack was looked for. These last three corps bore no part in the fighting of the day.

Sickles's extreme left had been at a somewhat elevated point known as Hazel Grove, a little beyond the front of the general line. Hooker ordered him to withdraw from this, and it was at once seized by Stuart, — now commanding Jackson's former corps, — who planted there a battery of thirty guns, in a position from which Hooker's whole centre was completely enfiladed. As the morning fog was lifting, Stuart began the attack upon Sickles, who soon asked for support, as his ammunition was falling short. But for the moment there was no one to respond to the demand. Hooker had been leaning against a pillar of the house at Chancellorsville; this was struck by a spent shot from Hazel Grove, and he fell insensible from the concussion. Half of the two corps of Reynolds and Meade, if sent to Sickles, should have insured a victory; but the golden moment was lost. Sickles, having exhausted his ammunition, sent his now useless artillery to the rear, falling back a little to a line which he purposed to hold with the bayonet. Just at this moment, French, with a single division, struck Stuart sharply upon the left, but was soon repelled. This was the only offensive movement made by the national army on this day. Everywhere else it stood on the defensive. Lee, with the two divisions of Anderson and McLaws, assailed the centre, which Slocum was holding under the enfilading fire from Hazel Grove; but all the while Lee was edging around so as to unite with Stuart. The junction was effected at ten o'clock, when the battle yet hung in even scale. The losses had been heavy on both sides. Out of the 29,000 men whom Stuart had brought into action, he had lost 7,500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Sickles and French had lost 5,000 out of 22,000. The united rebel forces, now 42,000 strong, converged toward Chancellorsville. In their way stood Sickles and French, with 10,000 fewer; while not two miles distant on either hand were Reynolds, Meade, and Howard, with 42,000, not a man of whom was moved to the scene of conflict. The stress of the attack fell upon Sickles. Five times was the assault repeated, and as often repelled. Then all at once the whole line melted away, Sickles's corps yielding first. The real work of the action was performed by the rebel battery at Hazel Grove.

An hour before noon Chancellorsville was won by the assailants. Couch had by this time assumed some sort of command, and by his orders the whole army fell back to the position which had been

marked out the previous evening. As a defensive position this was a strong one. It formed a sharp curve, like the letter **U**, the apex nearly a mile from Chancellorsville, the two sides running back to the Rapidan, covering the fords of that river. The front could be approached only by almost impracticable roads, while each flank was protected by a small stream with densely wooded banks. Lee was on the point of attacking this strong position, when tidings reached him that Sedgwick had driven Early from the heights of Fredericksburg, and was moving to join Hooker near Chancellorsville. He sent four brigades to the aid of Early. Night now came on, and both armies bivouacked upon the field.



John Sedgwick.

On the morning of May 4th, the position of the Confederate army was apparently desperate. Of its 50,000 effective men, 30,000, under Stuart and Anderson, fronted Hooker, who had at least 70,000. Six miles eastward was McLaws with 10,000; three miles southward was Early with 9,000. Opposed to these was Sedgwick, who had nearly as many as both McLaws and Early. Lee's only hope seemed to lie in first crushing Sedgwick. He therefore weakened Stuart by detaching Anderson, with 10,000 men, to the support of McLaws and Early, who had now formed a junction. Deducting losses up to this time,

the Confederate force for this new movement was 27,000 men, the Federal 18,000. Skirmishing began early in the afternoon; but there was no very serious fighting until towards evening, when Sedgwick's right, under Howe, was forced back by Anderson to a strong position on the Rappahannock, below its junction with the Rapidan. All day Hooker was sending the most conflicting orders to Sedgwick. Early in the morning he was told to recross the river if he thought best; a little before noon he was told to remain where he was; during the night he was again bidden to recross; and the movement was nearly completed when the order was countermanded. Before the morning of the 5th dawned, Hooker had resolved to retreat, and threw up intrenchments to cover the bridges which he had laid over the Rap-

idan. In the afternoon a fierce storm sprang up, preventing Lee from renewing the attack. Before morning Hooker's whole army was on the other side of the river, making its way back to its old position opposite Fredericksburg.

The Federal losses in these battles were about 17,000, of whom 12,000 were reported as killed or wounded, and 5,000 missing. Of the killed and wounded, 7,000 were in the two corps of Sedgwick and Sickles, 4,400 in those of Slocum, Couch, and Howard, and only 600 in those of Meade and Reynolds. ^{Losses.} Of the missing, nearly half were from the single corps of Howard. The Confederate loss was about 13,000, of

whom 10,300 were killed or wounded, and 2,700 missing. Hooker, in speaking of this entire movement, says it failed "from causes of a character not to be foreseen or prevented by any human sagacity or resources." He affirmed that he "had fought no battle," because he could not get his men into position to do so. The result, however, coming so closely upon that of Fredericksburg, and coinciding with other apparent successes, inspired the most sanguine hopes at Richmond. It was resolved to renew the invasion of the North



George G. Meade.

upon a scale which it was believed would enable the South to conquer a peace and dictate its terms. Before a month had passed Lee had under his command a force of at least 100,000 men, organized into three corps under Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill, the cavalry, 15,000 strong, being under Stuart. It began its northward march early in June, moving down the valley of the Shenandoah. Hooker put his army in motion in a parallel direction, but upon the opposite side of the Blue Ridge. Lee, by an ostentatious stretching out of his line, apparently hoped to tempt Hooker into crossing the mountains. Finding this unavailing, he concentrated his entire force at Winchester. Milroy, with 10,000 Federal troops, was posted here. On the 15th of June Lee's advanced corps took Milroy by surprise, taking 2,300 prisoners. On the 24th and 25th the Confederate army crossed the Potomac at two

The invasion
of Pennsylv-
ania.

points, almost within sight of the battle-field of Antietam. At Hagerstown, in Maryland, the two columns united, and then pressed on toward Chambersburg, in Pennsylvania ; but leaving behind almost the whole cavalry force for a time to harass the Federal rear.

On the 26th Hooker also crossed the Potomac, and moved towards Frederick City, directing his line of march so as to threaten Lee's communications rather than to bring about a general engagement.

On the next day Hooker resigned the command of the army, and General Meade was appointed in his place. Hooker's resignation was merely the culmination of a long series of disagreements between him and Halleck. The immediate occasion of it was Halleck's refusal to put 10,000 men who were at Harper's Ferry, where they could be of no use, under the direct command of Hooker. Meade, however, made no change in Hooker's general plan. There were no changes in the corps-commanders, except that to Sykes was assigned what had been Meade's own corps, and Hancock received that of Couch, to whom the command of the Department of the Susquehanna was given. Reynolds, Sickles, Sedgwick, and Howard retained their old corps, the cavalry being placed under Pleasanton. The army numbered about 100,000.

Ewell's corps had now reached Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and was preparing to move upon Harrisburg, while Longstreet and Hill halted at Chambersburg. But during the night of June 28th, Lee received tidings which compelled him to change his plans. Meade had crossed the Potomac, and was advancing northward. Longstreet, Hill, and Ewell were ordered therefore to move towards Gettysburg, though neither Lee nor Meade was aware of the strategical importance of the place. That a battle must soon be fought, was evident to both commanders. That it was fought at Gettysburg, was a matter of accident. Meade's corps were spread over a wide space, a part under Reynolds being near Gettysburg, and a part under Sedgwick thirty-five miles southward, with others intervening. To concentrate the force, the advance was to be drawn back and the rear brought forward to the position on Pipe Creek, fifteen miles southeast of Gettysburg, the place selected by Meade for the collision of the hostile armies.

On the morning of July 1st, Hill was about six miles north of Gettysburg, when he learned that the place was occupied by a Federal force. Sending back to hurry up Longstreet, he pushed on. Reynolds sent out a cavalry reconnoissance in the direction from which Hill was approaching, and the advance of the forces came in contact about two miles northwest of Gettysburg. Reynolds went with infantry to the support of the cavalry, and the ac-

Meade succeeds Hooker.

Army movements.

Battle of Gettysburg.

July 1.

tion opened. He was killed at the beginning of the fight, and the command devolved upon Howard. The Federal forces at first gained considerable advantages. But before long the most of Hill's and Ewell's corps were on the field, outnumbering Howard two to one. The Federals were driven back in some confusion through Gettysburg, losing in all 10,000 men, of whom half were made prisoners. The remainder took up a strong position on Culp's Hill, in the rear of the town. Meade, who was fifteen miles distant, soon learned that there was fighting near Gettysburg, and sent Hancock with orders to take command of the force there, and to decide what was to be done. Hancock decided that this was the place to give battle, and sent word to



Battle-field of Gettysburg.

Meade to hurry up all his forces. Some of these came during the night, others early in the morning, and in the afternoon Sedgwick's corps reached the field after a march of thirty-five miles. Lee had in the mean while suspended operations until he could bring up his whole army.

A little after noon of July 2d, both armies were concentrated, and fairly in position, each occupying a ridge, separated by a valley one or two miles broad. The Federals were on Cemetery Ridge, directly south of Gettysburg. This ridge, about three miles long, is shaped like a fish-hook. Here and there it rises into craggy hills. On the extreme south is Round Top, next Little Round Top, then at some distance is Cemetery Hill at the bend of

the hook, and lastly Culp's Hill, forming the barb. The Confederate forces were mainly upon the opposite Seminary Ridge, Ewell's division, however, being at the foot of Culp's Hill, two miles away. Each army numbered about 75,000 men, exclusive of cavalry. The greater part of the Confederate cavalry was many miles away. Probably Lee greatly under-estimated Meade's strength, for with only a small part of his own force he assailed the strong position in which it was placed. Longstreet was to fall upon the left at the Round Tops, while upon the right, at Culp's Hill, Ewell was to make "a demonstration, to be converted into a real attack should opportunity offer." Meade had intended that his line should oc-



Gouverneur K. Warren.

cupy the crest of the ridge between Round Top and Cemetery Hill. Sickles being in the centre. At this point the ridge is comparatively slightly marked, but running diagonally to this is another and more prominent ridge. Sickles took post here, so that his line, instead of being continuous with that of Hancock, on his right, ran at a considerable angle from it, leaving between them a gap of nearly half a mile. Moreover, Little Round Top had been left unoccupied, and this was the key to the whole Federal position, for if

the enemy could seize it and plant a few guns there, the Federal line would be enfiladed from end to end.

Meade was on the point of rectifying the error into which Sickles had naturally fallen, when at three o'clock the battle was opened by the enemy, and it was too late. Hood's division of Longstreet's corps struck for Little Round Top, and began swarming up its rugged western side. Before they could gain the summit, Warren, who as engineer was examining the line, saw the peril, and brought forward a few regiments, who were a moment ahead of the enemy, forced them back, and held the disputed point. The remainder of Longstreet's corps pressed fiercely upon Sickles, who was borne from the field with his leg shattered. His corps was slowly forced back until it reached the true crest, where a new line was formed. The Confederates charged this, but encountered a fire from which they recoiled. Hancock, who now commanded the centre, ordered a coun-

ter-charge, and the assailants were driven back to the ridge previously occupied by Sickles. Ewell's demonstration upon Culp's Hill was delayed until the action on the left was nearly over. Most of the force here had been withdrawn to the aid of Sickles, and Ewell effected a lodgment within the outer line of the Federal intrenchments. The Union loss this day was fully 10,000, two thirds of which fell upon Sickles's corps, which lost nearly half its numbers. This action decided nothing, for Meade did not wish to hold the ground upon the left from which Sickles had been forced, and Ewell's foothold on the right was of no importance in itself. Still the Confederates had gained some apparent advantages, and, of these Lee said, "These partial successes determined me to continue the assault the next day."

His plan was, that Ewell should assail Culp's Hill, on the right, while the main effort was directed against the centre. But early in the morning Meade had forced Ewell from the posi-^{July 3.} tion which he had won, of which Lee was not informed. The morning was spent in preparation. Batteries, mounting one hundred and twenty guns, opened fire from Seminary Ridge. Meade had two hundred guns, but the Ridge is so rugged that not more than eighty could be put in position. The cannonade began an hour after noon, and was kept up until three o'clock. Some of the Federal guns were dismounted, but their place was supplied by others. The men were so sheltered behind a low swell, that there was little loss of life. After two hours, Hunt, Meade's chief of artillery, began gradually to slacken his fire, "in order," as he says, "to see what the enemy would do." Lee supposed that the Union batteries had been silenced, that the infantry must be confused and frightened, and he ordered the grand attack to be made. Everything had conspired to mislead him as to the force of his enemy. He could not have supposed that there were more than 40,000 men on the opposite ridge. He had no reason to doubt that Ewell had been successful at Culp's Hill, and would be able to hold his own in that quarter. Moreover, Stuart's cavalry had now rejoined him, and were ready to be hurled upon the foe when he began to retreat. So the decisive assault was committed to a column of not more than 18,000 men in all. These consisted mainly of Pickett's Virginians, of Hill's corps, who had not as yet been engaged, supported by the brigades of Pettigrew and Wilcox.

The column moved steadily down the slope of Seminary Ridge, and across the valley. It had been intended that the artillery should advance and support the infantry, but at the last moment it was found that their ammunition had been used up in the useless cannonade, and it was too late to replenish it. The column showed a front of fully

a mile. No sooner did it emerge from the woods than all the Federal guns, from Round Top to Cemetery Hill, opened upon it, plowing great furrows through the ranks, which were closed up as fast as made. The movement was at first directed somewhat to the left of the Union centre. Here, a little in advance of the main Federal line, and protected by rude intrenchments, was Doubleday's brigade, which poured a terrible musketry fire upon the enemy's flank. Bending a little to its left, the column pressed on until Pettigrew's brigade came to within three hundred yards of Hancock's line, which had reserved its fire. In a few minutes the whole brigade was streaming back in wild disorder. Pickett's division struck a weaker point, where Gibbon's front line was thinly posted behind a low



Winfield S. Hancock.

stone wall. Pickett charged straight over this, among the Union batteries, and for a quarter of an hour there was a confused hand-to-hand mêlée. The Federal soldiers rushed into the fight "helter-skelter, every man for himself, their officers among them," and drove the Virginians back over the low stone wall. Of Pickett's three brigade commanders, Garnett lay dead, Armistead mortally wounded within the Federal lines, and Kemper had been borne off to die. Of all that gallant band, not one in four escaped. The

rest were dead or prisoners. The attacking column, thus crushed in the centre, gave way everywhere else. The Confederate loss this day was 16,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the Federal loss being not one fifth as great. Hancock was severely wounded, and the command of his corps was temporarily given to Warren.

During the night Lee concentrated the remainder of his force behind the crest of Seminary Ridge, awaiting an attack. On the morning of the 4th, Meade held a council of war, at which it was decided that no attack should then be made. Before night a heavy storm set in, under cover of which Lee began his retreat, leaving a strong rear-guard to defend the passes through the mountains. By the 7th he had made the march of forty miles. The Potomac, which he had crossed almost dry-shod a fortnight before, was now swollen by heavy rains, and not to be forded. The bridge had been destroyed by a cavalry dash from Harper's Ferry, and he

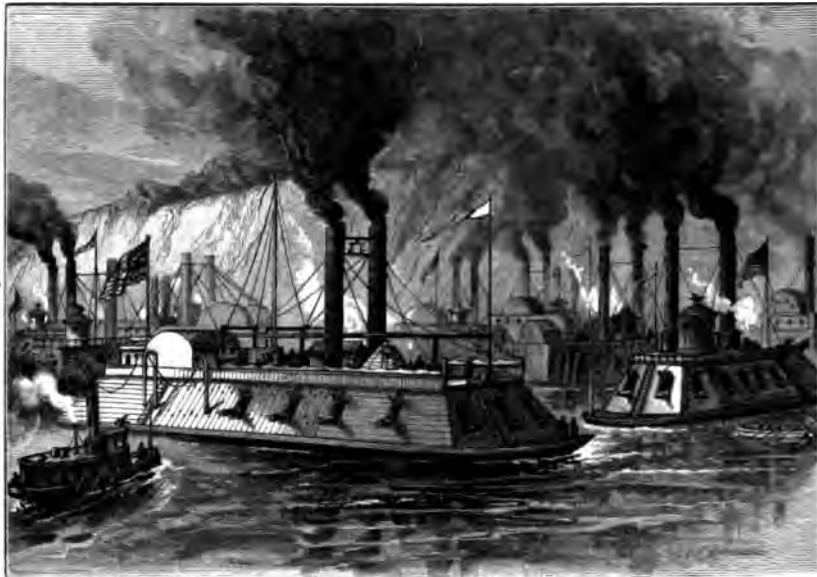
Lee's re-
treat.

had no alternative but to intrench himself until the waters should abate or a bridge be built. Meade, who had been considerably reinforced, came in sight of the Confederate intrenchments on the 12th. He wished to assail them at once; but a council of war decided to postpone the attack until reconnoissances could be made. On the evening of the 13th an order was issued for an advance the next morning. But when day broke, the enemy had disappeared. A slight bridge had been constructed, and the river had fallen so as to be fordable at a single point. By these passages the remains of the Confederate army had retreated, and the mighty invasion of the North, upon which so much had been staked, was at an end.

The Federal loss in the three days at Gettysburg was 23,190, of whom 2,834 were killed, 13,713 wounded, and 6,643 missing, most of whom were made prisoners on the first day. Losses. Of the Confederate loss there is nothing like an official statement. Careful estimates, from a variety of sources, make it not less than 36,000, of whom some 5,000 were killed and 23,000 wounded. The whole number of prisoners taken was 13,733, of whom about 8,000 were unwounded.

At the very hour of the final repulse at Gettysburg another great disaster befell the Confederacy in the surrender of Vicksburg, which had been so long besieged and so stoutly but in The siege of Vicksburg. the end so unskillfully defended. Grant took the personal direction of operations here early in the year. About the same time General J. E. Johnston was placed by the Confederate government in general command of all military operations in Mississippi. He got together all the disposable troops in his department, and undertook to relieve Vicksburg, or at least to save the army under Pemberton, by which it was defended. The siege of Vicksburg resolved itself into a campaign over a wide extent of country, conducted on each side by a commander fertile in resource and of undaunted courage, each perfectly comprehending what the other had in mind. Johnston wished to save Pemberton's army either by strengthening it where it was, or by withdrawing it in time. Grant wished to prevent a junction; that is, to force Pemberton into Vicksburg, and to keep Johnston out of it. So with one hand he had to ward off Johnston, while with the other he struck rapid and telling blows at Pemberton. All this demanded movements and counter-movements, and several engagements ensued, which may fairly rank as battles. The grand result was that on the evening of May 17th Pemberton's army was fairly driven into Vicksburg, while positions had been secured by which he was completely shut in and Johnston as completely shut out. Then began the seven weeks' close siege of Vicksburg.

Grant at first thought the Confederates were so disheartened that Vicksburg might be taken by assault. On the 19th he made a slight but ineffectual attempt. This was renewed on the 22d, with more determination, but with like ill-success, at a cost of three thousand men, the enemy losing scarcely a third as many. It was now clear that the place could be taken only by regular approach and formal siege. This was sternly prosecuted. Before the end of June famine began to press upon the people. Mule flesh took the place of



Porter's Fleet.

beef and bacon. A barrel of flour sold — in Confederate currency — for \$1,000; corn meal at \$140 a bushel; molasses at \$10 a gallon. The steady fire from the Federal gunboats had reduced the city to a heap of ruins. Half the people were living in holes dug into the hill-sides, and even here they were not safe. Rod by rod the works of the besiegers crept up to those of the besieged. They mined and counter-mined against each other. On the morning of July 1st a mine was exploded under an important part of the outer Confederate line, damaging the interior works so that not one of the garrison could show his head without its becoming a mark for some sharp-shooter. A practicable breach had thus been made.

The line of defence broken anywhere was broken everywhere. Grant had now fully 60,000 men for the attack; Pemberton not a quarter as many for the defence; for of the 21,000 nominally with

him, 6,000 were in the hospitals. On the morning of July 3d, it was clear that Grant was on the point of assaulting. Pemberton sent a message asking for an armistice, and the appointment of commissioners to arrange terms of capitulation. Grant would accept only an unconditional surrender. The terms were settled that day, although the surrender was not formally made until the morning of July 4th. The garrison was paroled, not to take up arms again until exchanged by proper authority. Officers were to retain their side-arms and private baggage, and field and cavalry officers one horse for each. Privates were to keep their own clothing, and to have rations sufficient to enable them to reach their homes.

Surrender of
Vicksburg.

The military results of this campaign, as summed up by Grant, were: "The defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg; the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg, its garrison, and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of 37,000 prisoners, at least 10,000 killed and wounded, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, who can never be collected and re-organized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, and much that was destroyed to prevent our capturing it." He might have added the fall of Port Hudson, which Farragut with a naval, and Banks with a land force had vainly attempted to reduce, but whose surrender was inevitable after the fall of Vicksburg. The entire Federal loss in Grant's operations was 8,575, of whom 943 were killed, 7,095 wounded, and 537 missing. The fall of Vicksburg reopened the Mississippi from its headwaters to the Gulf of Mexico.

Results of
this cam-
paign.



Nathaniel P. Banks.

The military operations in Virginia for the remainder of the year may be very briefly narrated. At the close of August the conscription had augmented the Confederate force very considerably. Their muster-rolls showed 56,327 "present for duty." Meade's force was largely reduced. One division was sent to South Carolina to aid in the siege of Charleston. The disgraceful draft riots in New York had indeed been suppressed, but the opposition to the draft was still so threatening that a large number of troops was detached from the

Army of the Potomac to maintain order in New York. Those riots, if not, primarily, an outbreak of the rebellion, were meant to be used as an efficient aid to it at the North. From the steps of the City Hall in New York, the Governor of the State, Horatio Seymour, addressed a crowd of ruffians, bent upon slaughter and robbery, as "my friends;" the leading opponents of the war sat — there is good reason for believing — in secret conclave during the first two days, to devise measures, not to suppress the mobs, but to guide them into revolution; and this project was only relinquished when it became evident that the thieves, and the Irish assassins of helpless negroes, were beyond control, and must be left to be dealt with by the military and the police.

New York
riots.

During the early days of September, Lee's force was about equal to that of Meade. But in the West things looked ill for the Confederates. Rosecrans had manœuvred Bragg out of the stronghold of Chattanooga, and was apparently pressing him hard in Tennessee; so Longstreet's corps was detached to the aid of Bragg, reducing Lee's effective force to 44,000 on the last day of September. Meade then, without waiting for orders, moved his army across the Rappahannock, establishing himself at Culpepper, Lee falling back behind the Rapidan, where he took up a strong position.

Meade was now in a region of which he knew nothing, and could learn nothing except by means of cavalry reconnoissances. This took time; but he had just formed a plan of operations, when tidings came that things were going badly in the West. Bragg — or rather Longstreet — had defeated Rosecrans at Chickamauga, on the 20th of September, and a quarter of the Army of the Potomac must be sent to Tennessee. The corps of Howard and Slocum were chosen for that purpose, under the command of Hooker. Early in October, Meade was reënforced by the return of most of the regiments which had been sent to New York, and by some altogether worthless troops furnished by the draft. His force, as he estimated it, was between 60,000 and 70,000; the enemy, who had also been somewhat strengthened, he supposed to be about 10,000 less. As a matter of fact, the Confederate muster-rolls on the last day of October showed 45,614 effective men.

During these months Lee and Meade were continually feeling each other, each looking for some weak point at which to strike. The last of these inconclusive operations took place near the close of November. Lee, supposing that active operations for the season were over, had scattered his troops over a wide space. Ewell was posted upon a line fifteen miles long upon Mine Run, a little affluent of the Rapidan, near the western border of the Wilderness. Then, with an interval of some miles, lay Hill's

Mine Run.

corps, its extremity being at Charlottesville. The distance from one end of the line to the other was certainly not less than forty-five miles. Meade's army of 70,000 lay compactly together, only a few miles from Mine Run, the Rapidan separating him from the enemy. It seemed entirely feasible to fall upon Ewell, and crush him before he could be aided by Hill. For this purpose a force of nearly 60,000 men was to be set in motion on the 24th of November. But a storm delayed operations until the 29th. The movement had become known, and Hill had come up to the aid of Ewell. The Confederates, strongly posted, were quite willing to be attacked. Meade wisely decided that nothing more could be done in this inclement season, and withdrew his force across the Rapidan to its former position. With this abortive attempt, the campaign of 1863, in Virginia, came to an end; both armies retiring into winter quarters to await the opening of the next spring.

At the West, after the battle of Stone River, Rosecrans showed, for the next six months, a feebleness which contrasted strangely with his former vigor. June had come, and almost gone, ^{Chattanooga occupied.} before he even attempted a movement against Bragg, who had posted himself only a score of miles from Murfreesborough. Then Bragg fell back to Chattanooga, out of which he was manœuvred early in September; and on the 8th the Federal forces took possession of that place of so much military importance. Rosecrans, supposing that the Confederates were in full retreat for Alabama, moved his whole force after them; but Bragg, having been largely reinforced, and knowing that Longstreet's corps from Virginia was close at hand, resolved upon an effort to recover Chattanooga. Both armies had become much scattered in that mountainous region; but on the 18th of September they were fairly concentrated upon the Chickamauga — "the Dead River," — twelve miles from Chattanooga.

The battle was opened upon the 19th, the immediate object of the Confederates being to get possession of the road leading to Chattanooga. There was hot fighting all the day, but ^{Battle of Chickamauga.} with no decided advantage upon either side. During the night, Longstreet arrived with his corps, and received the immediate command of the Confederate left, Polk being assigned to that on the right. Thomas, who commanded the Union left, repulsed a sharp attack by Polk; but upon the right, where Rosecrans commanded in person, Longstreet was wholly successful. Rosecrans galloped back to Chattanooga, whence he telegraphed to Washington that his whole army had been beaten. Not so thought Garfield, his chief of staff. The two riding together came to a point where the roads diverged. One led to Chattanooga, the other in the direction where

Thomas was posted, and where there was the sound of a steady firing, unlike that of a routed army. Thither, while Rosecrans rode on to Chattanooga, Garfield asked leave to go. He found Thomas sorely pressed by superior numbers, yet standing firm as a rock. Polk was assailing his centre and left, Longstreet fighting still more strenuously upon the right. Assault after assault was made, and repulsed.



James A. Garfield.

The final charge was made at about four o'clock. Longstreet had discovered a gap in the hills, almost upon Thomas's rear, through which he began to pour his heavy column. At this critical moment, Granger, who had been held in reserve, came up with a division which had never before seen a fight. If they had been veterans of a hundred battles they could not have done better. Bravely as the Confederates fought, they were fairly out-fought. Longstreet's last effort was made at about sunset.

Two of his divisions tried to force their way through a narrow gorge which was commanded by a battery of six guns. They charged up almost to within a few yards of it, but the fire was too heavy to be withstood. They fell back, and the battle was over. Thomas, having held his position, fell back towards Chattanooga, still showing a firm front. On the 21st he was quite ready to fight again. But Bragg was not disposed to attack; and on that evening Thomas withdrew into the defences of Chattanooga, whither the remainder of Rosecrans's army had preceded him.

The battle of Chickamauga was a formal victory for the Confederates, for they had forced the enemy from the field, and kept possession of it; but beyond this they gained nothing worth having, for Chattanooga remained in the hands of the Federals. The numbers actually engaged were probably about 50,000 on each side, although some 10,000 of Rosecrans's force were isolated early on the first day, and took no further part in the battle. The losses were heavy on both sides. The Federal loss was 16,351, of whom 1,644 are reported as killed, 9,622 wounded, the remainder being "missing," many of them probably killed. They also lost fifty-one guns, but captured fifteen, making the net loss thirty-six

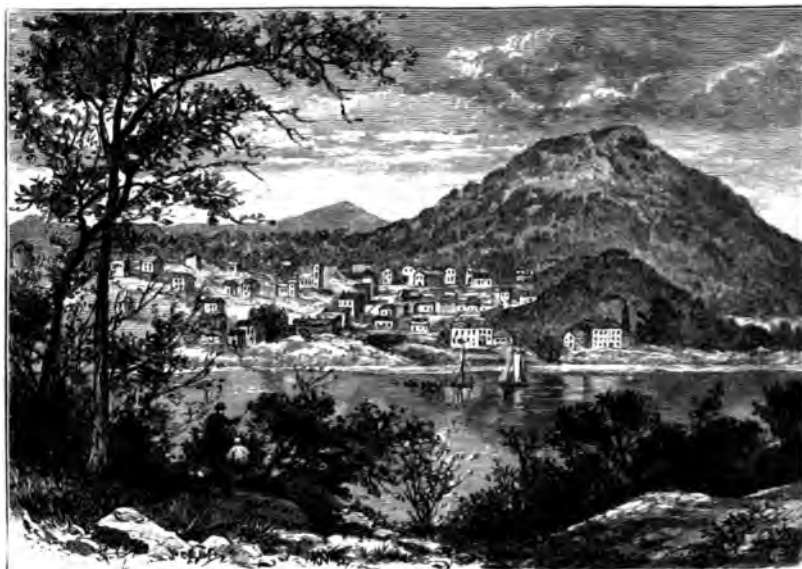
guns. The Confederate loss is nowhere stated in full. Taking the official reports as far as they go, and estimating the rest, it was not far from 16,000 killed and wounded, and 2,000 prisoners. Bragg says loosely that he lost two fifths of his command, which would bring his loss up to fully 20,000; but such general statements are worth little. That Rosecrans was outgeneraled at Chickamauga is clear, and his escape from a ruinous defeat was owing wholly to the firmness of Thomas.

Bragg now proceeded to beleaguer Rosecrans in Chattanooga by cutting the roads through which supplies reached him. It had for some time become clear that Rosecrans was no longer the man for the position. On the 19th of October he was relieved, and Thomas was placed in command of this army, Rosecrans being assigned not long after to the command of the now unimportant department of the Missouri. Just before this the whole Western region had been erected into the "Military Division of the Mississippi," comprising the departments and armies of the Ohio, Cumberland, and Tennessee, Grant having the command of the whole. He was directed to go at once to Chattanooga, which place he reached on the 23d of October, having four days before telegraphed to Thomas to hold fast at all hazards. "I will do so till we starve," was the prompt reply of Thomas.

Early in the spring Burnside, having been relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, was assigned to the command of the Department of the Ohio, his headquarters being at Cincinnati, but his army, of about 20,000, was concentrated near Richmond, in Kentucky. About the middle of August, while Rosecrans was moving towards Chattanooga, Burnside moved through a difficult mountain region towards Knoxville. He took possession of the town on the 9th of September, and occupied himself in restoring the Federal authority in that region.

Towards the close of October, Jefferson Davis made a visit to Bragg at his headquarters overlooking Chattanooga. He thought that the Federal army there was in a trap from which it could not escape, and accordingly it was decided that Longstreet should be sent to wrest Knoxville from the grasp of Burnside. This movement was begun early in November. From Chattanooga to Knoxville the distance is about eighty miles. Longstreet's march was delayed by many causes; but on the 17th he appeared before the town, upon which he made an assault the next day. He was foiled in this, and set himself to take the town by famine. But before this could be done, the battle of Chattanooga had been fought, and Grant was at liberty to send aid to Burnside. Longstreet, probably not

knowing how completely Bragg had been routed, resolved upon an almost desperate attempt to take Knoxville by storm on the morning of the 29th. Fort Sanders was the key of the defences. In the gray of the morning the assault was delivered. The Confederates burst through the abatis, crossed the ditch, climbed the parapet, some of them even crawling through the embrasures; but they were speedily forced back into the ditch. A second attempt was made, with like result. Then a truce was asked, that they might carry off their dead



Chattanooga.

and wounded; they were 500 in number, while of the defenders hardly a half score were hurt.

Grant, after winning the battle of Chattanooga, had on the 28th sent Sherman with a strong force to the relief of Burnside. Knoxville relieved. "Seven days previously," says Sherman, "we had marched from our camps on the west side of the Tennessee, with only two days' rations, without a change of clothing, and with but a single blanket or coat to a man, from myself to the private inclusive. We had no provisions save what we gathered by the road, and were ill-supplied for a march. But twelve thousand of our fellow-soldiers were beleaguered at Knoxville, eighty-four miles distant, and they must be relieved in three days." It took twice three days, for the difficulties were great. Thus, on the 2d of December, when forty miles from Nashville, the Little Tennessee had to be crossed. The river was not fordable, and it took till the 4th to build a bridge. On

the night of the 5th, a message came from Burnside, announcing that Longstreet had abandoned the siege, and was retreating towards Virginia.

Soon after the middle of November, Grant had moved to dislodge Bragg from the commanding position which he held overlooking Chattanooga, "The Hawk's Nest" of the Cherokees. On the 23d he was ready to strike a decisive blow. He had 80,000 men, all well in hand, while Bragg, weakened by the absence of Longstreet's corps sent to Knoxville, had about 50,000. Bragg's line was some twelve miles long. The essential features of it were two elevations overlooking the valley in which Chattanooga lies. On the south is Lookout Mountain, rising to the height of 2,400 feet. On the east is the somewhat lower height of Missionary Ridge,—so called because the Catholic Fathers had many years before established there a chapel and school for the benefit of the Cherokees. Operations were begun on the evening of the 23d, when the Confederate picket lines were driven back, and favorable positions gained. On the morning of the 24th, Hooker was sent to assail the position upon Lookout Mountain. A dense fog concealed the movement; and the Confederates, taken by surprise, fled from the position, without much fighting, but with the loss of 2,000 prisoners. The dense fog had settled into the valley, and completely hid from view the movements upon the mountain. This engagement has been poetically styled the "Battle above the Clouds."

The battle
of Chat-
tanooga.

On the morning of the 25th, Sherman was ordered to assault the position upon Missionary Ridge, which was so strong that, as Bragg says, "no doubt was entertained of our ability to hold it, and every disposition was made for that purpose." Several determined assaults were made and repelled; but late in the afternoon, three divisions, under Sheridan, Wood, and Baird, stormed the ridge, and broke the Confederate line. The routed army retreated southeastward to Dalton, in Georgia, taking up a strong position, where it remained almost inactive until May, when Sherman commenced the Atlanta campaign, which led to his march to the sea. In the battle of Chattanooga the Federal loss was 5,616, of whom 757 were killed, 4,529 wounded, and 330 missing. The Confederate loss in losses. was not more than 4,000; but there were fully 6,000 prisoners; they also lost about forty guns.

With the battle of Chattanooga properly closed the military operations of 1863. But two enterprises which took place early in 1864 properly belong to this campaign. After the capture of Vicksburg, and the opening of the Mississippi, the rebels still held two lines of railroad, one running north and south to Mobile, the other east and

west, the two lines connecting at Meridian in Central Mississippi.

The Meridian expedition. It had been the intention to cut these roads immediately after the capture of Vicksburg, but the necessity of bringing

Sherman to Chattanooga delayed the execution of this plan. The Confederates being driven from Tennessee, Sherman determined to execute it. He moved from Vicksburg on the 3d of February, reached Meridian on the 14th without opposition, and began the work of destruction. During five days there were 10,000 men at work. Meridian had been thought so safe that several of the Confederate of-



Destroying a Railroad.

icers were here building fine residences. It was left a smoking ruin. Private houses actually occupied were spared. Everything else — dépôts, store-houses, arsenals, hospitals, cantonments — was destroyed. The destruction of the railroads was the main object of this expedition. The troops soon learned how to do this work most effectually. The rails and ties were torn up; the ties were piled into heaps, and the rails laid across them. The pile was then kindled, and when the rails were red-hot, they were taken off and twisted, sometimes around trees, for it had been found that a rail merely bent could be easily straightened, while a twisted one was useless. Sherman returned to Vicksburg early in March, having been gone not quite a

month. Many things which he had set about doing were not done, owing to the failure of some of his subordinates to perform their assigned part. But the general result is equalled only by his subsequent march from Atlanta to Savannah and through the Carolinas. During the month of February he had marched four hundred miles into the very heart of the Confederacy, and had lost in all less than two hundred men. He had destroyed one hundred and fifty miles



Colonel Bailey's Dam.

of railroad, sixty-seven bridges, seven hundred trestles, twenty locomotives, several thousand

bales of cotton, and two million bushels of corn; while more than 8,000 liberated slaves accompanied him in his return march.

During the summer of 1863, the movements of the French in Mexico rendered it desirable that the United States should occupy some portion of Texas. Shreveport, the head of navigation on the Red River, three hundred and fifty miles from New Orleans, was fixed upon as the base of operations. Banks was to send a strong force from New Orleans; General Steele was to move another from Little Rock, in Arkansas; while Porter, with a fleet of twelve gunboats and thirty transports was to ascend the river. The execution of this project was delayed by the operations in Tennessee, but after the close of the Meridian campaign, Sherman furnished Banks temporarily with 10,000 men from his army, under the command of General A. J. Smith, who embarked from Vicksburg on the 10th of March, reaching the mouth of the Red River on the 12th, where they expected to be joined by Banks's column,

Banks's Red
River Expe-
dition.

15,000 strong. The army reached Natchitoches, one hundred miles below Shreveport, and then commenced its march through the pine forests by a single road, the column being nearly thirty miles long. On the 8th of April, Banks was attacked by the Confederates at Sabine Cross Roads, and suffered a loss of 3,000 men. He fell back to Pleasant Hill, where on the next day he was again attacked. The enemy were repulsed, but Banks resolved to abandon the expedition. On the 27th he reached Alexandria, after a march of eighty miles. He lost in all 5,000 men, eighteen guns, 130 wagons, and 1,200 horses and mules. The river had in the mean time fallen so low that the fleet was unable to descend the rapids at Alexandria. But Colonel Joseph Bailey constructed a dam, by which the water was raised sufficiently to permit the passage of the vessels. Steele, with some 15,000 men, had in the mean time marched from Little Rock; but learning of Banks's retreat, he fell back, and the unfortunate expedition came to an end.



Making Road through Swamp.



Richmond.

CHAPTER XXII.

GRANT IN VIRGINIA. — SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.

GRANT MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL. — THE FORCES IN VIRGINIA — GRANT'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN. — BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS. — BATTLES AT SPOTTSYLVANIA. — FLANKING MOVEMENTS. — MINOR OPERATIONS. — THE SECOND BATTLE OF COLD HARBOR. — THE MARCH TO THE JAMES RIVER. — SHERMAN AT THE SOUTH. — PLANS OF SHERMAN AND JOHNSTON FOR THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN. — ENGAGEMENT AT RESACA. — BATTLE AT KENESAW MOUNTAIN. — JOHNSTON SUPERSEDED BY HOOD. — THE BATTLES NEAR ATLANTA. — CAPTURE OF ATLANTA. — HOOD DEFEATED AT NASHVILLE. — SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA. — THE CAPTURE OF SAVANNAH.

MEADE'S campaign in Virginia, after the battle of Gettysburg, had been inconclusive. The leading members of the Congressional Committee upon the Conduct of the War urged that he should be removed. They were in favor of the reappointment of Hooker, but would acquiesce in that of any other general whom the President should think better fitted for the place. But all eyes had been turned to Grant, and it was tacitly conceded that he should be made the commander of all the armies in the field. For this purpose the grade of Lieutenant-general was revived, and upon the 19th of March, 1864, his commission was formally presented to him by the President. Henceforth the control of military operations

Grant made
Lieutenant-
general.

was to be in the hands of a soldier, free from the dictation of civilian authority, even that of Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War. Grant bears emphatic testimony in this regard. He says: "The Secretary of War has never interfered with my duties. He has never dictated a course of campaign to me, and never inquired what I was going to do, and he has heartily coöperated with me."

The appointment of Grant to the chief command involved several important military changes. Sherman was put in special charge of operations in the West. Halleck was made Chief of Staff, his duties being merely nominal. Meade had shown high capacity, but not the highest. At Grant's request



William T. Sherman.

he was continued in the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac. Grant bears emphatic testimony to his fitness for this position. He says: "Commanding, as I did, all the armies, I tried, as far as possible, to leave General Meade in independent command of the Army of the Potomac. My instructions for that army were all through him, leaving all the details of execution to him. The campaigns which followed proved him to be the right man in the right place."

The arrangements for the spring campaign of 1864 were made upon the assumption that the Federal armies would consist

of not less than a million of men. On the 1st of May they nominally came within 30,000 of this number, but of these only 660,000 were reported as "present for duty." Of these, 310,000 were in Virginia and the Carolinas, where the Confederates had not more than 125,000. The immediate contest here was to be between the Federal Army of the Potomac, about 140,000 strong, and the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, numbering about 65,000, including Longstreet's corps, which had just returned from the West, after its ineffectual attempt upon Burnside at Knoxville. The Army of the Potomac was organized into three corps, designated as the Second, Fifth, and Sixth. Hancock, having recovered from the wound received at Gettysburg, was placed in command of

The forces
in Virginia.

the Second, the Fifth was given to Warren, Sedgwick retained the Sixth. Besides these was the newly-organized Ninth Corps, under Burnside, which contained many colored troops. It had been intended to send this corps to North Carolina, but the exigencies of the campaign rendered it necessary to add it to the Army of the Potomac, Burnside waiving his nominal superiority in rank, and cheerfully serving under Meade, who only a few months before had been his subordinate. Besides the 140,000 of the Army of the Potomac, there were 42,000 in and about Washington, 31,000 in Western Virginia, 59,000 in what was styled the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, of whom 25,000, known as the Army of the James, under Butler, were supposed to be available for service in the field. In South Carolina, Georgia, and other minor departments, were about 38,000 more. All these constituted the 310,000 under Grant, opposed to the 125,000 Confederates in the same region.

Grant, knowing his great preponderance in numbers, and yet fully appreciating some advantages of the enemy in position, had decided upon his plan of campaign. "I was impressed," he says "with the idea that active and continuous operations of all the troops that could be brought into the field, regardless of the season and the weather, were necessary to a speedy termination of the war. The resources of the enemy and his numerical strength were far inferior to ours; but, as an offset to this, we had a vast territory, with a population hostile to the Government, and long lines of communications to protect, to enable us to supply the operating armies. It was a question whether our numerical strength and resources were not more than balanced by these disadvantages. I therefore determined to use the greatest number of troops, and to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but equal submission with the loyal sections of our common country to the Constitution and laws of the land." There were two great Confederate armies to be met and crushed,—that of Lee in



Ambrose P. Hill.

Virginia, and that of Johnston in Georgia. The latter task was committed to Sherman. Grant instructed him "to move against Johnston's army, break it up, and go into the interior of the enemy's country, as far as possible, inflicting all the damage that can be done upon their war resources." The instructions to Meade were of like tenor: "Lee's army is to be your objective point; wherever that goes, you must go." The series of operations contemplated in this plan was to be commenced simultaneously, and as nearly as possible on the 1st of May.

The Confederate Army of Northern Virginia had lain in winter quarters along the south bank of the Rapidan, the lines stretching about twenty miles. The position, naturally strong, had been skillfully fortified. In front, rifle-pits commanded every ford, and intrenchments crowned every hill-top. An assault in front was neither apprehended by Lee nor intended by Grant. The attack would be by turning the line either on the right or the left. Lee supposed that this would be made upon his left, and had massed the bulk of his force in that direction. The corps of Ewell and Hill lay behind the defences of the Rapidan, their centre being at Orange Court House; while Longstreet's corps was at Gordonsville, thirteen miles farther to the southwest. But Grant decided to move by Lee's right. He hoped, that after forcing the enemy from his intrenchments on the Rapidan, he might bring him to battle somewhere north of Richmond; but failing in that, he meant to follow him wherever he should go.

Before daylight on the morning of May 4, the Army of the Potomac marched in two columns for the lower fords of the Rapidan. Such a movement could not escape observation, and as the columns neared the river signal fires gave notice of their approach. But the crossing was to be made ten miles below the extremity of Ewell's line, as much farther from the centre of Hill's corps, and thirteen miles more from Longstreet's position; so that Lee was unable, had he been so disposed, to dispute the passage of the river. He may not have cared to do this; for in a few hours the Federal army would be entangled in the Wilderness, where its great superiority in numbers would be of little moment. During the winter Lee had caused accurate surveys to be made of the region, so that every rood of it, every road and by-path, were known to him, while his opponent must necessarily know little of the character of that wild region. With his 65,000 men Lee believed he could overmaster twice that number if brought against him.

On the evening of the 4th of May the headquarters of Grant and Meade were at a roadside inn near the centre of the Wilderness.

The passage
of the
Rapidan.

Through the Wilderness from north to south, starting from Germana Ford, runs a tolerable road. Nearly parallel with this, half a dozen miles distant, is another road, passing near Chancellorsville. These two roads, after many windings, come together near Spottsylvania Court House. By these, neither of them very good, Grant proposed to unite his two columns, after they had got clear of the Wilderness. But running east and west through this region, are two other good roads, starting from Orange Court House, running nearly parallel, about three miles apart, until they unite at Chancellorsville. They thus cross, at nearly a right angle, the roads by which Grant's columns must advance. Moving by these Lee proposed to strike upon the flanks of Grant's long columns, with the hope of cutting them in two, and routing them.

When, therefore, Lee learned that the Federal army was heading for the fords of the Rapidan, he put his columns in motion. At nightfall the advance of Ewell's corps lay within three miles of the Federal headquarters. Hill, having farther to go, was some distance behind. Longstreet, still farther off, was ordered to come up with all possible speed. Grant anticipated no attack, and his plan for the next day was to move leisurely on by the different roads. If there had been no interruption, the whole Army of the Potomac would have cleared the Wilderness that day.

Warren moved early on the morning of May 5th. By way of precaution, a body of cavalry had on the preceding afternoon ridden some distance down the turnpike and found no enemy, for Ewell was still some miles away. On this morning other cavalry were sent down the road, up which Ewell was now moving. These troops came in contact, and the Battle of the Wilderness was begun. Still the Federal commanders anticipated no real battle. Meade said, "They have left a division here to fool us." At the outset the Confederates were forced back for a space; but they were continually reënforced, and then the Federals were driven back. An hour before noon Grant was convinced that the enemy was in force and meant to fight. He ordered Sedgwick to support Warren, while Hancock, who was some miles ahead, was to move back and join Warren at the junction of the roads. The fighting here was close and furious until four o'clock in the afternoon, with little advantage on either side. Both then drew back, and intrenched themselves.

Each commander planned to attack the other early in the morning. Lee was a few minutes the quicker, throwing Ewell against the Federal right. This movement, which was only a feint, was repelled, without delaying the assault which Grant had ordered Hancock to make upon the Confederate right, where Hill was driven

Battle of the
Wilderness.

May 5.

May 6.

back for a mile and a half. Longstreet's veteran corps stayed the flight. A flank movement had been planned for him; but while preparing to execute it, he was severely wounded by a mistaken fire from his own men, and the command of his corps devolved upon R. H. Anderson. Both sides were much broken up during the morning; but not long after noon Lee flung the corps of Hill and Longstreet upon Hancock, who had intrenched himself behind a breastwork of pine logs. No impression was made upon this until four o'clock, when a fire which had sprung up in the dry forest reached these works. The wind blew the smoke and flames right in the faces of the defenders. The Confederates swarmed over, but were soon driven back to their own lines. This virtually closed the battle, although after dark Ewell made an unexpected attack upon a portion of Sedgwick's corps, cutting off and capturing two brigades, numbering 3,000 men, with hardly any loss to himself. The two days' battle was fought almost entirely by musketry, for the nature of the ground precluded any effectual use of cavalry or artillery, and rendered manœuvring impossible. The losses on both sides were great. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about 15,000, besides 5,000 prisoners. The Confederates lost about 10,000 killed and wounded, and few prisoners. Still the real advantage was on the side of Grant, for Lee had failed in his bold and skilful attempt to repeat the success of Chancellorsville.

The 7th was spent in reconnoissances, which convinced Grant that Lee was in no condition to attack, and that, though quite willing to be assailed in his intrenchments, he could be flanked out of that strong position. In the evening the army moved toward Spottsylvania Court House, fifteen miles to the southwest, by different roads. Lee moved toward the same point, reaching it a little in advance, thus gaining time to intrench himself upon a commanding ridge from which he could be forced only by hard fighting. Monday, May 9th, was spent in preparations. A heavy fire was kept up from the Con-

Battle of
Spottsyl-
vania.

federate lines upon every point where Federal batteries were being erected. At one of these points Sedgwick was killed by a rifle-bullet, while placing a battery in an exposed position from which his men had shrunk. The next two days there was much sharp but indecisive fighting, but the general result seemed to Grant to presage success. On the 11th he sent to the War Department a despatch, some sentences of which have become historic. "We have," he says, "now ended the sixth day of very hard fighting. The result to this day is much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy. I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer." The work, however, was done



U. S. Grant

on a quite different line, and took not only all summer, but all autumn and winter, and reached far into the next spring. Grant's final report, written a year later, has a somewhat different tone. In this he says: "The 9th, 10th, and 11th were spent in manœuvring and fighting, without decisive results." The Federal loss during these three days was about 10,000 in killed and wounded. The Confederates, fighting behind intrenchments, suffered far less.



Death of General Sedgwick.

Lee's left had been found impregnable; but there appeared to be a weak point in his centre, and upon this a strong assault was made. In the gray dawn, and under cover of a dense fog, May 12. Hancock's corps dashed upon this point, which was a salient angle thrust forward from the main line. Without firing a shot, the Confederate pickets were swept back; the abatis was passed, and the breastworks carried. Here was Johnson's division of Ewell's corps, numbering 4,000 men, three fourths of whom were made prisoners.

But this salient was only an outwork of no great importance, for half a mile behind it a second line had been laid out and partly fortified. Here Ewell took firm stand, and was speedily reënforced by Hill and Anderson. The position was a vital one for the Confederates, for if it were carried, their line would be severed. The fierce fight which ensued, lasting all day and far into the night, was one of those of which even the combatants themselves can give no clear account. The greater part of both armies were engaged. They charged and countercharged, each in turn being driven back. In the end, the Federals retained the salient which they had won in the morning, while the Confederates held their line close behind it, so that their position was not really weakened. The Federal losses were not far from 10,000 in killed and wounded. The Confederates lost fewer in killed and wounded, but more in prisoners.

Grant had struck a heavy, but not a crushing blow. For another week he tried to find a weak point in the Confederate line, but was everywhere confronted by intrenchments too strong to be assailed.

Flanking movements. During this time he received reënforcements fully equal to his losses. He then resumed his flanking movements. Lee, to counteract these, ventured an attack upon Grant's right flank which was repelled with no little loss. But on the morning of the 22d, Lee saw before him no trace of the great army with which he had been fighting. He could not be mistaken as to the direction in which it had gone, and the purpose which it had in view. So he broke up his camps, and hastened to throw himself again across its line of advance toward Richmond.

The North Anna. Two days of quick marching, through a region as yet untrodden by armies, brought Grant to the North Anna. Lee, having a less distance to go, was there before him, on the opposite bank. His settled policy was not to oppose seriously the passage of a river in his front, choosing rather to intrench himself a little behind it, and await an attack. Grant sent the corps of Hancock and Warren across the river, at points four miles apart. Lee thrust the bulk of his force like a wedge between the two columns, securing a chance of striking one of them when it could not be supported by the other. Grant, appreciating this manœuvre, brought back his columns, and on the 26th resumed his turning movements, which were, within a few days, to bring both armies to their old fighting-ground on the Chickahominy. While on the North Anna, Lee was reënforced by about 15,000 men, — hardly half as many as he had lost; so that, relatively to his opponent, he was weaker than at the opening of the campaign. Lee had been able to receive these reënforcements because of the utter failure of a part of Grant's plan of campaign.

Sigel was to operate in the valley of the Shenandoah. On the 15th of May he encountered Breckinridge, and was badly defeated. He was removed from the command, which was ^{Minor operations.} given to Hunter, who met with no better success, and retreated by a wide detour, leaving Breckinridge free to join Lee.

At the opening of the campaign, Butler, in command of the Army of the James, 25,000 strong, lay at Yorktown. He was to move toward Richmond, and at least to seize Petersburg. He moved early in May, but his plans were poorly made, and worse executed. Beauregard, now in command of the Department of South Virginia, outgeneraled him, and on the 16th Butler found himself "bottled up," as he phrased it, at Bermuda Hundreds, a peninsula formed by a sharp bend of the James, twenty miles south of Richmond. Things had gone badly in Virginia, except where operations had been conducted under the immediate eye of Grant.

Grant's turning movement brought him at the close of May to the Chickahominy, near the place where the battle of Cold Harbor had been fought two years before. Lee was already ^{Second battle of Cold Harbor.} there, and the position had been strongly fortified. Grant resolved to attack the Confederates in their intrenchments; for if they were defeated here, they could only escape by going up the river, while Sheridan's cavalry might probably gain their front, cutting off their retreat. Preliminary operations were begun on the 31st of May. But the real battle was on the 3d of June. In the gray dawn, and under a drizzling rain, F. C. Barlow's division of Hancock's corps struck the first line of the Confederate intrenchments, and carried it. A hailstorm of lead was poured upon them from an interior line. They faced this for a quarter of an hour, and then fell back behind a low ridge, leaving half their number behind them. Gibbon's division met with no better success; Smith's division, of the Army of the James, fought a little longer upon another point, with equal and equally unavailing valor. But the whole battle lasted hardly an hour, when the attack was abandoned. It had cost the Federals not less than 7,000 men; the Confederates losing fewer than half as many.

The battle decided that the campaign must take the form of a siege of Richmond. Two courses were open to Grant. He might invest the city from the north, or, crossing the ^{On the Chickahominy.} Chickahominy and the James, besiege it from the south. The latter plan was chosen. For a few days longer the armies lay confronting each other on the Chickahominy, Grant gradually extending his intrenchments to the south, Lee extending his works in the same direction, the two lines being so close together that

men on each side were picked off by sharpshooters while working in the trenches. The continuous skirmishing was interrupted only on the 7th of June, when there was a brief truce to enable each side to bury its dead.

The movement to the James was fairly begun upon the 12th, when Warren's corps crossed the Chickahominy, by the Long Bridge, masking the movements of the other corps, which marched by longer routes; Smith's division of the Army of the James going to the Pamunkey, whence it sailed down the York and

The march
to the
James.



A Picket Guard.

up the James, rejoining Butler at Bermuda Hundreds, on the 14th. Lee could not be long ignorant of this movement, which he was unable to obstruct. He supposed that it was Grant's purpose to move upon Richmond by the north bank of the James. He therefore crossed the Chickahominy, and fell back to the strong intrenchments in front of Richmond. His army there, including those which Beauregard had brought from North Carolina, numbered 70,000. Grant's force, including Butler's Army of the James, numbered 150,000. The Federal columns moved rapidly, and on the evening of the 13th came in sight of the James, across which a pontoon bridge, two thirds of a mile long, had been laid, over which, and by means

of boats, the army crossed; the passage occupying three days. It was soon in the position from which Grant proposed to conduct the investment of Richmond, although it took the form of the siege of Petersburg, eighteen miles distant, and on the opposite side of the James River.

Between the battle of the Wilderness and the close of the fighting upon the Chickahominy was a period of thirty-seven days, during which Grant lost 54,551 men, of whom 9,856 were reported as "missing." Lee lost not far from 42,000, of whom about 8,500 were prisoners. Besides these were considerable losses in the engagements between Butler and Beauregard near Bermuda Hundreds, and in minor operations in various portions of Virginia. Probably not fewer than 100,000 men, on both sides, were killed, wounded, or captured within a little more than five weeks.

After its defeat at Chattanooga, late in November, 1863, the Confederate Army of Tennessee retreated thirty miles southeastward to Dalton, near the northern boundary of Georgia. Towards the close of December Bragg was superseded in the command of this army by J. E. Johnston. The authorities at Richmond desired that he should advance against the Federal forces, and drive them from Tennessee. His available army at Dalton then numbered 41,000, but he was promised reënforcements which would give him 75,000.

The command of all the Federal forces in this region had been given to Sherman. His department comprised the Army of the Cumberland, under Thomas; the Army of the Tennessee, under McPherson; and the Army of the Ohio, under Schofield. On the 10th of April these armies numbered 180,000 men present for duty. In explaining his plan of operations, he wrote to Grant: "The most difficult part of my problem is that of provisions. But in that I must venture. Georgia has a million of inhabitants. If they can live, we should not starve."

From Dalton to Atlanta the distance in a direct line is about eighty miles, but considerably more as measured by the roads actually trav-



Oliver P. Morton, War-governor of Indiana.

ersed. Both armies had to depend for supplies upon what could be brought by railway. Sherman drew his from Chattanooga, Nashville, and even Louisville, hundreds of miles away, by a single line of railway, liable to be broken at any point. Johnston received his supplies likewise by a single railway line, from Atlanta. If that were to be interrupted in his rear, his army would in a few days be starved out. The campaign from Dalton to Atlanta took the essential form of a continuous movement by Sherman upon Johnston's line of supply,



Joseph E. Johnston.

and the consequent falling back by Johnston, from every position as soon as it was likely to be turned. Both generals perceived that this was likely to be the shape which the opening campaign would take. Each knew very nearly the force which his opponent could bring against him. On May 1st, Johnston had at Dalton a little more than 42,000 effective men; Sherman had, close by, not quite 100,000. Within a month Johnston received reënforcements, raising his force — irrespective of losses — to 64,000. Sherman also was re-enforced from time to time, so that, except at rare intervals,

the Federal army outnumbered the Confederates two to one.

Sherman had no intent to attack Johnston at Dalton, but undertook to turn him out of it by a movement upon Resaca, fifteen miles to the south. Polk's corps from Alabama was already there, and on the 13th the Confederates fell back from Dalton to Resaca. The operations during the remainder of May presented almost uniform features. Johnston fell back from position to position as he found himself outflanked. "All this time," says Sherman, "a continual battle was in progress by strong skirmish lines, taking advantage of every species of cover, and both parties fortifying each night by rifle trenches, many of which grew to be as formidable as first-class works of defence. Occasionally one party or the other would make a dash in the nature of a sally, but it usually sustained a repulse."

The early days of June were occupied by both armies in *manceuvres*

against each other, the result of which was that on the 10th the Confederates were found strongly posted upon three contiguous hills, known as Kenesaw, Pine Mountain, and Lost Mountain. Kenesaw Mountain.

"On each of these hills," says Sherman, "the enemy had signal stations, and fresh lines of parapets. Heavy masses of infantry could be distinctly seen, and it was manifest that Johnston had chosen his ground well, and had prepared for battle; but his line was at least ten miles in extent — too long, in my estimation, to be held by his force, then estimated at 60,000."

Three weeks were occupied in movements and counter movements; and then Sherman determined to attack the fortified lines of the enemy. The attack was made on the morning of June 27th. Both commanders agree as to the gallantry of the assault and the completeness of the repulse. Johnston, speaking of the decisive point, says: "The Federal troops pressed forward with the resolution always displayed by the American soldier when properly led. After maintaining the contest for three quarters of an hour, they retired unsuccessful, because they had encountered intrenched infantry, unsurpassed by that of Napoleon's Old Guard, or that which followed Wellington into France, out of Spain." Sherman says: "This was the hardest fight of the campaign, up to that date. About nine o'clock the troops moved to the assault, and all along our lines for ten miles a furious fire of musketry was kept up. At all points the enemy met us with determined courage and in great force. By 11.30 the assault was in fact over, and had failed. We had not broken the rebel line at either point, but our assaulting columns held their ground within a few yards of the rebel trenches, and there covered themselves with a parapet." The Confederate loss in this engagement was 808 men, killed and wounded; the Federal, about 2,500. The direct attack had failed; but simultaneous movements compelled Johnston to evacuate the strong position, abandoning the mountain region, and falling back into the level country watered by the Chattahoochee, wherein Atlanta is situated, the intrenchments of which, says Johnston, had for a month been strengthened by the labor "of all the negro laborers which could be collected."

The passage of the Chattahoochee by Sherman, about the middle of July, was one of the most brilliant operations of the war. Still Johnston was nowise disheartened. His Johnston superseded by Hood. army, on the 10th of July, after all its losses, numbered something more than 50,000 effective men. Besides these, Governor Brown, of Georgia, promised to give him within ten days 10,000 State militia. On the 17th of July, Johnston was surprised by the receipt of an order from the Confederate Secretary of War

relieving him from command and appointing Hood in his place. Before noon of next day this change of commanders was known to Sherman. "I immediately inquired," says he, "about Hood, and learned that he was bold even to rashness, and courageous in the extreme. I inferred that the change of commanders meant 'fight.' This was just what we wanted; that is, to fight upon open ground, on anything like equal terms, instead of being forced to run up against prepared intrenchments; but at the same time, the enemy, having Atlanta behind him, could choose the time and place of attack, and could at pleasure mass a superior force on our weakest points. Therefore we had to be constantly ready for sallies."

Hood sallied more than once against the Federal armies which were slowly closing in towards Atlanta. The fiercest of these sallies took place on July 22d; the action being commonly called the Battle of Atlanta. It was fought mainly, on the Federal side, by McPherson's Army of the Tennessee. McPherson was killed a little before noon, and the command of his army devolved upon Logan. The assault by the Confederates failed at every point. The month of July was one of constant fighting upon a greater or smaller scale.



James B. McPherson.

The siege of Atlanta continued until September 1st. "The position," says Sherman, "was healthy, with ample supply of wood, water, and provisions. The skirmish lines were held close up to the enemy, and kept up a continuous clatter of musketry. The main lines were held further back, adapted

to the shape of the ground, with muskets loaded and stacked for use. The field-batteries were in select position, covered by handsome parapets, and occasional shots from them gave life and animation to the scene. The men loitered about the trenches carelessly, or busied themselves in constructing huts." The main efforts of Sherman were directed to the destruction of the railroads centering at Atlanta. Hood, finding that it was impossible to prevent this, evacuated the town, which was occupied by the Federal army on the 5th. The entire Federal loss during the whole campaign from Dalton to Atlanta was 4,423

Capture of
Atlanta.

Losses.

killed, 22,822 wounded, and 4,442 missing, 31,687 in all. The Confederate loss was 3,044 killed, 18,962 wounded, and 12,983 prisoners, 34,979 in all.

The capture of Atlanta had effected only a part of the object of the campaign, for Hood's army, still nearly 40,000 strong, had escaped; and although Sherman had fully twice as many, he thought it useless to pursue. He therefore resolved to convert Atlanta into a purely military post, and ordered all the inhabitants to leave the town. Hood lingered in the neighborhood until the close

Defeat of
Hood.



Atlanta.

of September, when he set out upon his fatal expedition to Tennessee; the original purpose being to destroy the railroads by which the Federal army was supplied. Sherman anticipated the movement, and sharp fighting took place about Allatoona. Hood pressed on until he reached Resaca about the middle of October. Thence he moved towards Nashville by a wide circuit. Thomas had already been sent there. Hood appeared before Nashville early in December. On the 19th he was attacked by Thomas. Fierce fighting ensued, lasting two days, ending in the total rout of the Confederates.

Sherman had already set out on his long march from Atlanta to the sea, a distance of two hundred and twenty-five miles in a direct line. He had made sure that there was no force in the way which could impede his march, the object of which was, first to destroy the railroads in Georgia, which would damage

The march
to the Sea.

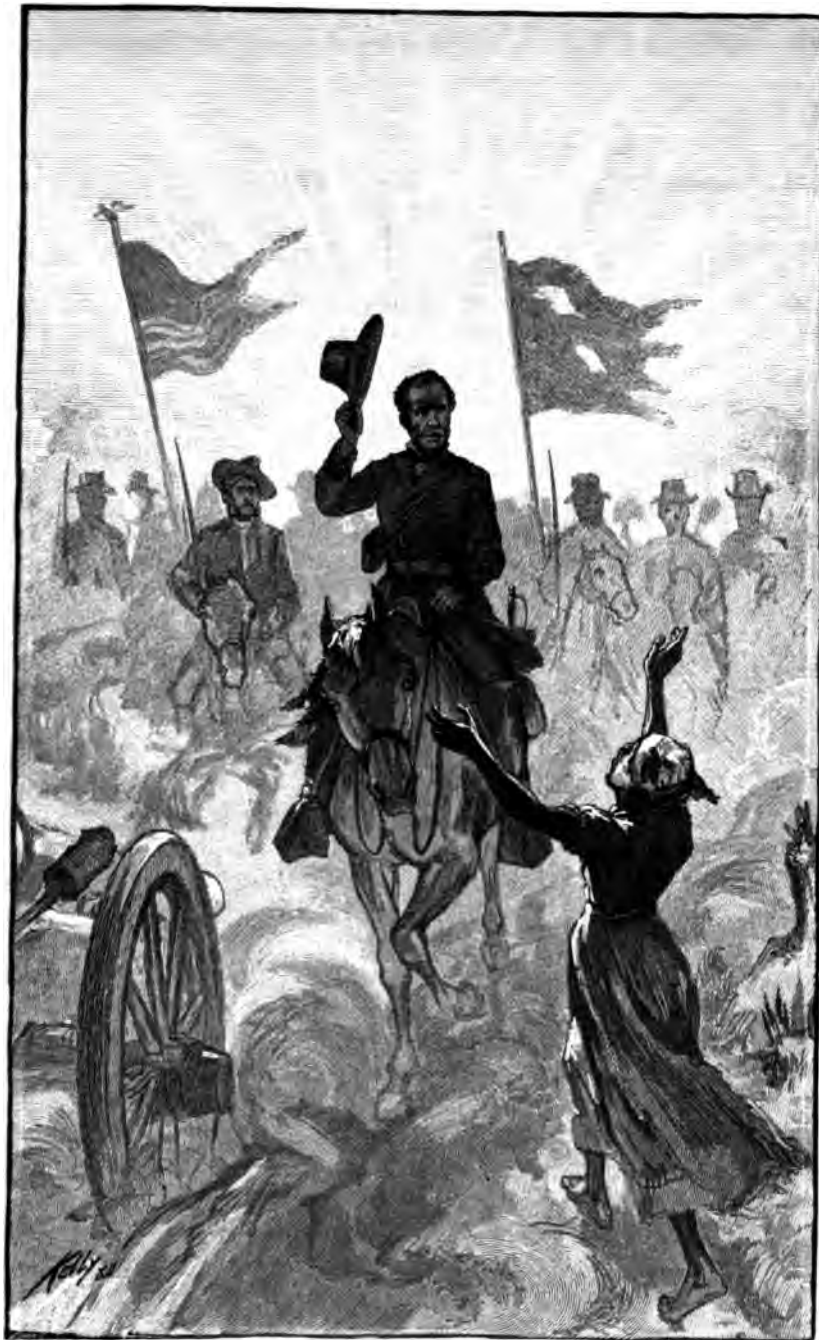
the Confederacy even more than the seizure of the Mississippi had done, and then to unite with Grant. All the store-houses, machine-shops, and depots in Atlanta were destroyed by fire and powder, and on the 16th of November the march was begun. The army numbered about 60,000 men of all arms, all non-combatants and sick having been sent north. The force was divided into two wings, one under Howard, the other under Slocum, each wing consisting of two corps; the cavalry, under Kilpatrick, receiving orders directly from Sherman. The army was to live upon the country. The soldiers were forbidden to enter any dwelling-houses, but when in camp they were allowed to gather vegetables and drive in any stock which was in



Henry W. Slocum.

sight of the encampment. Wherever the army was unmolested, no houses or mills were to be destroyed, but if guerillas should appear, or if roads were obstructed or bridges burned, the army commanders were to "order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of the local hostility." The cavalry and artillery were to appropriate freely such horses and mules as they needed, "discriminating between those of the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor and industrious, who are usually neutral or friendly."

Appeals earnest and almost frantic were put forth to the people to stay the march of this army. Beauregard, writing from Corinth on the 18th of November, thus urges the people of Georgia: "Arise for the defence of your native soil. Obstruct and destroy all the roads in Sherman's front, flank, and rear, and his army will soon starve in your midst. I hasten to join you in the defence of your homes and firesides." On the same day Senator B. H. Hill wrote from Richmond, his letter being "cordially endorsed" by Mr. Seddon, then Secretary of War: "You have now the best opportunity ever yet presented to destroy the enemy. Put everything at the disposal of our generals. Every citizen with his gun, and every negro with his spade and axe, can do the work of a soldier. You can destroy the enemy by retarding his march." Half a dozen Georgian members of Congress wrote on the 19th: "We have had a special conference with President Davis and the Secretary of War, and are able to assure you that they have done and are still doing all that can be done to meet the emergency that presses



“GLORY! HALLELUJAH!” AN INCIDENT OF SHERMAN’S MARCH.



upon you. Let every man fly to arms. Remove your negroes, horses, cattle, and provisions from Sherman's army, and burn what you cannot carry. Burn all bridges, and block up all roads in his route. Assail the invader in front, flank, and rear, by night and by day. Let him have no rest." But all these urgent appeals came to nothing. There were indeed in Central Georgia few men capable of responding to them. Almost every able-bodied man had been brought into the army. Some were with Lee in Virginia; the rest were with Hood in his wild expedition into Tennessee. Only upon two or three occasions was there anything like an attempt to interfere with Sherman's operations, and these were mainly limited to endeavors to obstruct the work of detached parties who were engaged in destroying the railroads.

Sherman's march was little more than a grand military promenade, made somewhat difficult toward the close by rainy weather, and the swampy nature of the country, which required miles of roads to be corduroyed to enable the trains to pass. "But," says he, "no opposition from the enemy worth speaking of was encountered until the heads of the columns were within fifteen miles of Savannah, when all the roads leading to the city were obstructed more or less by felled timber, with earthworks and artillery; but these were easily turned, and the enemy driven away."



John A. Andrew, War-governor of Massachusetts.

On the evening of the 10th of December the heads of the several columns were from three to eight miles from Savannah, where Hardee had got together a force of about 15,000 men. As the Federal army approached the city, some show of resistance was made. Torpedoes and shells had been buried in the ground, by the explosion of which several men were wounded. The Confederate prisoners were compelled to remove these. On the day before, three scouts had been sent to communicate with the fleet. They hid by day in the rice swamps, paddled down the river by night, and were picked up by a gunboat. They bore this despatch from Howard: "We have had perfect success, and the army is in fine spirits." This was the first tidings received from Sherman's army during the month which had passed since it had cut loose from Atlanta.

Capture of
Savannah.

Fort McAllister, fifteen miles below Savannah, was the only real obstacle in the way of communication with the fleet. It was a strong redoubt, mounting 24 guns, with a garrison of 200 men. It was carried on the 13th, after a brave resistance. Sherman now demanded the surrender of the city, which was refused by Hardee. It seemed that Savannah could only be captured by regular siege, and preparations were made for this. But, during the night of the 21st, Hardee evacuated the city, marching his force toward Charleston; and Sherman took possession of it on the following day. Sherman wrote to the President: "I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition; also, about 25,000 bales of cotton." This message reached the President on Christmas eve.

This march to the sea, more than 300 miles by the roads travelled, occupying a month, cost the Federals in all 785 men, killed, Losses. wounded, and missing. The Confederate prisoners numbered 1,338; of their loss in killed and wounded, there are no records. During the march, more than 20,000 bales of cotton were burned, and an immense amount of provisions and stores was seized. But, what was of far more injury to the Confederacy, 320 miles of railroad were destroyed, severing the last links of communication between the Confederate armies in Virginia and the West. Saving the immense amount of provisions and stock seized, very little damage was done to private property, except in a few cases of extraordinary provocation.



Ruins of Fort Sumter.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CLOSING SCENES OF THE WAR.

CONDITION OF PRISONERS. — NAVAL AFFAIRS. — RICHMOND AND PETERSBURG. — OPENING OF THE SIEGE OF PETERSBURG. — EARLY'S RAID IN MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA. — BURNSIDE'S MINE AT PETERSBURG. — PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE. — SHERIDAN IN THE VALLEY OF THE SHENANDOAH. — THE ARMY IN WINTER QUARTERS. — FORT STEEDMAN. — BATTLE OF FIVE FORKS. — EVACUATION OF RICHMOND. — THE FALL OF PETERSBURG. — SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH THE CAROLINAS. — ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT. — CAPTURE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

SHERMAN'S march from the interior to the Atlantic coast was the complement of Grant's movement upon Richmond. Each was necessary to the other; and neither alone, The general movement. probably, would have brought so speedy an end to the rebellion, if, indeed, it could have been brought to an end at all without the combined operations of the two Generals. The resources of the North were not exhausted, nor the zeal and determination of the greater part of the loyal people abated. But delays were growing dangerous. The Democratic Convention at Chicago, in August, declared the war a failure, and nominated for the Presidency the General — McClellan — on whom they had relied so confidently to make it so. Well-meaning but timid and short-sighted persons more than once embarrassed the President by placing him in a position where to the unreflecting he might seem to be rejecting overtures of peace, when in reality he was only cautiously avoiding a cunning pitfall which some astute rebel had inveigled a superserviceable and credulous peacemaker to dig. Mr. Lincoln was rechosen President in 1864, spite of these and other inimical influences; but it is questionable whether the faith and the strength of the Unionists could have held out against them all another year, had Grant met with the same ill-success as his predecessors.

But, whether so or not, it is at least plain that on this movement against the central power of the rebellion — Lee's army — everything depended. Much else was done elsewhere, both by land and sea, in these later months of the rebellion; but, though these events were in themselves important and interesting, as they

encouraged or discouraged either one side or the other, they did not necessarily influence the final event. There were in the West bodies of troops, large enough almost to be called armies, besides the army with Sherman. The rebel General Forrest appeared in Western Tennessee and Kentucky, early in the year, with 5,000 men, and gave the Union troops in that region quite enough to do. His only success of any moment, however, was the capture of Fort

Fort Pillow. Pillow, forty miles above Memphis, on the Mississippi

River. The fort, commanded by Major L. F. Booth, was garrisoned by about 600 loyal Tennesseans and blacks. The



Prisoners at Andersonville.

place was carried by assault; but when resistance had ceased, officers and men were massacred, even on the next day. The memory of the old Indian wars, when the earlier savages tortured their prisoners, was revived by the acts of the rebels at Fort Pillow. No discrimination was made as to age, sex, condition, or color — blacks and whites, women, children, and the sick were slaughtered; men were nailed to the floors and walls of huts by their clothing, and the huts set on fire. These deeds of cruelty were afterwards denied, in spite of evidence which cannot be gainsaid. The denial, however, came only from the personal sensitiveness of Forrest. For cruelty was the animating spirit of the rebellion, and the prison discipline at Anderson, Salisbury, and other places where Union prisoners were held, was a rigidly observed policy of delivering to



THE SURRENDER OF LEE.

death the greatest number, in the briefest time, by any means short of acknowledged murder. As early as 1862, General Beauregard wrote to Richmond to inquire if the bill for the execution of prisoners had passed Congress; it was, he said, "high time to proclaim the black flag."

Of the naval events of the year, the reduction of the forts in Mobile Bay by Admiral Farragut was the most important, as it closed the port, and assured the capture of the city itself ^{Farragut at Mobile.} the following March. Charleston harbor, however, was still open to the blockade-runners. It was so completely commanded by the many batteries on its low shores, that Dupont and Dahlgren successively failed, the year before, to carry their fleets within these defences; and, though General Gillmore had reduced Fort Wagner, and made Sumter almost a heap of ruins, the harbor was, to the end, a safe refuge to all vessels that succeeded in getting into it. In June, the worst enemy to the commerce of the nation that the war had produced — the *Alabama* — was sunk in the English Channel, by Captain Winslow, of the *Kearsarge*. ^{Sinking of the Alabama.} In October the formidable ram *Albatross* was blown up in Roanoke River by Lieutenant William B. Cushing. The small boat from which he affixed a torpedo to the side of the ram was shattered as she went down, and the dauntless sailor escaped by swimming.

In Virginia events had so shaped themselves that the campaign must take the form of a siege of Richmond. ^{Richmond.} Lee had every reason to believe that with the 70,000 men under his command he could hold his lines there against any force which might be brought against them, so long as his army could be fed. Napoleon laid it down as a maxim that 50,000 National Guards, with 3,000 gunners, will defend a fortified capital against an army of 300,000. Richmond had become a well-fortified city. The works were not indeed imposing in appearance. They consisted of low redoubts, with forts at salient points; but it had been demonstrated at Sebastopol that such works, resolutely held, were fully equal to the elaborate constructions of Vauban and Coehorn. Lee had more men by half than Napoleon thought necessary for defence against twice the number that Grant could bring to the siege.

That the actual siege of Richmond took the form of a siege of Petersburg, was owing to the fact that this town was the ^{Petersburg.} focus to which several roads converged. Taking these roads in order, there were the Richmond Railroad, coming in from the north; the City Point Railroad, on the northeast; the Norfolk Railroad, on the southeast; the Weldon Railroad, from the south; the Southside Railroad, from the west. Besides these were several

plank roads and turnpikes, diverging from Petersburg, like the spokes of a wheel. These railroads, joined by short cross-lines, formed the main means of supply for the Confederate force after those from the Valley of the Shenandoah had been thoroughly interrupted.

Up to near the middle of June the importance of Petersburg had not been appreciated on either side. It was practically unfortified, although slight works had been thrown up some months before. These were so feeble that they were ridden over early in May by 1,500 Federal cavalry. Grant had hardly crossed the

Attempt
upon Peters-
burg.



Destruction of the Albemarle.

James, when he perceived the importance of Petersburg to his plan of operations. On the 14th of June a feebly executed movement was made by Smith against the place. There seems to be no good reason why it should not have been successful. Grant came upon the ground next day, took general charge, and on the evening of the 16th an attack

was made in great force. Beauregard with 8,000 men had come up from South Carolina. The Confederates held their ground stoutly; but late in the day all seemed lost. Beauregard had gone from the front into the town, when a horseman hurried after him to announce that the Federals had carried the defences, and were about to enter the city. The General returned toward the front, to find his troops rushing back in full flight. A single fresh brigade opportunely arrived from before Bermuda Hundreds, and by its aid the flight was stayed. Night put an end to the fighting; and under cover of dark-

ness Beauregard fell back to a position which he had already selected for a further stand. It was wholly unfortified ; but the men, although without proper intrenching tools, worked with a will, and before noon of the 17th the position had come to be a strong one ; and moreover Lee, now aware of the importance of Petersburg, had hurried down large reënforcements from before Richmond. In the afternoon of the 17th, the contest was renewed for a portion of the original Confederate line which had not been abandoned. At a cost of 4,000 men Hancock and Burnside carried these points. A general assault was ordered for the morning of the 18th. But when the skirmishers moved forward, it was found that the enemy had fallen back into their interior position, from which, says Grant, "they could not be dislodged, and consequently the army proceeded to envelop Petersburg, as far as possible without attacking fortifications." The operations of these four days cost the Federal army almost 10,000 men, of whom more than 2,000 are set down as "missing." The Confederate loss did not exceed 5,000.

The siege fairly began on the 19th of June. Within two days the Federals had thrown up strong lines parallel with those of the Confederates. Grant's first attempt against the rail-roads was made on the 21st, against the Weldon road. The region to be traversed was covered by forests and swamps, and intersected by creeks all running southward, which had to be crossed by the Federal force, while between them ran several good roads by which the Confederates, coming from Petersburg, could strike the advancing columns in the flank. The operation was confided to the corps of Wright and that of Hancock, now temporarily commanded by Birney. On the morning of the 22d, Hill flung his corps upon these, and, aided by Longstreet, checked the movement. This effort cost the Federals not far from 4,000 men. At the same time Kautz's and Wilson's divisions of cavalry had gone by a wide detour to strike the Weldon and Danville railroads. They were so far successful as to destroy many miles of rails ; but in returning they met with repeated disasters, losing at least 1,000 men, and rejoining the army in wretched plight. Yet it took three weeks to repair the injury done to the roads by this expedition. Then Lee had only thirteen days' rations for his army. To feed it, the Commissary-general had to offer the market price for wheat still standing uncut or shocked in the field. This price had been one dollar a bushel in specie, or twenty dollars in Confederate currency, and from that it rose at a bound to forty dollars. That is, Confederate paper, which had been current at twenty dollars for one in specie, fell suddenly to forty for one, then rapidly to sixty for one, and would soon have been utterly worthless had not the

Opening of
the siege.

government sold specie at the rate of one dollar for sixty in paper. The bankruptcy of the rebel government was Grant's potent ally. This cavalry expedition, in some respects disastrous, did much to hasten that bankruptcy. Grant, looking back after a year, was justified in affirming that "the damage suffered by the enemy in this expedition more than compensated for all the losses we sustained."

But during the summer the Confederate army of Northern Virginia was to all appearance more threatening than at any former period of the campaign. After all its losses it was nearly as strong as it was when it moved upon Grant in the Wilder-



Petersburg.

ness, foiled him at Spottsylvania, held him in check upon the North Anna, and defeated him upon the Chickahominy. The efficiency of the Federal army had in the mean while been greatly impaired. Its numbers had been kept up, but it had lost well-nigh half of its best officers and men. Not a few of the recruits, brought in by enormous bounties, were poor material for soldiers. Even the tried veterans lacked much of their old determination. Now when in the Weldon movement the Second corps, which had been recognized as the best in the army, fell back, losing more in missing than in killed and wounded, it became clear that there must be a pause for reorganization and recuperation.

Lee had become so confident in the invulnerability of his position that he ventured to detach a considerable force to the aid of Early,

who had for some time been operating in the Valley of the Shenandoah. The defences of Washington had been almost stripped of troops to reënforce the Army of the Potomac, and the ^{Early's} rebels hoped that the Federal capital might be taken by a sudden dash. Early made the attempt. He moved rapidly into Maryland, and on the 10th of July came within six miles of Washington, having met with scarcely a show of resistance. But he halted for two days, and that delay was fatal to his purpose. Grant had sent forward the Sixth corps from before Petersburg, and the Nineteenth, which had come by water to Hampton Roads, having borne its share in Banks's unlucky Red River expedition. They reached Washington just in time; and on the 12th Early retreated across the Potomac, carrying with him no little booty. So feebly was he pursued that a fortnight after he was emboldened to make a raid into Pennsylvania. The cavalry, 3,000 strong, reached Chambersburg on the 30th. A ransom of \$200,000 in gold was demanded for the town; this not being forthcoming, it was given to the flames, hardly one house in three escaping. All these disasters were largely due to the want of an efficient commander in this Department, and early in August Grant visited Harper's Ferry to provide a remedy. The result was Hunter's resignation, and the appointment of Sheridan to command all the troops in West Virginia and about Washington.

Towards the end of July active operations before Petersburg were resumed. A division of Butler's army had crossed the James some time before and established itself ten miles be- ^{Burnside's} low Richmond. Grant now planned a movement, one object of which was to cause Lee to detach a considerable part of his army from Petersburg, when a direct assault was to be made upon the works. This was to be favored by the explosion of a mine which had been run under a fort at the centre of the Confederate line. The mine, planned by Burnside, was 520 feet long, with lateral branches at the head 40 feet in either direction, and charged with 8,000 pounds of gunpowder. It was exploded on the afternoon of July 30th. The fort was blown up, leaving a crater 200 feet long, 60 feet wide, and 30 feet deep, into which troops were poured for the assault of the Confederate line. Nothing could have been worse executed than the movements which followed. A force of fully 50,000 men had been placed in readiness to follow up the explosion. The crater was absolutely crowded with men, who were unable to climb its sides. The Confederates from the brink poured down a plunging fire. Owing to misconception of orders, no effective movement was made, and after eight hours the troops were ordered to leave the crater, which could be done only by a narrow passage. This attempt cost

4,000 men, of whom nearly half were taken prisoners. The Confederate loss, including the regiment which garrisoned the fort, and was blown up with it, was not a quarter so many. Grant says: "The cause of the disaster was simply the leaving of the passage of orders from one to another down to an inefficient man. I blame his seniors also for not seeing that he did his duty, all the way up, to myself."

One result of this incident was that Burnside, at his own request, was relieved, and his corps given to Parke. It was also made evident that the works at Petersburg were too strong to be carried by a direct assault upon their centre. But so long were the Confederate lines that it seemed the extremities must be weakly held, and the attempts were henceforth directed upon one or the other of these points. On the 13th of August Hancock crossed the James, as if to move straight upon Richmond, and soon came upon the intrenched line of the Confederates. For four days there was some sharp fighting, but with no decisive issue. The losses on each side were about 1,500. On the 18th another attempt was made by Warren upon the Weldon road. This was measurably successful; but it cost the Federal army 4,500 men, of whom more than 3,000 were missing. It was resolved to destroy the road for several miles below the point held by Warren. A part of Hancock's corps was sent for this purpose on the 21st, and during the next four days several miles of the road were broken. But Lee, recognizing the necessity of thwarting this attempt, assailed Hancock with a superior force, and after hard fighting the Federals were repelled. Out of 8,000 men, Hancock lost 2,400, of whom nearly three fourths were missing.

For five weeks there was almost unbroken quiet. The two armies seemed to have come to a dead-lock. Each lay behind intrenchments too strong for the other to assail. Grant was, however, tightening his hold upon what he had won, and making it a base for further acquisitions. In the mean while, important operations were going on in other quarters, notably by Sheridan against Early in the Valley of the Shenandoah. On the 19th of September Early was badly defeated near Winchester, and again on the 21st at Fisher's Hill, twelve miles to the south. Sheridan then proceeded to devastate the valley. "The whole country," he says, "from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain, has been rendered untenable for a rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat and hay and farming implements, over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat. I have driven in front of the army over four thousand head of stock, have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep; a

Progress of
the siege.

Sheridan
and Early.

large number of horses have also been obtained." He then went northward, the army taking a position on Cedar Creek, twenty miles from Winchester, while he went to Washington to consult with the Secretary of War. Early, however, having been largely reënforced, made a sudden attack at daybreak on October 8th. At first it was successful, the Federal force being driven back, but a new line was formed which held its ground. Sheridan had reached Winchester on his return from Washington. Alarmed at the continued firing in the distance, he rode rapidly and, outstripping his staff, alone to the front, took command, and by the middle of the afternoon the Confederates were totally routed. This action closed the fighting in the Valley of the Shenandoah. During this month of active operations, comprising two important battles and numerous skirmishes, Sheridan lost about 17,000 men, of whom 14,000 were killed and wounded, and 3,000 missing. Early lost not far from 23,000, of whom 13,000 were prisoners.

After the capture of the Weldon road Grant turned his main attention to the cutting of the Southside Railroad. An attempt was made on the 27th of Octo-



John A. Winslow.

ber. Nearly the whole army of the Potomac was to be engaged, directly or indirectly. It proved a failure, and was abandoned by orders of Meade, who had it in charge. The Federal loss was 1,300 killed and wounded, and 600 missing. The Confederates lost quite as many in killed and wounded, and 1,200 prisoners. After this the Army of the Potomac went into winter quarters behind its intrenchments, and no further important operations were set on foot, although a constant picket and artillery fire was kept up all along the opposing lines. During the winter the Confederate army was often reduced to great straits. Thus on the 9th of December it had food for only nine days; and on the 14th Lee reported that his men were without meat. Opportunely several vessels arrived at Wilmington with supplies, which reached Richmond by a circuitous route. But on the 15th of January, 1865, Fort Fisher, which commands the port of Wilmington, was captured by a com-

Winter at
Petersburg.

bined naval and military expedition under General Alfred H. Terry, and that important avenue of supply was cut off.

As spring approached, the military problem took a new form. Sherman had set out on his march through the Carolinas, and Grant proposed to prevent Lee from sending any part of his force southward.

On the 9th of February, 1865, Lee was made commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the Confederacy.

Among his earliest acts in this capacity was to direct J. E. Johnston to take command of all the troops in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida, with orders to concentrate all available forces "and drive back Sherman." But before the opening of the spring campaign Lee had come to the conclusion that Petersburg and Richmond must be abandoned. There was still some ground for hope that the war might be protracted in the mountainous region upon the borders of Virginia and North Carolina. He wished to get his army safely out of Petersburg; Grant wished to prevent him from doing so.

The closing campaign in Virginia, which was substantially the close of the war, was begun on the 24th of March, when Grant issued an order for a grand movement, to be made on the 29th against the Confederate right. Lee, to prevent the execution of this, made on the 25th a sudden attack upon Fort Steedman, near the centre of the Federal lines before Petersburg. He hoped that by breaking through these he might so far cripple his opponent as to render him incapable of a rapid pursuit. The attempt proved an utter failure, the Confederates losing 3,000 men. Grant's movement was begun at the appointed time, an important part being assigned to Sheridan, who had now rejoined the Army of the Potomac.

On the 1st of April Sheridan encountered the bulk of Lee's disposable army at Five Forks, the extreme point to which Lee's lines had been extended, and won a decisive victory, capturing more than 5,000 men. To defend this point Lee had almost stripped the works at Petersburg. On the next day Grant assailed these works, and carried the exterior lines. Lee saw that the end here had come, and telegraphed to Davis at Richmond that Petersburg must be forthwith abandoned.

It was Sunday, and the tidings reached Davis while at church. He lost hardly a moment in making preparations to leave the city. That night was one of terror in Richmond. The mob broke into riot, and plundered warehouses and dwellings. To add to the confusion, Ewell, who commanded here, set fire to the bridges and storehouses. The conflagration spread, and in a few hours one third of Richmond was in flames. Early the next morning a small body of the Federal force took possession of the Confederate capital; and something like order was soon restored.

At night-fall of that Sunday a portion of the Confederate force still clung to the strong interior lines of Petersburg, and the Federal commanders thought there was to be hard fighting for their possession. At two o'clock on Monday morning the Confederate pickets were still out. But the evacuation had begun hours before. An hour later it was completed. The troops were all across

the Appomattox, the only bridge was in flames, and the air was luminous with the glare of burning warehouses. Then the noise of explosions was heard all along the line from Petersburg to the James. The Confederates had blown up all their works, and were in full retreat. A Federal brigade was pushed forward. It was met by the civic authorities, who announced that the city, having been evacuated by the

army, was fully surrendered. At half-past four in the afternoon the Union flag was raised upon the court-house at Petersburg.

When Lee evacuated Petersburg and Richmond his purpose was to retreat to Danville, where he hoped to unite with Johnston. The pressing necessity was to concentrate his forces, now widely scattered. In all, they still numbered 40,000 men. His im-

The fall of
Petersburg.



Taking possession of Richmond.

Lee's re-
treat.

mediate purpose was to reach Burkesville, at the junction of two railroads, fifty-two miles from Richmond. If he could gain that point ahead of the Federal army, he might destroy the roads in his rear and escape present pursuit. He had gained some hours in time, and had fair hope of success. But unexpected disaster awaited him. He had marched out with rations for only a single day, though large supplies were collected in his rear. These were to meet him at Amelia Court House, half-way between Burkesville and Richmond. But the trains bearing the supplies went straight on, and when, on the morning of the 4th, Lee reached Amelia, there was no food for his army, and he had to break up his force into foraging squads. This enforced delay proved fatal; for the Federal columns, now in rapid pursuit, were close behind him, and upon his flank. On the 6th Sheridan struck Ewell's corps of the retreating army at Sailor's Creek, routed it, and made 7,000 prisoners. The remainder of the Confederate army pressed wearily on, striking back fiercely when assailed by the heads of the pursuing columns.

But it was evident to both sides that the end was near. On the 7th Grant wrote to Lee, proposing to receive the surrender of his army. Lee replied that he did not yet think the case hopeless; but wished to know what terms would be offered. Grant replied that he would only insist that the men surrendered should not take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. On the 9th, the two commanders met at Appomattox Court House, where the terms of surrender were formally agreed upon. The substance of these was, that all officers and men should be paroled; all public property be turned over, and "this done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside." The number paroled was 28,805, of whom not more than 8,000 had muskets in their hands. The others had flung away their arms in their weary flight. The surrender of Lee's army virtually brought the war to a close.

But in the mean while Sherman's great army was marching through the Carolinas, leaving devastation in its track. It left Savannah on the 1st of February, 60,000 strong. On the 17th it reached Columbia, the capital of South Carolina. General Wade Hampton, who was here in command, ordered all the cotton in the place to be brought into the public square, where fire was set to it. A strong wind was blowing, which bore the burning flakes in every direction, and the city was in flames in many places. The fires were extinguished by the aid in part of the Federal soldiers.

Lee's surrender.

Sherman's march through the Carolinas.



THE UNION ARMY DISBANDED.

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

Sherman says, "Our officers and men on duty worked well to extinguish the flames; but others not on duty, including officers who had long been imprisoned there, rescued by us, may have assisted in spreading the fire after it had begun." A large part of Columbia was burned on the 8th of March. Continuing his advance, Sherman entered North Carolina. Johnston endeavored to impede him, with the small force which he could collect, not more than 24,000 men in all. Several conflicts ensued, the most important being at Averysborough on the 15th, and at Bentonville on the 18th.

The march was directed towards Raleigh. The Federal army was almost there, when on the 14th of April Johnston, who had learned of the surrender of Lee, proposed an armistice, with Johnston's surrender. the view of arranging terms of surrender. These had been nearly agreed upon, on terms highly favorable to the Confederates, when on the 19th tidings came of the assassination of President Lincoln. On Good Friday, April 14th, he had been shot in the theatre at Washington, by John W. Booth, an actor, and died in a few hours. An unsuccessful attempt was made at the same time, by another ruffian, to murder Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, in his own house. The acting President, Andrew Johnson, disapproved of the terms granted by Sherman, and on the 26th the surrender was finally made upon the same terms as those granted to the army of Lee. This surrender was followed on the 14th of May by that of all the Confederate forces east of the Mississippi, and on the 26th by that of all west of the Mississippi, Texas included.

It was six weeks after the death of the President before these final acts of submission were concluded; but, as they were inevitable, they were little else than formalities. Armed resistance had, for the most part, ceased before the cowardly and purposeless assassination of Mr. Lincoln; and though, probably, he did not know that his life was the crowning sacrifice to the half-savage, half-insane spirit of the slaveholders' insurrection, he knew, at least, that the war was finished, that a new nation was born. His prayer might well have been — "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." Assassination of Mr. Lincoln.

When Jefferson Davis fled from Richmond he was nowise convinced that the cause of the Confederacy was really lost. From Danville he put forth a long proclamation to the people, dated April 5th. The capture of Richmond, he said, was indeed injurious to the cause. But Lee's army, "relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, will be free to move from point to point, to strike the enemy far from his base. I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any of the The flight and capture of Davis.

States of the Confederacy. Virginia shall be held and defended, and no peace shall ever be made with the invaders of her territory. If by the stress of numbers we should ever be compelled to a temporary withdrawal from her limits, or those of any other border State, again and again will we return, until the baffled and exhausted enemy shall abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free." Davis, with his cabinet, remained at Danville until the 10th, when he learned of the surrender of Lee's army. He hurried to Johnston's headquarters at Goldsborough, in North Carolina, and urged him to further hostilities, but that sagacious General replied that there was nothing left for him but to follow Lee's example.

Davis, with a small escort, fled southward, hoping to reach the Gulf coast, and thence make his way out of the country. But bodies of Federal cavalry were in swift pursuit. On the 10th of May a detachment under Colonel Pritchard, came upon him at Irwinsville, in the heart of southern Georgia. He was captured without resistance, while endeavoring to make his escape, partly disguised, wearing a woman's water-proof cloak, with a shawl over his head and shoulders, and carrying a pail in his hand, as though going to the spring for water. History loves startling contrasts. None more striking can be found anywhere upon its pages than the last solemn hours of the President of the Union, and the last appearance of the President of the Confederacy, while recognized by that title.

Davis was taken to Fortress Monroe, where he was kept in close custody for several months under charge of high treason. Had he been promptly tried, when public feeling ran high against him, as the head of the rebellion, and while his supposed complicity in the assassination of Lincoln was believed in, he would, probably, have been hanged as a traitor. But in course of time it was clear that he had nothing to do with the plot for the murder of the President. Others were quite as guilty as he of treason, and there seemed no good reason for making him a special example. So when public feeling against him had subsided he was set at liberty upon bail, and was never arraigned for trial.

With the administration of Andrew Johnson came the beginning of the reconstruction of the Union, — a work badly begun, unwisely carried on, and, at the end of fifteen years, still unfinished. For that fifteen years the war may be said to have been continued on a peace basis, but drawing, year by year, to its inevitable conclusion, as the generation of the last slaveholders and their Northern adherents gradually disappears.

[Fac-simile of President Lincoln's draft of the preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation, September, 1862. From the original in the Library of the State of New York, Albany.— The formal paragraph ending the Proclamation, and the signature, were added to this draft by a clerk. The remainder is in Mr. Lincoln's handwriting. He afterward signed the engrossed draft.]

I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States, and each of the states, and the people thereof, in which states that relation is, or may have suspended, or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave states, so called; the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states ^{now} may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent ^{with their consent} upon this continent, or elsewhere, ^{with the humanity of Maria Edmonst of the Government,} will be continued.

1

only then

That on the first day of January in the year of
our Lord, one Thousand eight hundred and sixty-
three, all persons held as slaves within any
state, or designated part of a state, the people
whereof shall then be in rebellion against the
United States, shall be then, thenceforward,
and forever free; and the executive governor
^{including the military and naval authority thereof}
ment of the United States, ~~will~~, ~~through the com-~~
~~missioner in office of the justice~~, re-
and maintain the freedom of
cognize, such persons, ~~as being free~~; and will
do no act or acts to oppress such persons, or any
of them, in any efforts they may make for their
actual freedom.

That the executive will, on the first day of Jan-
uary, aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the
states, and parts of states, if any, in which the
people thereof respectively, shall then be in re-
bellion against the United States; and the fact
that any state, or the people thereof shall, on
that day be, in good faith represented in the
Congress of the United States, by members chosen
thereto, at elections wherein a majority of the

qualified voters of such state shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state and the people thereof, are now then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to make an additional Article of War for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

As it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated, as an additional article of war for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

Article —. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An Act to suppress Insurrection, to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figure following:

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto; escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found on [or] being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

^{in due time with great dispatch}
And the executive will recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States, and their respective states, and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed

Done at the City of Washington
this twenty second day of September
in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty two, and sixty two,
anniversary of the Independence of the United States. The eighth month.

Abraham Lincoln

By the President,
William H. Seward,
Secretary of State

1

TABLE OF DATES.

- 1779. Sullivan's Expedition.
- 1780. *May*, Capture of Charleston by the British.
July, Arrival of Rochambeau.
September, Arnold's Treason.
August 15, Battle of Camden.
- 1781. *January 17*, Battle of Cowpens.
March 15, Battle of Guilford Court House.
September 7, Battle of Eutaw Springs.
October 19, Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown.
- 1782. *November 30*, Preliminary Treaty of Peace signed.
- 1783. *September 3*, Final Treaty of Peace with Great Britain signed.
November 25, Evacuation of New York.
December 4, Washington takes leave of his officers.
- 1784. Jefferson's Northwest Ordinance proposed.
- 1786. Shays's Rebellion.
- 1787. Northwest Territory organized, and Ordinance adopted.
May 14, Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia.
September 17, Constitution of the United States signed by the Delegates.
- 1788. *June 21*, Constitution ratified by New Hampshire, securing its Adoption.
- 1789. *March 4*, First Congress assembled in New York.
April 30, Washington inaugurated President.
- 1790. Cotton-spinning established in the United States.
- 1791. First National Bank established.
- 1793. Wayne's campaign against the Indians.
Cotton Gin invented by Eli Whitney.
- 1794. The Whiskey Insurrection.
- 1795. Jay's Treaty ratified.
- 1797. *March 4*, John Adams inaugurated President.
- 1798. Alien and Sedition Laws enacted.
- 1799. Fries's Insurrection.
December 14, Death of Washington.
- 1801. *March 4*, Jefferson inaugurated President.
War with Tripoli.
- 1803. Louisiana purchased.
- 1804. Lewis and Clarke's Expedition.
- 1805. Treaty of Peace with Tripoli.
- 1806. Aaron Burr's Expedition to the Southwest.
Monroe and Pinkney Treaty, suppressed by Jefferson.
November 20, The Berlin Decree issued.
- 1807. Trial trip of Fulton's first steamboat.

1807. *November 11, The Orders in Council issued.*
December 17, The Milan Decree issued.
December, The Embargo Bill passed.
1809. *March 4, Madison inaugurated President.*
1811. *November 7, Battle of Tippecanoe.*
1812. *June 18, War declared against England.*
August 16, Hull's surrender of Detroit.
1813. *March 4, Madison inaugurated.*
September 10, Perry's victory on Lake Erie.
October 5, Battle of the Thames.
Jackson's campaign against the Southern Indians.
1814. *Campaign on the Niagara; Battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane.*
August 25, Capture of Washington by the British.
September 11, Battle of Plattsburg.
December 15, Hartford Convention met.
December 24, Treaty of Peace signed at Ghent.
1815. *January 8, Battle of New Orleans.*
War with Algiers.
1816. *United States Bank chartered.*
First Seminole War.
1817. *March 4, Monroe inaugurated President.*
1818. *Steam navigation begun on the Western lakes.*
1820. *Missouri Compromise passed.*
1821. *Ratification of Treaty of 1819, ceding Florida to the United States.*
1825. *March 4, John Quincy Adams inaugurated President.*
1826. *Murder of Morgan, and rise of the Anti-masonic party.*
July 4, Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.
First railroad built in the United States.
1829. *March 4, Jackson inaugurated President.*
1831. *Garrison established "The Liberator."*
August, The Southampton Insurrection.
1832. *The Black Hawk War.*
Nullification in South Carolina.
1833. *Removal of deposits from the United States Bank.*
1835. *Second Seminole War begun.*
Texas declared her independence of Mexico.
1837. *March 4, Van Buren inaugurated President.*
1839. *Capture of the *Amistad*, and trial of Africans.*
1841. *March 4, Harrison inaugurated President.*
*Case of the *Creole*.*
1842. *The Dorr War in Rhode Island.*
The Prigg Case in the Supreme Court.
The Ashburton Treaty concluded.
1845. *Texas annexed by joint resolution.*
March 4, Polk inaugurated President.
1846. *May 8, Battle of Palo Alto, beginning of the Mexican War.*
August 8, David Wilmot introduced his Proviso in Congress.
1847. *February 22, 23, Battle of Buena Vista.*
March 27, Surrender of Vera Cruz.
September 14, City of Mexico occupied by the American forces.
1848. *February, Treaty of Peace with Mexico concluded.*

1848. Gold discovered in California.
1849. *March 4*, Taylor inaugurated President.
1850. The Clay Compromises — including the Fugitive Slave Law — passed.
1853. *March 4*, Pierce inaugurated President.
Rise of the Know-Nothing Party.
1854. *May 30*, The Kansas-Nebraska Bill became a law.
1856. Lawrence, Kansas, sacked.
1857. *March 4*, Buchanan inaugurated President.
March 6, The Dred Scott case in the Supreme Court.
August 4, First message sent by Atlantic cable.
1859. *October*, John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.
1860. *November*, Lincoln elected President.
December 2, South Carolina seceded.
1861. *January*, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana seceded.
February, Texas seceded; provisional Confederate Government organized.
March 4, Lincoln inaugurated President.
April 12, 13, Bombardment of Fort Sumter.
April 17, Virginia seceded.
April 19, First blood shed, in Baltimore.
May, Arkansas and North Carolina seceded.
June 10, Battle of Big Bethel.
July 21, Battle of Bull Run.
August 10, Battle of Wilson's Creek; death of General Lyon.
August 26, The Hatteras Expedition sailed.
August 31, Fremont's Emancipation Proclamation issued.
October 29, The Port Royal Expedition sailed.
November 8, The rebel envoys taken from the *Trent* by Captain Wilkes.
1862. *January 12*, The Roanoke Expedition sailed.
February 15, Surrender of Fort Donelson.
March 9, Fight of the *Merrimac* and *Monitor*.
April 6, 7, Battle of Pittsburg Landing.
April 8, Surrender of Island Number Ten.
April 24, Capture of New Orleans by Farragut.
1862. *May 4*, Yorktown evacuated by the rebels; Battle of Williamsburg.
May 9, Hunter's Emancipation Order issued.
May 27, Battle of Hanover Court House.
May 31, Battle of Fair Oaks.
June 26, The Seven Days' battles before Richmond begun.
August 29, Battle of Groveton, or Second Bull Run.
September, Invasion of Maryland; Battle of Antietam.
The President's preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation issued.
December 13, Battle of Fredericksburg.
December 31 and January 2, Battle of Stone River.
1863. *January 1*, Emancipation proclaimed by the President.
May 2, Battle of Chancellorsville.
July 1-3, Battle of Gettysburg.
July 4, Surrender of Vicksburg.
July 8, Surrender of Port Hudson.
September 19, Battle of Chickamauga.
November 24, 25, Battle of Chattanooga.
1864. *March*, Banks's Red River Expedition.

1864. *April 12*, Massacre at Fort Pillow.
May 5, 6, Grant's advance on Lee; Battle of the Wilderness.
May 6, Sherman's Atlanta Campaign begun.
May 15, Sigel defeated by the rebels at Newmarket.
June 14, Grant crossed the James; Siege of Petersburg begun.
June 19, Privateer *Alabama* sunk by the *Kearsarge*.
July 30, Explosion of the mine under the rebel works at Petersburg.
July 30, Chambersburg, Pa., burned by the rebels.
August 5, Battle of Mobile Bay.
September 1, Fall of Atlanta.
August and September, Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley.
October 19, Battle of Cedar Creek.
October 27, Rebel ram *Albatross* destroyed.
November 8, President Lincoln reëlected.
November 13, Sherman's march to the coast begun.
November 30, Battle of Franklin, Tenn.
December 15, 16, Battle of Nashville.
December 21, Sherman entered Savannah.
1865. *January 15*, Fort Fisher captured by General Terry.
February 17, Columbia, S. C., surrendered to General Sherman.
February 18, Charleston evacuated by the rebels.
April 1, Battle of Five Forks.
April 2, Richmond evacuated.
April 9, Surrender of Lee's army.
April 14, The President assassinated.
April 26, Surrender of Johnston's army.
May 8, Capture of Jefferson Davis.

ADMISSION OF STATES.

ORIGINAL THIRTEEN.	ADMITTED UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.	
New Hampshire.	Vermont, 1791.	Michigan, 1837.
Massachusetts.	Kentucky, 1792.	Florida, 1845.
Rhode Island.	Tennessee, 1796.	Texas, 1845.
Connecticut.	Ohio, 1803.	Iowa, 1846.
New York.	Louisiana, 1812.	Wisconsin, 1848.
New Jersey.	Indiana, 1816.	California, 1850.
Pennsylvania.	Mississippi, 1817.	Minnesota, 1858.
Delaware.	Illinois, 1818.	Oregon, 1859.
Maryland.	Alabama, 1819.	Kansas, 1861.
Virginia.	Maine, 1820.	West Virginia, 1863.
North Carolina.	Missouri, 1821.	Nevada, 1864.
South Carolina.	Arkansas, 1836.	
Georgia.		

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That on the first day of January in the year of
our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-
three, all persons held as slaves within any
state, or designated part of a state, the people
whereof shall then be in rebellion against the
United States, shall be then, thenceforward,
and forever free; and the executive govern-
ment of the United States, ^{including the military and naval authorities thereof}, will, ~~through the com-~~
~~missioners in office of the justice department,~~ re-
cognize, ^{and maintain the freedom of} such persons, ~~as being free~~; and will
do no act or acts to oppress such persons, or any
of them, in any efforts they may make for their
actual freedom.

That the executive will, on the first day of Jan-
uary aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the
states, and parts of states, if any, in which the
people thereof respectively, shall then be in re-
bellion against the United States; and the fact
that any state, or the people thereof shall, on
that day be, in good faith representation in the
Congress of the United States, by members chosen
thereat, at elections wherein a majority of the

qualified voters of such state shall have participation, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidences that such state and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to make an additional Article of War approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figures following:

As it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed, and observed as such:

Article —. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An Act to suppress Insurrection, to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto; escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found on [or] being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty; except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

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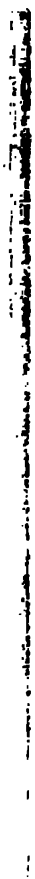


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August 15, Battle of Camden.
- 1781. *January 17*, Battle of Cowpens.
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- 1782. *November 30*, Preliminary Treaty of Peace signed.
- 1783. *September 3*, Final Treaty of Peace with Great Britain signed.
November 25, Evacuation of New York.
December 4, Washington takes leave of his officers.
- 1784. Jefferson's Northwest Ordinance proposed.
- 1786. Shays's Rebellion.
- 1787. Northwest Territory organized, and Ordinance adopted.
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September 17, Constitution of the United States signed by the Delegates.
- 1788. *June 21*, Constitution ratified by New Hampshire, securing its Adoption.
- 1789. *March 4*, First Congress assembled in New York.
April 30, Washington inaugurated President.
- 1790. Cotton-spinning established in the United States.
- 1791. First National Bank established.
- 1793. Wayne's campaign against the Indians.
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- 1794. The Whiskey Insurrection.
- 1795. Jay's Treaty ratified.
- 1797. *March 4*, John Adams inaugurated President.
- 1798. Alien and Sedition Laws enacted.
- 1799. Fries's Insurrection.
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- 1803. Louisiana purchased.
- 1804. Lewis and Clarke's Expedition.
- 1805. Treaty of Peace with Tripoli.
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